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FOR THE YEAR

1929

**EDITED BY
M. EPSTEIN, M.A., PH.D.**

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THE Editor of THE ANNUAL REGISTER once again expresses his thanks to *The Times* for permission to make use of matter published in its columns.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S SECOND LABOUR MINISTRY.

(TOOK OFFICE JUNE 8, 1929.)

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<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	Mr. J. H. Thomas.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	Mr. Philip Snowden.
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<i>Home</i>	Mr. J. R. Clynes.
<i>Foreign</i>	Mr. Arthur Henderson.
<i>Dominions and Colonies</i>	Lord Passfield.
<i>War</i>	Mr. Tom Shaw.
<i>India</i>	Mr. Wedgwood Benn.
<i>Air</i>	Lord Thomson.
<i>Scotland</i>	Mr. W. Adamson.
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<i>Board of Education</i>	Sir C. P. Trevelyan.
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<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	Mr. Noel Buxton.
<i>Minister of Labour</i>	Miss Margaret Bondfield.
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>	Mr. George Lansbury.

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<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Sir J. B. Melville, K.C.
<i>Minister of Pensions</i>	Mr. F. O. Roberts.
<i>Minister of Transport</i>	Mr. Herbert Morrison.
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith.
<i>Paymaster-General</i>	Lord Arnold (<i>without pay</i>).
<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Mr. George Hall.
<i>Financial Secretary to the Treasury</i>	Mr. F. W. Pethick-Lawrence.
<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	Mr. E. Shinwell.
<i>Under-Secretaries of State :—</i>	
<i>Air</i>	Mr. F. Montague.
<i>Colonies</i>	{ Mr. W. Lunn (<i>to December 2</i>). Dr. Drummond Shiels (<i>from December 2</i>).
<i>Dominion Affairs</i>	{ Mr. A. A. Ponsonby (<i>to December 2</i>). Mr. W. Lunn (<i>from December 2</i>).
<i>Foreign</i>	Mr. Hugh Dalton.
<i>Home</i>	Mr. A. Short.
<i>India</i>	{ Dr. Drummond Shiels (<i>to December 2</i>). Lord Russell (<i>from December 2</i>).
<i>War</i>	Lord de la Warr.

xii MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S SECOND MINISTRY.

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<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	Dr. C. Addison.
<i>Education</i>	Mr. Morgan Jones.
<i>Health</i>	Miss Susan Lawrence.
<i>Labour</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr. J. J. Lawson.
<i>Mines</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr. Ben Turner.
<i>Post Office</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr. Philip Viant.
<i>Board of Trade</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr. W. R. Smith.
<i>Overseas Trade</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr. G. B. Gillett.
<i>Transport</i>	.	.	.	.	{ Lord Russell (<i>to December 2</i>). Mr. Ponsonby, later Lord Ponsonby (<i>from December 2</i>).

SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary of State</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr. W. Adamson.
<i>Lord Advocate</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr. Craigie M. Aitchison, K.C.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr. John C. Watson, K.C.

MR. BALDWIN'S SECOND CONSERVATIVE MINISTRY.

(TOOK OFFICE NOVEMBER 7, 1924; RESIGNED, JUNE 4, 1929.)

CABINET MINISTERS.

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<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	The Earl of Balfour.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Lord Hailsham (Sir Douglas Hogg).
<i>Lord Privy Seal, and Leader of the House of Lords</i>	The Marquess of Salisbury.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	Mr. Winston Churchill.
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<i>Home</i>	Sir William Joynson-Hicks.
<i>Foreign (and Deputy Leader of the House)</i>	Sir Austen Chamberlain.
<i>Dominions and Colonies</i>	Mr. L. C. M. S. Amery.
<i>War</i>	Sir L. Worthington-Evans.
<i>India</i>	Viscount Peel.
<i>Air</i>	Sir Samuel Hoare.
<i>Scotland</i>	Sir J. Gilmour.
<i>Presidents :—</i>	
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<i>Board of Education</i>	Lord Eustace Percy.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Mr. W. C. Bridgeman.
<i>Minister of Health</i>	Mr. Neville Chamberlain.
<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	Hon. Walter Guinness.
<i>Minister of Labour</i>	Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland.
<i>Attorney-General</i>	Sir Thomas Inskip.
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<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	Lord Cushendun.

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<i>Minister of Transport</i>	Lt.-Col. W. Ashley.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Sir Frank Merriman.
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<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Earl Stanhope.
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<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	Mr. A. Duff Cooper.
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<i>Overseas Trade</i> Captain Douglas Hacking.
<i>Treasury</i> Commander B. M. Eyres Monsell.

SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary of State</i> . . . .	. Sir J. Gilmour.
<i>Under-Secretary of State</i> . . . .	. Major Walter Elliot Elliot.
<i>Lord-Advocate</i>	{ Hon. W. Watson (<i>till April 24</i>).
	{ Mr. Alexander M. MacRobert (<i>from April 24</i>).
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	{ Mr. Alexander M. MacRobert (<i>till April 24</i>).
	{ Mr. Wilfrid G. Normand (<i>from April 24</i>).

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1929.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION.

THE year 1929 opened in the shadow of a General Election. The existing Parliament had been elected as far back as October, 1924, and had therefore already enjoyed an exceptionally long lease of life. It was known that the Government intended to dissolve Parliament as soon as possible after May 1, when the new electoral register would come into force. Party headquarters were already busy making preparations for the election, and the prospects of a change of Government were beginning to be eagerly canvassed.

The state of the country, after more than four years of Conservative rule, was not such as to make the bulk of the people enamoured of Mr. Baldwin's Government. The great export trades—coal, textiles, steel and iron, and shipbuilding—were still suffering from severe depression. The number of unemployed stood at an appallingly high figure—nearly a million and a half. Distress was terribly acute among the mining populations of the North-eastern district and South Wales. In the field of foreign affairs the outlook was darkened by the estrangement with America which had followed the abortive effort to arrange a naval compromise with France. Fortunately for the country, the year proved to have opened at its worst, and it had not advanced very far before the graver evils confronting the nation had either disappeared or been considerably modified. The change came too late, however, to produce any reaction of popular feeling in favour of the Government.

A happy augury for the coming year was soon furnished by a turn for the better in the condition of the King, who had fallen

dangerously ill towards the end of the previous year. Within a few days of the New Year King George passed the crisis of his malady and began slowly to mend. A sigh of relief went up from the whole nation when it was announced on February 9 that he was well enough to be removed from Buckingham Palace to Bognor on the South coast; and public anxiety was finally allayed by reports issued towards the end of February that he was genuinely convalescent and on the way to complete recovery.

The trade returns for 1928, published early in January, showed that there had been a net increase of exports of 1·4 per cent. over those of the previous year. The apparent adverse balance was 353,160,000*l.*, which was 33,117,000*l.* less than that for 1927. The adverse balance was converted by the Board of Trade's method of reckoning in invisible exports into a favourable balance of 149,000,000*l.* The improvement in trade, such as it was, could be attributed in part to the efforts at reorganisation which had been made in various industrial quarters, especially in the coal trade, in the previous couple of years. The early days of 1929 brought two more notable examples of the process of "rationalisation." One was an amalgamation between the three great steel firms of Vickers, Vickers-Armstrongs, and Cammell Laird. The other was the registration on January 24 of the Lancashire Cotton Corporation, Limited, as a body which intended eventually to combine over a hundred spinning mills in an endeavour to substitute co-operation for competition. This venture was the first-fruits of the efforts which had been on foot for many months to "rationalise" the Lancashire cotton industry. It was judged to be of such national importance that the Government had passed special legislation in the previous year to relieve it of certain stamp and transfer duties, while the Bank of England consented to stand behind it with a guarantee of 2,000,000*l.*

The iron and steel industry, unlike the cotton industry, did not rely upon rationalisation alone to cure its ills. On the last day of 1928 the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, in accordance with the decision it had taken early in December (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 117) addressed a letter to the Prime Minister, asking for a commission or committee to ascertain as far as possible all the facts relative to the industry's present position and to make recommendations for its improvement. The terms of the letter were such as not to exclude safeguarding from the scope of the proposed committee's investigations. The Prime Minister replied on February 9 that in his opinion such a commission was unnecessary on various grounds. One was that the Committee on Industry and Trade under the chairmanship of Sir Arthur Balfour had already presented a detailed report on the iron and steel industry. Another was that if the Conservative Government was returned to power after the General Election,

the iron and steel industry would be able to make an application for safeguarding before an independent tribunal. These reasons did not satisfy the Confederation, and it pressed Mr. Baldwin to reconsider his decision. Just at this time, however, a distinct improvement manifested itself in the iron and steel export trade, and the industry found that it could carry on a little longer under existing conditions.

A more peremptory demand for safeguarding, coupled with the threat of political reprisals in case of refusal, was addressed to the Government by the agricultural interest. The discussion at the annual general meeting of the National Farmers' Union on January 16 made it clear that the discontent of the farmers with the Government had continued to increase in the previous twelve months till it now stood at white heat. In his annual address to his constituents a few days previously, Mr. Baldwin had advised the farmers to leave politics alone. The delegates now treated this suggestion with scorn. It was politicians, they affirmed, who had created the gap between cost of production and market prices, and by political action the gap would have to be filled. The chief positive proposal put forward at the meeting was that safeguarding should be extended to agriculture, or that, failing this, the revenue derived from protective duties should be applied for the benefit of arable agriculture. A manifesto embodying the views of the Union, and suggesting that the farmers might have to vote against the Conservatives at the next General Election if their requirements were not met, was forwarded to Sir Thomas Davies, the Chairman of the Conservative Agricultural Committee in the House of Commons. Sir Thomas chose to regard the manifesto as a threat against the party and against the Government, and refused even to lay it before the Committee.

Not long afterwards the Government was forced to admit publicly that its treatment of the agricultural industry could not be reconciled with its own principles. On February 14 its attention was called in the House of Lords to the fact that German wheat was being "dumped" in England in considerable quantities and competing unfairly with the home-grown product. It was pointed out that English farmers in consequence were forced to reduce their prices by about 3s. a quarter during the last three months of the year, when the importation took place, and so lost all their profits. The Government did not deny the hardship thus inflicted on the farmers, but declared itself unable to suggest a remedy. They were precluded by international agreements from discriminating against German imports or prohibiting them altogether, and their pledge to the country prohibited them from safeguarding wheat by an import duty. Consequently they could offer the farmers nothing but sympathy, for which the latter were not over thankful.

On January 15 the Minister of Health issued a White Paper

embodying the changes which at the end of the previous year he had promised to make in the Local Government Bills in order to meet the objections of municipalities and county councils. Under the new arrangements the guarantee against increase of rate poundage by reason of the new scheme during the first year of its operation was to be continued for four more years; the total period for the transition to the full working of the formula would be seventeen instead of fifteen years; and after 1931 the Census would be taken at quinquennial intervals, in order that revision might more easily keep pace with changes in population. Thus the relations between the Exchequer and the local authorities were made considerably more favourable for the latter than they would have been under the original form of the Bill. The Association of Municipal Corporations decided on the next day to accept the proposed amendments, and the Minister undertook to lay them before Parliament in due course. A further concession was soon after made to the local authorities by the raising of the grants provided by the Exchequer for the maintenance of Class I. and II. roads and bridges from 50 to 70 per cent. and from $33\frac{1}{2}$ to 50 per cent. respectively. It was estimated that the concession would be worth about 2,250,000*l.* a year.

Parliament met on January 22 after the Christmas recess, and immediately resumed consideration of the English Local Government Bill in Committee. One of the first amendments to be moved came from the Conservative benches, and sought to exclude breweries, distilleries, and tobacco factories from the benefits of the de-rating scheme. A strong *prima-facie* case could be made out for this step from the fact that these industries were prosperous enough without any additional stimulus, and that rating relief was not likely to lead to any increase in the employment which they provided. Mr. Chamberlain, however, would have none of it. He said that it conflicted with the fundamental principle of the Bill, which was to remedy the injustice of demanding from agriculture and industry a contribution to local expenditure out of proportion to the benefits which they derived from such expenditure. If the industries in question were too prosperous, the proper remedy was to impose heavier taxation upon them. A number of Conservatives found themselves unable to accept the Minister's reasoning—not so much because of any inherent weakness in it as of the odium which the proposal to benefit breweries had brought upon the Bill—and in the division the Government majority fell to the unusually low figure of 84.

In the discussion on the clause for substituting a block grant for the percentage grants at present given by the Ministry of Health to local authorities, some Conservative members expressed misgivings lest certain social services, notably that on behalf

of maternity and infant welfare, might suffer. Here again the Labour Party, not content with questioning the wisdom of the Minister, arraigned also his motives, imputing to him the sinister design of saving money for the Treasury at the expense of the welfare of the poor. Mr. Chamberlain repudiated the charge warmly, pointing out that as the whole expenditure involved was only a few hundred thousand pounds, it was not worth his while to try to economise upon it. He defended the change on the simple ground that with the percentage grant it was the rich bodies which benefited most, being themselves able to lay out liberally ; the block grant would tend to place rich and poor authorities more on a level. He also pointed out that the percentage grant system had by no means worked perfectly, and they were therefore justified in at least experimenting for a few years with the block grant.

Another provision of the Bill to which wide exception was taken was one empowering the Minister to set aside or modify at his discretion the regulations of the Bill in order to deal with exceptional circumstances. Members of the legal profession expressed great concern at this encroachment on the authority of Parliament. The Minister was able to quote precedents from various recent Acts, and assured the House that there was no danger of his abusing the powers to be conferred on him. It was admitted by the critics that an Act of Parliament could not provide for all contingencies, and that something must be left to the discretion of the Minister. Still, they thought that the wording of the clause might be made more innocuous, and the Minister promised to redraft it for the Report stage.

In due course an amendment to this effect was laid before the House. The new form of words, however, failed to satisfy the critics ; they complained that it still left the door open to grave usurpation of the powers of the legislature by an Executive Department. Mr. Chamberlain again made light of these fears, but they continued to weigh heavily with many members of all parties ; a motion for rejecting the clause altogether was brought forward and received 119 votes to 207. At the same time in the House of Lords a similar protest was made against the encroachments of the Executive in connexion with a Bill for remedying certain defects in cotton cloth factories. Complaints were made that the evils to be remedied were not specified in the Bill and the Government was taking to itself a free hand to issue orders of which Parliament had not approved.

To deal with this evil, a suggestion was made in Parliament that a Sessional Joint Committee should be set up to scrutinise all Statutory Rules and Orders issued by the Privy Council or by Public Departments. The suggestion was considered by the Government and rejected as impracticable. Mr. Baldwin pointed out (March 4) that the average number of such Rules and Orders

issued during the past three years was 1408-6, and that many of them were highly complex and technical, so that no Parliamentary Committee could deal with them adequately. He thought it best therefore to be content with the existing safeguards, *viz.*, the power of the Courts to declare null such Rules and Orders as were *extra vires*, and the right of members of Parliament to move their annulment so long as they lay on the table of the House.

The question was brought up again in the Committee stage of the Local Government Bill in the House of Lords (March 8). Lord Askwith moved that such emergency orders made by the Minister should not take effect unless and until they were affirmed by a resolution of each House of Parliament. The Lord Chancellor would not accept this amendment, as orders requiring speedy execution might be issued while Parliament was not in session. In order, however, to provide against the danger complained of—which he acknowledged was a real one—he suggested an amendment that such orders should come into operation on the date specified in them, but that they should cease to have effect after a period of three months unless in the meanwhile they had been approved by a resolution of each House of Parliament, the time during which Parliament was not sitting not to count. The proposal was not pressed, and matters were left in *statu quo*.

In moving the third reading of the Local Government Bill in the House of Commons, the Minister of Health declared himself well satisfied with the way in which it had come through the ordeal of the prolonged discussion upon it in the House. Considering its length, importance, and complexity, he thought that it had emerged with surprisingly little alteration. Both its principle and its principal features remained what they had been when it was first introduced. The most pronounced changes in the Bill were those which related to its financial provisions, and were the result not of the debates in the House but of his negotiations with the local authorities. These bodies had represented to him that it was impossible to foresee the exact working of the formula according to which grants were henceforth to be made to them, as data for that purpose did not yet exist. They were therefore anxious to have an experimental period during which as little change as possible should take place. Further they were concerned lest Parliament should increase their liabilities while their grants remained stationary, and they also pointed out that, as the Census was taken only once in ten years, there would be intermediate periods when in claiming their share of the General Exchequer contribution, which was based on population, they would have to rely on an estimate. He had met their wishes in all three respects by devices which cost nothing to the Exchequer and with which the local authorities declared themselves perfectly satisfied. A further concession

which he had made safeguarding all ratepayers in any district against loss by reason of the scheme would cost the Exchequer 6,750,000*l.*, spread over nineteen years. This and other additions, however, were only a trifling proportion of the total amount which the Exchequer would have to find.

Mr. Greenwood moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that it had not received adequate Parliamentary discussion, that it would do nothing to stimulate trade, and that it was unacceptable to local authorities. Mr. Chamberlain had already met these objections with an array of facts which Mr. Greenwood hardly attempted to controvert. Miss Lawrence, who had ably seconded Mr. Greenwood in conducting the opposition to the Bill in the earlier stages, now declared that her feelings towards the Bill had changed considerably since it was first introduced, and she did not now believe that the measure would do any particular harm to local government. Conservative opposition to the Bill seemed to have vanished, and the third reading was carried by 292 votes to 113.

The Parliamentary recess had witnessed a revival of interest in the Channel Tunnel scheme, which had last been rejected in 1924 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 70). The Parliamentary Committee which at that time had promoted the plan sprang into life again, and sounded the members of both Houses on the subject. The response being on the whole satisfactory, a Labour member, Mr. Thurtle, as soon as Parliament met, asked the Prime Minister whether he would find time for an early discussion of a motion on the subject. In view of the great demands of public business on the time of the House, Mr. Baldwin could not see his way to grant this. He thought, however, that the time was ripe for a re-examination of at least the economic aspects of the question, and he undertook, following the precedent set in 1924, to consult with the other party leaders how this might best be carried through.

On March 26 he informed the House of Commons that owing to the pressure of work due to the imminence of the dissolution he had not found it possible to discuss the subject with the other party leaders, but he had decided with their concurrence to set up a Commission under the auspices of the Committee of Civil Research to inquire into the economic aspects of the proposed Channel Tunnel. The Committee consisted of five members with Mr. E. Peacock, a bank director, as chairman.

On January 24 the Prime Minister delivered an address at Newcastle which he described as "the first shot in the campaign for the General Election." He said that the main question before the electors would be, what Government was likely to help industry most, or to hamper or hinder it least. A Labour Government, if it followed the programme of the party, would seek to nationalise mines, transport, and other things. Where this plan

had been tried in other countries—or even in England during the war—it had invariably resulted in a loss. This loss could only be made up either by increasing taxation or reducing wages, neither of which the country wanted. A Liberal Government, Mr. Baldwin thought, was hardly a likely contingency. A Conservative Government would have various plans for befriending industry. One was by extending Imperial Preference as far as was practicable, so as to obtain in return a larger demand for British goods in the Dominions. Another was by a judicious use of safeguarding. A third way was by reducing burdens as much as possible. Unfortunately there was little margin left for a reduction in taxation unless trade improved considerably, but there was little doubt that great relief would soon be afforded to industry by de-rating. In conclusion, Mr. Baldwin said that what industry wanted was confidence, and confidence was the last thing that could be provided by a Labour Government, or, what might be even worse, a Labour Government dependent upon Liberal support.

The latter contingency was a few days later ruled out of court by Sir Herbert Samuel, who stated in a public speech that the Liberal Party after the next election would on no account place or maintain a Socialist Government in power. The remark created no little sensation at the time. Labour critics were not slow to seize on it as an indication that the Liberal leaders were now coquetting with the Conservatives. The progressive sections of the Liberal Party took alarm, and called on Sir Herbert to explain himself. A few days later Sir Herbert affirmed with much circumstantiality that the declaration made by Mr. Lloyd George at the Yarmouth Conference in October (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 90) still expressed the determination of the Liberal Party. He forbore, however, from making that statement any clearer than it had been at the time, and he left the public more than ever in doubt as to what the Liberals would do in the event—still highly problematical—of their holding the balance between the other two parties after the election.

Reassuring utterances on the state of Anglo-American relations were made at a dinner in Birmingham on January 26, at which the American Ambassador and Sir A. Chamberlain were the chief speakers. The former said he felt very strongly that too much had already been spoken on the subject, for he was persuaded that the ancient ties of friendship and goodwill which bound the peoples together needed no discussion and remained fundamentally unimpaired. The Foreign Secretary said that the reason why there had been so much discussion recently about Anglo-American relations was that the British people was exceedingly sensitive to anything which even seemed to derogate from the peculiarly close and warm friendship which it was the traditional policy of Britain to maintain with America. A passing difference with

America loomed far larger in the eyes of the British public than would a similar difference with any other country. There was only one matter at stake between the two countries, and that was how to apply the limitation of armaments fairly and justly to their different circumstances. Even here there was no difference of principle ; Great Britain had admitted the right of the United States to parity, a concession she would never have made to any other nation. This being the whole extent of the problem, it was inconceivable that with patience and at an opportune moment they should not be able to resolve the difficulties which hitherto had prevented them from reaching an agreement.

A further indication that the tension between Britain and America was now relaxed was conveyed by a statement of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Parliament on February 6, that the Government was engaged in the careful examination of all questions concerning British relations with America and the naval conditions of the two countries. This was as far as the Government would go for the time being. A few days later the British Ambassador at Washington was reported in the Press as having said that Great Britain would soon make an effort to bring about an agreement between the principal Powers for the limitation of naval armaments. For a moment the hopes of the pacifists ran high, but they were soon damped by a statement issued from the Foreign Office (February 16) that there had been no change in the situation since February 6, and that the Government was not likely to be in a position to make any further communication for some time. Meanwhile the Admiralty, to make up for the leeway of the previous year, laid down two new cruisers of 10,000 tons, instead of one, as originally contemplated in the 1925 programme, though as a set-off it dropped one of the 8,000 ton cruisers in the programme.

On January 29 the House of Lords again considered Lord Cecil's Bill for the regulation of motor traffic, which had received a second reading before Christmas (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 116). The Royal Commission on Transport, to which the Bill had been referred, had informed the Government that it could not give a report on it till July. It was the general opinion of the House that the matter was too urgent to be left so long. Lord Cecil desired that the House should resolve itself into Committee to discuss the details of his Bill. The Government was opposed to this step on the ground that the Bill was highly contentious and that there was no possibility that time could be found for it in the House of Commons in the current session. At the same time Lord Salisbury, on behalf of the Government, warmly disclaimed any indifference to the subject, the urgency and gravity of which he fully realised. The House ultimately, in deference to his desire, decided to refer the Bill to a Select Committee which should report on it in a couple of months.

On February 11 the Government asked the House of Commons for 366,000*l.* for purposes of training unemployed men and facilitating their transfer to localities where employment could be found for them. In the debate which followed the "harvesters" scheme of the previous year was for the first time fully discussed in Parliament. The general opinion was that the experiment of sending out British workmen to help in the Canadian harvest had on the whole proved a success and was worth repeating. It was admitted that mistakes had been made in the choice of the men, and that on the other side the arrangements for their reception had not been altogether satisfactory, but these defects were excused on the ground of the haste with which the scheme had had to be improvised. Members of all parties showed themselves most anxious that settlers from Great Britain should play as large a part as possible in the development of the Dominions, and the training scheme of the Government was welcomed on that account. The Government had actually of late tried to quicken the pace of emigration by offering increased facilities to would-be emigrants. But they met with little response from the working-class population. A Government agent who had been canvassing South Wales reported early in the year that he had not been able to induce a single youth between fourteen and nineteen to emigrate to Canada, although most of them were unable to find work in their own district.

The debate also concerned itself largely with the Government's transfer policy, of which Labour members showed themselves not a little suspicious; they were afraid that the men who were transferred were given jobs at the expense of local workers. The Government considered that this fear was proved to be groundless by the remarkable industrial expansion which had recently taken place in certain districts; thus in Greater London in five years the insured population had increased by 10 per cent., while unemployment had been halved, and similar phenomena were witnessed in Bedford, Coventry, and other places. A motion for reducing the vote was rejected by 185 votes to 75.

In his annual address to his constituents on January 5, Mr. Baldwin had mentioned as one of the encouraging features in the general situation the coming together of all parties in industry within the last two years in a way which had never been seen before. At the beginning of 1929 it seemed highly doubtful whether the process would be carried any further. The long delay of the employers' organisations in answering the proposals laid before them by the Mond-Turner Conference in July (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 66) was regarded in Labour circles as ominous; and when the silence of the employing class was at length broken, it was in a tone which gave little hope of a successful outcome to the labours of the conference. At the

end of January the British Engineers' Association, though it had not been officially approached, took upon itself to publish a memorandum giving its views of the conference's proposals. While stating that it had no quarrel with the declared object of the conference, it found the objections to the scheme itself to be very serious. It considered that the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, which was constituted to deal with what were called labour questions—wages, hours, and conditions of work—would not be fitted to discuss the wide range of subjects specified in the interim report of the conference as being appropriate subjects of discussion and investigation by the proposed National Council; these required rather to be dealt with by experts. It thought that undue weight was proposed to be given to the T.U.C., which only represented 4,000,000 out of a total of 12,000,000 workers. It asked why the "brains" of industry—the managerial staffs—were excluded from the proposed National Council. It found fault with the General Council of the T.U.C. as a politically-minded body committed to the policies of the Labour Party. This meant that the representatives of the employers, who were not organised on political lines, would not meet them on equal terms, and the proposed National Council would therefore be foredoomed to failure unless the General Council of the T.U.C. formally repudiated the Socialistic policy and programme of the Labour Party.

This foretaste of the employers' views prepared the T.U.C. Council to expect the worst from the two employers' organisations to which the Mond-Turner scheme had been officially submitted. Their fears, however, were only partly realised. The reply of these bodies, which was at length given on February 13, in the form of a joint letter addressed to the secretary of the T.U.C., was indeed unfavourable, but not so uncompromisingly hostile as the memorandum of the Engineers' Association. It began by pointing out that there was a difference in the characters of the two organisations which made co-operation between them somewhat difficult. The National Confederation of Employers' Organisations usually dealt with labour questions, while the Federation of British Industries concerned itself more with economic and commercial questions. Each organisation, it was stated, as a result of the most careful consideration of the Interim Report, had within its own province reached the conclusion that it could not accept the report. Both bodies, however, were conscious of the importance of doing everything in their power to promote peace in British industry, and they therefore invited the Trade Union General Council to a conference at which they might examine the question of that body, consulting with them each separately, within the limits of their respective representative capacities and powers, on matters of common interest to British industry. The idea of consulting with the

T.U.C. General Council through a National Council, as proposed in the Mond-Turner Report, was definitely rejected by both bodies.

The first impulse of the Trade Union leaders on reading this reply was to see in it the end of all hopes of closer co-operation between employers and employed. Further consideration, however, showed that this conclusion was too hasty, and on February 26 the General Council of the T.U.C. decided to accept the invitation of the employers' organisations to a joint meeting.

While the offer of the employers was still being considered by the T.U.C. Council, a further meeting took place of the Mond-Turner Conference, to consider a joint report on unemployment (March 12). The report was a long document and went in some detail into the facts and causes of unemployment. In suggesting remedies it called upon the Government to assist financially in various ways—by promoting emigration, by restoring trade facilities and extending export credits, by creating a development fund for financing important national schemes, and by augmenting the pensions of workers of sixty-five and over who ceased work. The Government was also urged to institute immediate inquiries into the consolidation of existing pensions and insurance funds, and into currency and banking policy. Unemployment in the mining industry was stated to require consideration as a special case. The report was adopted with one dissentient, Mr. Cook.

On March 5 the Prime Minister received a deputation from the Miners' Federation, led by Mr. Herbert Smith, which came to urge the Government once more to take in hand the regulation of the industry. Mr. Smith also called attention to the large amount of unemployment and the low wages ruling in the industry, and suggested various remedies. The Prime Minister answered sympathetically but cautiously, and held out no prospect of the Government taking up new schemes on behalf of the miners in addition to those which it had already introduced.

One of the requests made by Mr. Smith was that the regulation in the 1927 Unemployment Insurance Act, requiring applicants for benefit to have at least thirty stamps on their books in the preceding two years, should not be enforced on April 1, when it was due to take effect. The Minister of Labour on the next day (March 7) stated that this regulation had been originally introduced into the Bill in the expectation that by 1929 there would be an improvement in employment in the depressed areas. There had indeed been an improvement in the previous few weeks, but it had come too late to enable a large number of claimants to comply with the rule. He therefore promised—much to the satisfaction of the Labour Party—to introduce a Bill to suspend the regulation for another year—a promise which was duly carried out before the end of the month.

On February 14 an influential deputation representing several

important business organisations waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to urge him to restore the Imperial Penny Post. According to the speakers, there was no change for which the business community was more eager, or from which they expected greater benefit to trade. The demand was further justified on the ground that the Post Office had made a profit in the year just closing of over 7,500,000*l.*, which seemed an unduly large sum for the Treasury to appropriate from this source. Mr. Churchill's reply was not encouraging. It was, he said, most unlikely that at the end of the year he would be in a position to spare the sum of 6,000,000*l.* which, it was estimated, would be the loss entailed on the Treasury by a return to the penny postage. And even if by some good fortune he had the money to spare, he was not certain that this would be the best way to utilise it; the repeal of the tax on tea, for instance, which would cost about as much, might be even more welcome to the general public.

On February 1 complaints were made by Labour members in the House of Commons that while the relief fund for the miners was increasing satisfactorily, the actual work of relief was proceeding very slowly. The urgency of the work had just been emphasised by the Prince of Wales, when, as President of the Relief Fund, he paid a visit of inspection to the north-eastern mining district. With his usual disdain of formality the Prince had insisted on seeing things for himself, and had recorded his impressions with a frankness which the mine-owners found somewhat disconcerting. It was not long after this before the organisation of the relief was put upon a much more satisfactory footing.

Shortly afterwards the Prince showed that he was capable of making his personal contribution to the economic no less than to the social welfare of the nation. Speaking on the occasion of the opening of the British Industries Fair on February 18, he laid stress—not for the first time—on the importance for British commerce of cultivating the art of salesmanship. He reinforced the lesson by referring to his own experiences on his travels, when he had seen British—and even other—colonists most anxious to buy British goods but unable to obtain what they required. The observation was recognised as just by many representatives of industry, and it stimulated them to find a remedy for this defect in British commercial organisation.

The triumph of the Government in carrying through the Local Government Bill was immediately followed in Parliament by a severe humiliation, which it brought on itself largely through sheer mismanagement. On February 19 it introduced a Supplementary Estimate of 70,000*l.*, part of which was to satisfy the claims of Irish loyalists who had suffered loss in the post-truce period in 1922. A year before the Government had

announced that it was setting aside 1,000,000*l.* in final settlement of these claims. At the time this sum seemed sufficient to cover practically all the recommendations of the Advisory Committee which had been set up to consider the claims, but a number of claims had come in subsequently, to meet all of which on the scale recommended by the Committee a further sum of 400,000*l.* would have been required. It was known that the bulk of the Conservative Party was in favour of finding this money; the Government, however, decided not to increase the grant except by an insignificant amount, which meant that a large number of the claims would have to be scaled down.

In moving the vote, Mr. Amery took credit to the Government for treating the claimants with great generosity. The bulk of his party by no means concurred in this view, and on their behalf a reduction in the vote was moved as a protest against its inadequacy. A number of Conservative speakers upbraided the Government with its bad faith towards the loyalists, and a strong spirit of revolt manifested itself in the Ministerialist ranks. Mr. Churchill intervened to quell it with a display of firmness. He said that he had every sympathy with the Irish sufferers, but there were times when the Government must say "no" in the name of economy, and this was one of them. Mr. Churchill's speech only added fuel to the flame. Lord Hugh Cecil scathingly remarked that the Government, after neglecting economy in all other directions, was practising it precisely where it conflicted with honour, and he scorned to follow it in such a course. A number of Conservatives affirmed that the Government was under a moral obligation to pay the claimants at least the amounts recommended by the Advisory Committee, and declared their intention of opposing the vote. It was plain that if a division was taken the Government would be defeated by the votes of its own followers. Accordingly the Prime Minister, after consulting with his colleagues, moved to report progress in order that the Government might further consider the matter. The discomfiture of the Government was witnessed with huge delight by the Opposition, and the Premier was ironically congratulated by Mr. Thomas on his display of "backbone," a quality in which, according to Ministerial speakers and to Mr. Churchill in particular, the Labour leaders were notoriously deficient.

Within two days the Cabinet, including Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery, had made up its mind that the demands of the "Die-hards" must be conceded. The Prime Minister formally announced his surrender to them on February 22. He accentuated its humiliating character by stating with emphasis that the Cabinet did not regard and never had regarded the payments in question as debts of honour, and that it had repeatedly made its attitude on the question clear to the House. Nevertheless,

he said, "they did not wish to use the ordinary machinery of party to enforce their view on their supporters and override their sincere convictions" in the matter, and they therefore undertook to meet in full the awards which had been made, or might subsequently be made by the Advisory Committee. For this statement he received the thanks of Colonel Gretton, the leader of the revolt. A few days later (March 1) the House assented without a division to a supplementary estimate of 385,000*l.* for distribution among the Irish loyalists.

At the same time a further transfer of British money to Ireland was made by a Bill which bound the Government to supply the deficiencies in the Northern Ireland Unemployment Insurance Fund. Labour members did not object to British money being used to maintain the benefits of Irish workpeople, but they protested against the money being granted as a gift, and not as a loan, and saw in this another instance of Tory favouritism towards Ulster. It happened that just at this time the Government had undertaken to repatriate at face value the British silver coins circulating in the Free State, in order that that country might have its own silver coinage; and Mr. Churchill adroitly took advantage of this fact to claim that the Government bestowed its favours impartially on the two Irish States.

The report of the Hilton Young Commission, which had been appointed in the previous year to study conditions in East and Central Africa, was published in February. The Commission was hostile to the more extreme claims of the white settlers in Kenya, and its report was therefore viewed with favour by the Labour Party. The Government, when challenged in a debate in the House of Lords on March 13, refused to pass any opinion on it. Soon after they announced their intention of sending out a high official of the Colonial Office to East Africa on what was called a "consultative mission." The Labour Party saw in this step a device for getting round the report and protested against it. The Government, however, maintained that they had no such design, and persisted in their intention.

The issue of the public versus the private ownership of public utility services, which had just been decided in the case of the cables (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, pp. 106, 107), again came before Parliament at this time in connexion with the London trams. After prolonged investigations, an Expert Committee had recommended that all passenger traffic in the London area should be consolidated under one body. This meant in effect that the London County Council trams should be transferred to the combine which already controlled the tubes, the district railways, and the omnibuses. After a stubborn conflict between the Socialist and the non-Socialist elements in the London County Council, that body finally declared itself willing to make

the transfer. A Bill to enable it to do so was brought forward in Parliament by a private member on February 19. The Labour Party, in accordance with its principles, determined to oppose the transference, although it did not deny the urgent need of a better co-ordination of London's traffic. It first tried to get the Bill rejected on the technical ground that it raised matters of public policy which should not be dealt with by a private Bill. After a debate lasting two days (February 21 and 26) its amendment was rejected, and the second reading of the Bill was carried by 162 votes to 110.

During February there was a sharp fall in the unemployment figures, and by the end of the month they were little higher than those for the corresponding period in 1928. In the eyes of the Labour Party, however, they still constituted a problem of the utmost gravity, and the subject was brought up by them in the House of Commons on February 27. Mr. Lloyd George made an intervention in the debate which, in the light of subsequent developments, proved highly significant. He asked the Minister of Labour whether he was authorised to make any statement as to some new plans that were to be inaugurated by the Government for the relief of unemployment, and especially for providing work for the hundreds of thousands of young men who had never yet had a job. From the Minister's reply it appeared that the Government had nothing to add to the policy outlined by Mr. Churchill in the previous autumn. He took a much less pessimistic view of the situation than his critics, pointing out that London had had the most prosperous year it had known in the last ten years, and that unemployment among boys was gradually disappearing. He admitted, however, that in the worst areas the incidence of unemployment had been correspondingly bad.

On the same day (February 27) the Prime Minister, addressing a great Conservative demonstration in Manchester on the issues of the forthcoming election, made it clear that unemployment was not the subject uppermost in the Government's mind. He based his appeal to the electors partly on the Government's record during its five years of office, partly on the danger of entrusting power to the Labour Party, which he regarded as the only possible alternative. He defined the issue between his own party and the Labour Party as that of private enterprise against nationalisation, and maintained that the former meant prosperity and the latter disaster. All the Socialist promises of further material benefits for the mass of the people depended on further increases in taxation which would fall over industry and cripple it. There was no quick cure for poverty and unemployment.

In attempting thus to fix the issue of the election, Mr. Baldwin soon proved to have reckoned without the leader of the Liberal

Party. Immediately after the Manchester speech, Mr. Lloyd George made on behalf of the Liberal Party a startling claim which soon arrested public attention almost to the exclusion of other topics. Speaking at a great rally of Liberal candidates, peers, and members of the House of Commons, on March 1, he gave a definite and emphatic pledge that if a Liberal Government was installed after the election—a prospect which he did not hesitate to envisage—it would solve the unemployment problem. They were, he said, ready with schemes of work which they could put immediately into operation, and which would reduce the terrible figures of the workless in the course of a single year to normal proportions, and that without adding a penny to the local or national taxation. Mr. George proceeded to give details of the manner in which he would make good this remarkable boast; briefly it was by reorganising the road system of the country, developing the telephone service, clearing away slums, and increasing the number of small-holdings.

Close on the heels of Mr. George's pledge came the issue of a sixpenny pamphlet entitled "We can Conquer Unemployment," and setting forth in detail the Liberal plans already outlined by Mr. George. In a preface Mr. George explained that the report was the work of a committee set up some time before to develop the proposals of the "Yellow Book," and to put into practical shape for immediate action specific schemes of national development. The chief of these was the building of new roads and bridges which was to find employment for 350,000 men within a twelvemonth, while as many more would be provided for by a number of other schemes—housing, telephone development, etc. The report asserted that there would be no difficulty in raising a loan of 200,000,000*l.* on the security of the Road Fund, and declared the readiness of the Liberal Party to attack the problem "in the same spirit as the emergencies of the war."

Mr. George's pledge was immediately endorsed by that section of the Liberal Party which habitually accepted his leadership, and by a large proportion of those who did not. Spokesmen of the other parties derided it as merely another example of Mr. George's levity, and insinuated that even he would never have given such a promise had he not been certain that he would never be called upon to fulfil his words. At first they treated his actual proposals with similar disdain. They soon found, however, that the general public was taking an immense interest in them, and they changed their tune accordingly. At first both Conservative and Labour speakers criticised the proposals severely as impracticable; on further examination Labour speakers found that they bore a remarkable likeness to schemes which they had themselves long been advocating in a less definite form, and they then turned round and began to accuse the Liberals of stealing a leaf out of their book. Mr. George answered his critics in a speech

which he delivered to a crowded audience at the Albert Hall on March 26, and which was also heard by large gatherings in a dozen other towns to which it was relayed. He affirmed that his scheme was meant to be taken quite seriously, and was no mere electioneering stunt. If the Liberal Party were not given the opportunity of putting it into operation, the other parties would have to do so.

The Army Estimates for 1929-30 amounted to 32,330,000*l.*, about half a million less than in the preceding year. The reduction was due to further economies in the administration of the Army. In the House of Commons debate on the Estimate on February 28, the Minister for War pointed out that, while in the past five years Great Britain had reduced her military expenditure by about four millions, or 11 per cent., other Great Powers had increased theirs by greater and even much greater amounts—the United States by eight millions, Italy by ten millions, Germany by five millions, and France by twenty-four millions. In face of that fact the Government did not see how it could make at Geneva proposals for disarmament which would carry any weight at all. The Minister reported that the mechanisation of the Army was making steady progress, and that this process, which had scarcely yet begun in 1921, now covered every branch of the Service in varying degrees. He also reported that recruiting for the Territorial Army was good, and seemed to have got over the setback caused by the reduction of the bonus a couple of years before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 21).

The Air Estimates this year reached a net total of 16,200,000*l.*, a reduction of 50,000*l.* on those of 1928. The Minister for Air in introducing them (March 7), stated that seven new squadrons had been added in the past year, bringing the total up to eighty-two. Even so, Britain's strength was considerably below that of certain other Powers, and they were still twenty-one squadrons short of the fifty-two which he regarded as the minimum required for Home Defence and Imperial Reserve. He announced that he had at length obtained the requisite facilities from all the countries over which the proposed air route to India would pass, *viz.*, France, Italy, Greece, Egypt, and Persia, and that the service would start in a few weeks (as it actually did). One of the outstanding features in the Estimates was a grant to a private company called the National Flying Services Company for the purpose of promoting civil aviation. The company in return for the grant promised to provide twenty new aerodromes and eighty new landing places, and so ensure flying facilities for cities and districts that did not yet possess them. The Minister stated that again in the past twelve months the Air Force had shown itself a most humane and efficient instrument for ensuring peace and security in various parts of the Empire, notably in Iraq. It was also most economical; by means of

the Air Force an expedition in Aden had been carried out at a cost of 8,500*l.*, whereas under the old conditions, perhaps 6,000,000*l.* would have been necessary.

In the debate which followed, it was acknowledged on all hands that the money allotted to the Air Force was being used to the best advantage. Doubts were expressed, however, as to whether the sum itself was the right one. Conservative speakers were disappointed that there was to be no debate on defence in general in which the question of the proportionate amounts to be allotted to the three arms might be thrashed out; they suspected that the Army and Navy were taking more than their due share. Labour members wanted to know why no attempts had been made to come to an agreement with Britain's powerful neighbours for a reduction of air armaments. The answer given was that such proposals would come with the best chance of success from the Power which was strongest in the weapons concerned; Great Britain, as the only power which had consistently kept its Air Estimates for the past five years below those of 1924-25, could not make the first advances.

In presenting the Naval Estimates (March 13), which were for 55,865,000*l.*, the First Lord of the Admiralty took credit on behalf of the Government for having again effected a substantial reduction on the Estimates for the previous year—1,435,000*l.* He pointed out that the naval expenditure was now 27,500,000*l.* less than it had been in 1914, allowing for the decline in the value of money, and he took this as a proof that the country was doing all that could be reasonably expected of it in the direction of disarmament. He scouted all idea of competition with America. Whatever shipbuilding either country was doing was for the purpose of defence and insurance against risk. Nevertheless, he admitted that further reduction was desirable in the interest not so much of peace as of economy; and therefore they were still prepared, as in the past, to listen to any proposals that might be made, reserving to themselves only the right to protect their insular position and their Imperial responsibilities.

A Labour amendment was moved by Sir O. Mosley urging the Government to adopt a more determined and well-considered policy for securing international agreement on naval disarmament. He said that 55,000,000*l.* a year was surely a great insurance sum to pay against a risk which did not exist. He believed that there could be no greater risk than that caused by drifting on in the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust of the present situation. The Government by giving a lead could transform international psychology and do something to restore the nation to the position which it had lost in the last few years. Mr. Bridgeman in reply reiterated his contention that the Government had done everything which it thought possible towards the object which the motion had in view. He also pointed out that in its doctrine of

the country's requirements the Government was merely following in the footsteps of the Labour Government of 1924. The amendment was rejected by 145 votes to 69.

On March 7 an influential deputation representing all users and makers of motor vehicles and all branches of the motor trade waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to urge him to reduce substantially the taxation on motor vehicles. It was contended that if this were done, the motor industry would be able to expand considerably, to the great advantage of the community as a whole. Mr. Churchill chose to regard the request as a selfish one, made for the purpose of enriching still further an industry which was already highly prosperous. He held out no prospect of any remission of taxation, nor would he countenance the idea of borrowing great sums of money for purposes of road improvement. The motoring community took the reply in very bad part, and like the farmers and the bookmakers threatened reprisals at election time.

At the same time the Government increased discontent by failing to protect their interests in another direction. Early in March the price of petrol was raised $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ a gallon by the companies controlling the supply. This increase, coming on top of the petrol tax, was felt by the motoring community as a severe grievance which was not to be endured without an emphatic protest. As one party to the petrol combine was the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., on the board of which the Government had two directors, the Government was also charged with neglecting the interests of motorists. Mr. Baldwin explained in the House of Commons (March 7) that the Government had no control over the commercial management of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. At the same time, however, he laid down the principle—somewhat unexpectedly for so thoroughgoing an individualist—that a group of undertakings controlling the supply of an article in common use had a duty to supply the public at a reasonable price, and that the public had a right to be satisfied that its terms were reasonable.

As the marketing of oil products fell within this category, the Government invited the oil companies concerned to explain the reasons of the increase. Their reply was that for many months consumers in the United Kingdom had procured petrol at prices which were not “world prices,” because of the imports of cheap oil from Soviet Russia. Arrangements had now been made, however, to terminate the price war with that country, so that in future prices in England also would be dictated from the Gulf of Mexico. Shortly afterwards (March 26) the Prime Minister reported that the Government had examined the statement of the oil companies, and were satisfied that the prices charged to consumers in Great Britain were not above the parity of world prices, and that the recent increases did not involve any discrimination against Great Britain. No action would therefore be taken by the Government.

In the discussion on the English Local Government Bill in the House of Lords (February-March) considerable attention was paid to the question of the position of voluntary hospitals under the Bill. Lord Dawson of Penn, the King's physician, urged that better provision should be made for safeguarding the voluntary hospitals, which in his opinion were of invaluable service to the nation, against the competition of municipal institutions, and for securing closer consultation between the local authorities and the general practitioners. The Government received his suggestions sympathetically, and put down amendments to give them effect.

The Local Government Bill for Scotland passed its third reading on March 11 without substantial alteration from its original form. As in the English Bill, some important new provisions had been introduced on the financial side in favour of the local authorities and at the expense of the Exchequer. Thus the guarantee to every separately rated area against any increase in rates due to the scheme had been extended from one year to five, and the total period of Exchequer assistance to areas that had an increase of rates through the scheme was extended from fifteen to nineteen years. Liberal and Labour Scottish members protested that the Bill was not wanted in Scotland, and was being imposed on the country in a dictatorial fashion—in other words, by the votes of the English Conservative members. The Under-Secretary for Scotland pointed out in reply that the great cities and the County Councils were in favour of the Bill, and he would not admit that the measure was in any way undemocratic.

At the meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office on March 11, the British Government's reasons for refusing to ratify the Washington Hours Convention as it stood and desiring a revision were stated by the Minister of Labour in person. He was supported by the British employers' group at the meeting, but his arguments entirely failed to satisfy the workers' group. The attitude of the British Government also found no sympathy with the representatives of almost all the other Governments. Nevertheless, the Minister remained firm, and if he could not bring the majority over to his view, he as little showed any disposition to fall into line with them.

For this obstructionist policy he was duly taken to task by the Labour Party in the House of Commons soon afterwards (March 21). Mr. Shaw once more charged the Government with having broken its pledges and with acting as the tool of the Federation of Employers. In answer to a Conservative challenge, he asserted that if he were called to office he would certainly ratify the Convention as it stood, only adding explanations on the lines of the London Conference. The Minister of Labour maintained that the necessity for a revision of the Convention was recognised even by the bulk of the Trade Union leaders themselves. The

Government was anxious that, so far as Great Britain was concerned, there should be no opposition in this matter between employers and workers. He had therefore consulted both sides regularly and on an equal footing ; and he took credit to himself for having brought the employers round to a willingness to accept the Convention if it could be made workable.

On March 13 the Government asked the House of Commons for money with which to redeem its promise of adding pound for pound to the Miners' Relief Fund (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 115). By the previous Saturday the Lord Mayor's Fund had amounted to 752,000*l.* The Minister of Education, who acted for the Government in this matter, stated that up to March 12 the Joint Committee in London had issued a total of 493,456*l.* to the divisional committees which were carrying out the actual relief work. As a result of their labours it could be said that in all the areas where relief was being given there was no reason why any child in the schools should be inadequately shod or clothed or nourished. Labour members complained that the rate of relief was not fast enough, and found various faults with the methods of distribution, but they naturally offered no opposition to the grant.

Shortly afterwards (March 24) it was announced that the Lord Mayor's Fund would soon be closed. It was not pretended that the need for further contributions no longer existed, but the Lord Mayor expressed himself as apprehensive lest the continued diversion of money to this fund might have an injurious effect on other forthcoming appeals which were equally urgent.

At the last meeting before the Easter recess (March 26) the Opposition in the House of Commons sought to obtain the abolition of the death penalty for cowardice, one of the few offences for which it was still retained. The Army authorities were opposed to this concession on the ground that cowardice on the part of an individual was dangerous to his comrades, and the Government upheld them in this view. The amendment was negatived by 174 votes to 78.

The Report of the Royal Commission on police powers and procedure, which had been set up in the previous year in consequence of the outcry caused by the Savidge case, was issued on March 24. The Commission, it said, had formed a very favourable opinion of the conduct, tone, and efficiency of the police service as a whole. There was very little evidence of misconduct on the part of the police in the investigation of crimes and offences, and the existing safeguards made it impossible for such misconduct to remain long undetected or unchecked. Corruption was not unknown in the police, but its extent had been greatly exaggerated. Little support was found for the charge that the police were more arbitrary and oppressive towards the

public than they had been before the war; in order, however, to remove all cause of complaint, the Commission put forward a number of suggestions for ensuring that persons arrested by the police should have perfectly fair play. As the report made no distinction between the Metropolitan police and the rest of the force, it tended to restore public confidence in that body also. Lord Byng, however, the newly-appointed head of the Metropolitan police force, pointed out in a report issued later in the year, that the police in the West End of London were exposed to peculiar temptations, and he called for volunteers in order to obtain thoroughly reliable men for service in this district.

At the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party which opened on March 30 at Carlisle the general tone of the speeches and resolutions showed that that body was still wedded to a much more militant form of Socialism than the official brand of the Labour Party. Mr. Maxton was elected Chairman for the fourth year in succession. Some Labour M.P.'s who attended the conference found themselves placed in an embarrassing position by a resolution carried on the third day instructing members of the I.L.P. in Parliament to vote against all war credits. Mr. Shinwell protested vigorously that the I.L.P. was usurping the functions of the Labour Party Executive, and Mr. Maxton only pacified him by an assurance that the resolution would not be pressed.

An unofficial attempt which was made at this time to improve British trade with Russia aroused considerable public interest, but produced only negative results. On March 25 a delegation consisting of over a hundred business men left England for Moscow to examine for themselves the possibilities of trade with Russia. They convinced themselves of the potentialities of the Russian market, but found that there was little prospect of obtaining orders on any large scale unless a substantial British loan were first advanced to the Soviet Government. This was a course which they would not venture to recommend. Most of them, however, were of opinion that British trade with Russia might benefit considerably by a renewal of the Trade Agreement.

During the first three months of the year no fewer than nine by-elections took place, all for seats formerly held by Conservatives. Three were won by Labour candidates and two by Liberals, and the rest were held by the Conservatives with greatly reduced majorities. The Conservative polls in fact showed an average decline of over a third as compared with those of 1924. It was obvious from the by-elections that the "swing of the pendulum" in public opinion had gathered momentum in the course of the last twelve months. But the most striking fact revealed by them was that the Liberal Party—almost by a miracle, as it seemed—had recovered from the crushing blow inflicted on it at the 1924 election, and was again a factor to be reckoned with. To all

outward appearance it was in fact scarcely less effective than it had been in 1923. The need for a third party in British politics had proved stronger than most people had imagined.

While spending the Easter vacation in Italy, Sir Austen Chamberlain took the opportunity of renewing his friendship with Signor Mussolini by a personal greeting. The subject of their conversation was not made public, but it was commonly assumed to have turned largely on the possibility of an improvement in Franco-Italian relations, an object which the British Foreign Secretary had much at heart. For this the Opposition parties could find no fault with him, but his obvious partiality for the Duce, and its equally obvious reciprocation, did not tend to make him more popular with them.

The accounts for the year 1928-29 closed on March 30 with a surplus of 18,394,463*l.*, revenue (including the Post Office and Road Fund) having been 836,434,988*l.* and expenditure 818,040,525*l.* Mr. Churchill had again been favoured by the death duties, which had exceeded the estimate by over 8,000,000*l.* Income tax had also been above the estimate, by 4,700,000*l.*, but customs and excise had fallen below it by 8,400,000*l.*, and super-tax also had failed to reach expectations by 3,800,000*l.* As in every previous year of his Chancellorship, Mr. Churchill proved to have seriously under-estimated the amount required for interest on the national debt, this time by over 7,000,000*l.* This left him only 57,500,000*l.* to apply to the redemption of the debt instead of 65,000,000*l.*; and even of this sum 13,200,000*l.* was furnished not by income but by the surplus of the currency notes account (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 46) which was only a nominal asset.

CHAPTER II.

THE BUDGET AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

DURING the Easter recess the election campaign began in earnest. Although the exact date of the dissolution had not yet been announced, most candidates judged it high time to take the field, political activity became rife in the constituencies, and the spate of oratory commenced to gather strength. In the efforts of parties to get into touch with the electorate, the uses of the wireless service were naturally not overlooked. The British Broadcasting Company, with the consent of the Postmaster-General, had declared itself ready to accept any arrangement which the three parties might come to among themselves for the allocation of time at the microphone. The Government claimed the right to reply separately to each of the other parties. The Opposition would not agree, and negotiations were broken

off. The B.B.C. then took matters into its own hands, and announced that it would allow eight speeches to be delivered by party leaders up to the time of the dissolution of Parliament, four being allotted to the Ministerialists and two to each of the other parties. The first of the addresses was given by Sir L. Worthington-Evans on April 8, and he was followed on behalf of the Conservatives by Mr. Churchill, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Neville Chamberlain. Mr. Henderson and Mr. Snowden spoke for the Labour Party, and Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Herbert Samuel for the Liberals.

The Liberals on this occasion stood forth as a genuine third party, untrammelled by any pact or arrangement with either of the other parties. Here and there a local Liberal Association may have combined with the Conservatives "to keep the Socialist out," or with the Labour Party "to put the Progressive in"; but such cases were exceptional. A typical example of the determination of the Liberals to fight as an independent party was afforded by their action in North Bristol. The sitting member for this constituency, Captain Guest, though calling himself a Liberal, had habitually voted with the Government during the last four years on the ground of the necessity of Liberals and Conservatives uniting against Socialism. He now desired to stand again as a Liberal, and was actually adopted by the Executive of the local association. The rank and file, however, formed a new association, which chose an opposition Liberal candidate; and it was their nomination which secured the official support of the party headquarters. Sir Herbert Samuel, speaking at Bristol on April 12, said that Captain Guest's conduct in Parliament had done infinite harm to Liberalism, and tended to throw doubt on the sincerity of the Liberal Party. It made impossible unity and effective action in the House of Commons, and they could not permit it to be continued into the Parliament about to be elected.

The antipathy which a great many Liberals still cherished against Mr. Lloyd George personally was not allowed at this juncture to stand in the way of the party's prospects in the election. At the annual meeting on April 10 of the National Liberal Council—the organisation of the anti-Lloyd George faction—Viscount Grey of Fallodon, who was again elected president, disclaimed any idea of setting up as a rival party leader. He merely claimed for himself and his companions the right of dissociating themselves from policies which they did not like. To these was now to be added Mr. George's pledge to reduce unemployment to normal proportions within twelve months, though his general unemployment policy was declared by Lord Grey to be "absolutely right." Practically all Liberals were agreed on certain fundamental points the combination of which served to distinguish them from the other parties—free trade,

the maintenance of private enterprise, and reduction of armaments. Mr. George's unemployment pledge was also adopted by the great majority as a rallying cry, whatever may have been their private opinion of its feasibility.

A notable propagandist effort on behalf of the Liberal Party was a tour undertaken in the latter half of April by Sir Herbert Samuel, in the course of which he journeyed from Land's End to the North of Scotland, covering some two thousand miles and making ninety speeches in seventeen days. At the close of his tour he addressed a great demonstration in the Free Trade Hall at Manchester, and gave a most encouraging account of his experiences. Everywhere, he said, he noticed a great change in the position of Liberalism. Meetings were crowded and enthusiastic, and the tone was entirely different from what it had been for many years previously. He even considered it not at all impossible that the Liberals in the next Parliament might be more numerous than the Conservatives.

Parliament reassembled on April 15, and on the same day Mr. Churchill's fifth Budget was laid before a crowded and attentive House. With the General Election so near at hand, it was generally expected that the Chancellor would make some bold bid for popular favour. The Budget did indeed contain one provision which was likely to be highly acceptable to the poorer classes of the electorate. It abolished the duty on tea, for the first time since that tax had been originally imposed in the days of Queen Elizabeth. In other respects it departed little from the lines laid down in the previous year, and taken altogether it was the least exciting and least controversial of all the Budgets hitherto presented by Mr. Churchill.

If the financial programme itself could hardly be characterised as an "election" Budget, the speech in which it was introduced was obviously intended as a contribution to the electoral campaign. The first part of it was taken up with a vigorous defence of the Chancellor's stewardship of the national finances during his five years of office. Commencing, as was his wont, with a reference to the industrial disasters of 1926—"King Charles's head," as one Labour member interjected—he expressed satisfaction at the fact that the country had made up the ground then lost much more effectively than he had thought possible at the time. Looking back over the whole period of five years, he maintained that the material prosperity of the country had made a steady advance, judged either by the condition of its finances, by the volume of its trade, or by the saving and consuming power of its people. The improvement in the general position of the masses of the people was reflected most clearly in the steady increase per head in the consumption of tea and sugar—an infallible index, according to the Gladstonian tradition. The Government had contributed to this improvement in various

ways. One was by practising economy. The reductions under the head of the Fighting Services and the Middle East aggregated over 7,500,000*l.* a year. On Civil Supply also a reduction of 5,500,000*l.* had been effected, in spite of the expenditure necessitated by the new Pensions Act and in spite of improved provision for health, housing, and education. The restoration of the gold standard had resulted in a decline in the cost of living of eighteen points while wages remained steady; it had also maintained at full value Britain's revenue from foreign investments, which constituted the keystone in time of peace of the country's economic position. Finally, the various items of the National Debt had been reduced by sums which were equivalent on a true valuation to 175,000,000*l.* If this sum seemed hardly sufficient for four years, it should be remembered that the period had been one of enormous maturities in respect of National War Bonds and other bonds, and also that the Treasury Bill Rate on the floating debt had been persistently higher than was anticipated. In further reviewing his achievements, Mr. Churchill did not forget to point out that he had remitted 41,000,000*l.* of income tax and 4,000,000*l.* on sugar. He also maintained that his duty on artificial silk imports, which had caused such a storm of controversy when he introduced it in 1926, had been highly beneficial both to the revenue and to the industry.

In forecasting the revenue of the coming year, Mr. Churchill, as usual, had some interesting remarks to make about the financial results of the past year. Commenting on the fact that there was a shortfall in the revenue from beer of 7,350,000*l.* and from wine of 650,000*l.*, he observed that the movement towards greater temperance appeared to be general among all classes, and dwelt with complacency on "the results of regulated freedom corrected by high taxation compared with those which had flowed elsewhere from prohibition tempered by bootlegging." He triumphantly pointed out to Mr. Snowden that, contrary to the latter's prediction, the farthing remission which he had made in the sugar excise had reached the consumer, and had even been reinforced after a few months by another farthing (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 67). The new oil tax, which had yielded 800,000*l.* above the estimate, had proved extremely easy to collect, and had not checked the rapidly increasing use of petrol so much as they had allowed for. Stamps, through the flotation of new companies, had yielded 2,000,000*l.* more than the Estimate and 3,000,000*l.* more than in 1927. Mr. Churchill was, however, wise enough to see that this Stock Exchange activity was largely the result of sheer speculation, and could not be reckoned upon to continue.

Coming to the Budget proper, Mr. Churchill estimated the expenditure for the coming year—apart from the self-balancing

expenditure of the Post Office and Road Fund—at a total of 741,964,000*l.* The debt service was again put at 355,000,000*l.*, made up of 304,600,000*l.* for interest, and 50,400,000*l.* for sinking fund. Supply Services took 347,500,000*l.*, and in addition 15,500,000*l.* was assigned to rating relief. Revenue on the basis of the existing year's taxation he estimated at 753,940,000*l.* This gave him ostensibly a prospective surplus of 11,976,000*l.* In fact, however, he could not count on quite so much, as one of last year's taxes had already been earmarked for abolition. This was the betting turnover tax, which Mr. Churchill now admitted had been a fiasco in consequence of the "volatile and elusive nature of the betting population." On the other hand, he was able to exclude from the rating relief the brewers, distillers, and tobacco manufacturers, who had declared themselves prosperous enough to do without it, so that on the balance his prospective surplus was not materially reduced.

With this money in hand, Mr. Churchill felt justified in making certain remissions. Chief among these was the abolition of the tea tax, which he estimated would cost him 6,150,000*l.* In addition, he felt able to bring into operation at once the remission of agricultural rates, instead of waiting till October, as originally intended. These concessions, along with one or two more of minor importance, brought his revenue down to 826,680,000*l.*, including the self-balancing accounts, and left him with a final estimated surplus of 4,096,000*l.* to provide against emergencies. In addition he kept in reserve the Suspensory Fund of 22,600,000*l.*, made up of the surpluses of the previous two years, to finance the rating relief scheme in the coming years.

In regard to the assistance of industry, Mr. Churchill did not go beyond his de-rating scheme of the previous year. Instead of offering any new suggestion of his own for the relief of unemployment, he delivered a trenchant criticism of Mr. Lloyd George's scheme. He adopted what he called the orthodox Treasury view, that the Government could not borrow two hundred millions in the open market without adversely affecting industry. He was also sceptical—again on the authority of the Treasury—as to whether additional employment could in fact be created by State borrowing and State expenditure. In raising these objections Mr. Churchill was voicing general Conservative opinion. He expressed a view more personal to himself when he condemned the scheme on the ground that the English road system was good enough already, and that a too rapid development of it would injuriously affect the railways.

On the next day, in the general debate on the Budget, Mr. Snowden delivered the Labour rejoinder to Mr. Churchill's apologia. In a cold and business-like style, which contrasted strongly with the Chancellor's scintillating rhetoric, he discussed the latter's record point by point and found it wanting in every particular.

He denied in the first place that the country had made any advance in material prosperity under the Conservative administration. The Chancellor had asserted that trade had improved ; the answer was that exports for the past month were $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. lower than for the corresponding month in the previous year. He had repeated the favourite statement of Tory speakers, that there were more persons employed than five years previously. He had forgotten, however, to add that in the meanwhile the population of the country had increased by a million, so that in fact there was a larger proportion seeking work. He had stated that wages had maintained their level ; the truth was that in 1928 they had fallen by 142,000*l.* a week. He had stated that there was an increase in the national savings ; in point of fact, more money had been withdrawn in the last year from the Savings Certificates than was put in. Of course he could always lay the blame for any setback on the general strike and the coal stoppage ; but it was the Tory Government itself which had provoked these disasters.

After scornfully pointing out Mr. Churchill's complete failure to redeem his early promises of reducing the national expenditure, Mr. Snowden applied his severest strictures to the Chancellor's treatment of the National Debt. He had, it was true, secured this year an apparent surplus of 18,000,000*l.*, but it was by methods which even *The Times* described as "concealed burglary and open robbery." He claimed to have provided 57,500,000*l.* last year for the Sinking Fund, but it was only by including 13,200,000*l.* from the Currency Reserve Account which was already in the Sinking Fund, and some 8,000,000*l.* from other sources to which he had equally little right. Thus his real provision for the Fund was 14,000,000*l.* less than his obligations for loans. Hence in the last year, and in fact in every one of his Budgets except the first, he had had a real deficit on revenue for the year as compared with expenditure. No wonder that he could not convert at a higher figure than was possible five years before. His record as Chancellor of the Exchequer consisted of increased taxation, no reduction of debt, and no reduction of interest.

To complete his indictment, Mr. Snowden passed in review the debt settlements made by Mr. Churchill with France and Italy, and contrasted them unfavourably with the settlements made by the same countries with America. In the course of his remarks he gave vent to his long-cherished antipathy against the Balfour Note by referring to that document as "infamous," and stating that the Labour Party would hold itself at liberty, if the circumstances arose, to repudiate its conditions. Before he could go further, Mr. Churchill interrupted him to point out that such a word, coming from a man in his position, was dangerous, and might even jeopardise the payments which were then being made, and on which they were counting in that year. Mr. Snowden, however, refused to withdraw anything.

In the subsequent debate, the Chancellor found a warm defender in Sir R. Horne, who saw nothing wrong even in the raiding of the Sinking Fund. On the other hand, Mr. Runciman, who was the chief speaker for the Liberals, joined in Mr. Snowden's condemnation of the Chancellor's financial methods, to which he attributed the high rate of interest at which the Government had to borrow. From all sides there was a chorus of praise for the remission of the tea duty. A number of Conservative speakers exclaimed against Mr. Snowden's repudiation of the Balfour Note, which, according to Sir E. Young, was regarded at Geneva as "the fixed rock in a world of financial instability."

Mr. Snowden's *obiter dictum* was given great prominence by the Press, and the Government immediately made plans for extracting from it the maximum amount of political capital. On the next day (April 17) Sir L. Worthington-Evans, in replying to the debate on behalf of the Government, concluded his speech by reading Mr. Snowden a severe lecture on the attitude he had taken up towards the debt settlement. The fundamental principle of the Balfour Note—that Britain should take no more from Europe than she required to pay her own obligations to the United States—had, he said, come to be recognised throughout Europe as a just and unchallengeable principle. It was the foundation of their policy towards the Expert Inquiry then proceeding in Paris, from which they were hoping so much for the appeasement of Europe. It was surely, therefore, a "wanton and reckless act" on the part of Mr. Snowden and his party now to threaten to repudiate the principle on which every forward step towards European reconstruction and peace had been taken. He asked Mr. MacDonald to state formally whether this constituted the official policy of the Labour Party.

Mr. Snowden at once protested energetically that his meaning had been misrepresented. He was certainly in favour of repudiating the debt settlements, but only if the circumstances arose which rendered such a course feasible, that is to say, if the settlements came up for revision, as he felt sure they would before many years. As he refused to retract anything that he had said on the previous day, Mr. Churchill still insisted that he harboured sinister designs against Britain's debtors, and along with Sir A. Chamberlain, he called upon Mr. MacDonald to give a more unequivocal assurance that England would not break her word. The Leader of the Opposition with some heat accused the Chancellor of the Exchequer of trying to make a "stunt" out of Mr. Snowden's remark in order to cover the failure of the Budget. There could of course be no question of a Labour Government repudiating agreements except under conditions under which all agreements might be revised and new ones made; and he refused to believe that his colleague had meant anything different.

For some little time after this debate in Parliament the question of the debt settlement promised to become one of the major issues at the election. Mr. Snowden declared the next day that he welcomed the public attention which, without seeking to do so, he had directed to the matter, because he was convinced that when the people realised the shameful nature of the transactions to which he had referred, they would consider them not the least of the counts against the Government. The Ministerialists on their side took up the challenge, and one after another expressed reprobation of Mr. Snowden's declaration. Before long, however, both parties discovered that they were tactically on unsafe ground. The stand taken by Mr. Snowden on behalf of British interests elicited the approval even of many Conservatives who had been hard hit by the stabilisation of the franc at a fifth of its pre-war value. On the other hand, Mr. MacDonald was alarmed by the bad impression which Mr. Snowden's remark had created in France, and he did not wish to estrange still further French public opinion. Consequently after a short time the subject was dropped by both sides.

After having almost completely died down, the controversy was revived momentarily by a motion brought forward on May 2 by Lord Birkenhead in the House of Lords, affirming Britain's adherence to the Balfour Note. Contrary to general expectation, Lord Birkenhead studiously refrained from being provocative, and while taking Mr. Snowden to task for using disrespectful language towards the Note and towards Britain's Ally, he did not impugn his integrity. He even showed a secret sympathy with the Labour view by glancing obliquely at America for not having shown the generosity which England had half expected from her and which she herself had extended to her debtors. Lord Parmoor on behalf of the Labour Party disclaimed any intention of repudiating the debt settlement unless the other parties to it agreed, and made it clear that they differed from the Conservatives only in feeling more acutely the burdens which it laid upon Britain and being more anxious to alleviate them.

From the electioneering point of view, the Budget was a disappointment to the Conservative Party. The remission of the tea duty was recognised as a popular move, but it was considered barely sufficient of itself to offset the failure to reduce income tax or effect economies, and there was nothing further to add to it, as the de-rating scheme of the previous year had brought no access of popularity to the Conservatives. Their one hope of creating a wave of enthusiasm now lay in the speech which the Prime Minister, according to party arrangements, was to make on Conservative aims and policy at the present juncture. He had originally intended to reserve such a speech for the closing days of the Parliament, but in response to a pressing request from the party headquarters he delivered it on April 18,

on the occasion of a Conservative meeting in the City of London.

In this speech Mr. Baldwin described in detail the programme on which the Conservative Party would go to the country in the forthcoming election. Dealing first with unemployment, he tried to show that the evil, while undoubtedly serious, was amenable to a much less heroic treatment than that proposed by Mr. Lloyd George. Since the catastrophe of 1926 a new spirit had entered into industry, a spirit of co-operation between the two factors, the results of which were commencing to be visible in a recovery by Britain of her competitive power in the world's markets and a definite improvement in trade. Provided there were no sudden reversal or alteration of industrial policy in the country, he was sure that progress would be maintained and unemployment would continue to fall automatically. The task of the Government was therefore not to use palliatives but to get men into permanent employment, a task which would be rendered easier during the next few years by the fact that, in consequence of the decline in the birth-rate during the war, there would be several hundred thousand fewer entrants into industry than was customary. The Conservative policy would be to go on with the measures which the Government had already initiated in this field—the facilitating of emigration, the training of juveniles, the transference of workers, and the training of men in new kinds of work ; also de-rating and safeguarding for the stimulation of trade.

Mr. Baldwin admitted that in not passing a Factories Act the Government had failed to redeem a definite pledge. He laid the blame on the dislocation in the Government's programme caused by the industrial troubles of 1926, and promised that the deficiency should be made good if the Conservatives were returned to power. They would also ratify the Washington Hours Convention, but only on condition that its meaning should be placed beyond dispute and that they could be reasonably sure of its being kept in the letter and the spirit by other countries also. In regard to agriculture, the condition of which was still causing anxiety, the two most thoroughgoing remedies proposed—Protection and subsidies—were both ruled out of court, but within the limits thus imposed the Government would continue to give assistance by small but useful measures, such as using British meat only for the Army and Navy during six months in the year.

Three other objects were mentioned by Mr. Baldwin as standing in the forefront of the Conservative programme—the clearance of slums, the promotion of technical education, and the improvement of the provision for maternity welfare. Adding to these a promise to assist the self-governing Dominions in financing their development schemes, he claimed for the Conservative policy that it was one of sobriety which they would

be able to see through, to the benefit of the trade, the health, and the education of the nation.

If the Budget failed to stimulate Conservative hopes, Mr. Baldwin's programme speech actually depressed them. In the Stock Exchange betting on the election results, Conservative stock immediately fell four points. Not only did Mr. Baldwin disappoint his friends, but he furnished ammunition to his opponents. In the course of one of his speeches at this time, wishing to show the progress that British trade was making, he stated with great solemnity that, according to information he had received, British farmers were commencing to export broccoli to the Continent. The anti-climax was unmistakable, and for some time after a reference to broccoli was a favourite device of Opposition speakers for raising a laugh against the Government.

A week later (April 25) Mr. Baldwin again expounded his policy to a large audience at Bristol. On this occasion he considered the question of what would happen if the election produced a result similar to that of 1923. If that occurred, he said, he thought the Liberals would be logically bound to put the Socialists in power again. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Milford Haven a couple of days later, repudiated the idea emphatically. He insisted that the Liberals were as strongly anti-Socialist as the Conservatives, and said that they would in no circumstances repeat the experiment of 1924. On the other hand, the Liberals could not place confidence in a Tory administration. It would therefore be Mr. Baldwin's duty, supposing there were an anti-Socialist majority in the House, to find some alternative to a Socialist administration.

While the Labour leaders did not disclaim the label of "Socialist" attached to them by the members of the other parties, they seemed to be studiously anxious not to obtrude their Socialistic ideas on the notice of the electors. Addressing a great Labour demonstration at the Albert Hall on April 27, Mr. MacDonald outlined for his party a programme to which many non-Socialists could have subscribed without difficulty. Like the other party leaders, he placed the question of unemployment in the forefront, and he proposed a method of dealing with it which bore some striking resemblances to that put forward by the Liberal Party. Work was to be found for the unemployed in reconditioning the transport system of the country on the basis of the new sources of power which had recently come into general use. For the better carrying out of this process a committee would be formed which, comprising the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the President of the Board of Trade, and the Minister of Labour as a nucleus, would co-ordinate the Government Departments chiefly concerned with Labour problems. The Committee would be for industrial problems what the

Committee of Imperial Defence was for military and naval problems, and like it would work through sub-committees on which experts would be co-opted; it would be a "thinking brain for an industrial State." Another cardinal point of a Labour Government's policy in regard to labour would be to give the utmost support to the International Labour Office in Geneva. Next to the unemployment problem, the cause of international peace would claim the attention of a Labour Government, and an essential part of their foreign policy would be the renewal of diplomatic relations with Russia. They would also try to settle the question of the freedom of the seas. Superfluous wealth would be taxed, but the idea that they would lay waste the land was only a nightmare.

Mr. MacDonald's speech was closely followed by the issue of the Labour Party's election programme (April 30), containing those items in "Labour and the Nation" which a Labour Administration would put into effect in the lifetime of the next Parliament. Its tone was studiously moderate; it opened with a declaration that the Labour Party was opposed to force, revolution, and confiscation; and it contained scarcely anything which could be called more definitely Socialistic than Mr. Lloyd George's programme. In fact the leaders of the Labour Party had by now almost ceased to maintain that their programme differed essentially from that of the Liberals, and they sought support rather by proclaiming themselves as being more in earnest than the Liberals, and by pointing to Mr. Lloyd George's shocking record of broken pledges. Their taunts produced from Mr. George a declaration that he was not responsible for the two broken pledges which were most frequently cast in his teeth—to make Germany pay for the war, and to make England a land fit for heroes. For the former catchword, it appeared, not he but Mr. Barnes was responsible, while the latter had been enunciated by him not as a pledge but as an exhortation. Mr. George's statements were not called in question; but his reputation for instability was too firmly established with the Labour Party to be shaken by such disclaimers.

In the prosecution of the campaign, one of the misdeeds most frequently brought up by Opposition speakers against the Government in general and the Prime Minister in particular was the unfavourable settlement of the American debt made in 1922. Speaking at a dinner of the British Bankers' Association on April 30, Mr. Baldwin took the opportunity to reply to his critics. He pointed out that if the debt had not been funded when it was, interest would have become payable at the rate of 50,000,000*l.* per annum, which was much more than they were actually paying both for interest and redemption. They might have gone on letting the interest accrue, but in that case they would never have made any progress in restoring either the

currencies of Europe or the credit of the City of London. It was owing to the restoration of the gold standard and the financial policy they had adopted that the credit of the City of London now stood as high throughout the world as it had ever stood.

In token of his complete recovery from his long and serious illness, the King on April 22 issued to the Press a letter of thanks to his people throughout the Empire and to countless well-wishers in other lands for the solicitude which they had displayed. It had, he said, been a great encouragement to him to feel that his constant desire to gain the confidence and affection of his people had been granted. Also the generous sympathy shown to him by unknown friends in many other countries had kindled in him the hope that the national anxieties of all the peoples would soon be felt as a common source of human sympathy and a common claim on human friendship.

The King's message produced an interesting sequel. An anonymous donor, desiring, as he said, to give expression to the relief and gratitude which he shared with all His Majesty's loyal subjects, offered, through the King's private secretary, the sum of 100,000 guineas to the King Edward Hospital Fund, as a cause in which the King was particularly interested. He suggested at the same time that this sum should be made the nucleus of a large thanksgiving offering. The suggestion was adopted, and the Fund benefited considerably. Arrangements were made by which contributions could be earmarked for the purchase of radium, a purpose for which the Government had shortly before made a grant of 100,000*l*.

The meeting arranged in February between the Trade Union Council and the two great employers' organisations took place on April 23 in London. Both sides were very fully represented, and the discussion lasted for several hours, the tone becoming more friendly and cordial as time went on. The spokesmen of the employers, as had been promised, explained very frankly the reasons why they had not seen their way to accept the trade union overtures to joint national discussions, or to agree to the formation of a National Industrial Council, as proposed by the Mond-Turner Conference. The objections, it appeared, were largely technical, arising out of the separate functions of the two organisations, and the fear that the conciliation boards proposed under the scheme might trench on the ground already covered by the conciliation machinery of the different industries. There was no hostility in principle on the part of the employers to co-operation with the T.U.C., only the means proposed by the Mond Conference did not seem the right way of reaching it. The trade union speakers on their side recognised the difficulties of the employers, but appealed to them not to let slip the opportunity which had been created by the conference. The

ultimate fruit of the meeting was a resolution recommending the formation of a committee composed of representatives of the three organisations to examine the best methods of consultation and co-operation between them, and to report to a further meeting of the conference to be held at some future date.

The report of the Select Committee appointed by the House of Lords to examine Lord Cecil's Bill for regulating motor traffic (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 116) was issued on April 22. The Committee found the proposals of the Bill wholly unacceptable, as not being calculated to prevent the evils against which it was aimed. The report, which was almost wholly negative in character, brought out the great difficulty of combating the dangers of motor traffic by legislation. Still, the Committee was convinced that something should be done, and it urged the Minister of Transport to bring in his own Road Traffic Bill without delay. Nothing daunted, Lord Cecil, who regarded the Select Committee as biased in favour of motorists, reintroduced his Bill a few days later with certain amendments designed to meet the objections of the Select Committee. Lord Birkenhead, without passing an opinion on the merits of the Bill, deprecated the idea of the House considering new legislation in the closing days of the session, and Lord Londonderry promised that if the Conservatives were returned to power, the Government would itself introduce a Bill—which certainly would not be Lord Cecil's Bill—to deal with the question. The Bill was then rejected by a large majority.

A new opportunity of reopening discussions with America on the naval question was furnished by the speech of Mr. Gibson at Geneva on April 22, in which he declared that the United States would agree to any reduction of naval armaments, however drastic, provided that no category of vessel was left unrestricted. The Government on this occasion did not close its ears, as it had done to the approaches of the American Ambassador six months earlier. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs declared in Parliament on April 24 that the Government attached great importance to Mr. Gibson's statement, and shared to the full the hopes and wishes of the United States. They regarded the suggestions now made by Mr. Gibson as more elastic than those put forward by the American delegation at Geneva two years previously, and as therefore opening up new possibilities. They would therefore consider them in the same spirit in which they were made, and with the most sincere desire to reach complete agreement.

The Minister's cordial response to the American offer made on the friends of peace and disarmament an excellent impression, which he undid almost immediately by giving an equally warm—if not warmer—welcome to Mr. Gibson's second declaration at Geneva, conceding the French thesis in the matter of trained land reserves. In a public speech on April 27 he expressed his

gratification at the fact that Mr. Gibson had taken up in this matter the same standpoint as the British Government had taken up in the previous summer, incurring thereby unmeasured denunciation and vituperation. He now turned the tables on his critics, and cited the American decision as a proof that England, with an Army scarcely larger than a police force, should not attempt to dictate in the matter of land disarmament to the great military nations of the Continent with their different systems and different traditions.

In a debate on a vote for the Ministry of Labour (April 24), Mr. Clynes attacked the Government for its parsimony towards the unemployed. The Unemployment Grants Committee, he said, set so severe a standard that many cities where there was grave distress found themselves ineligible for Government financial assistance, and in consequence were unable to carry out the schemes they had in hand. He further described as "administrative persecution" the methods by which decisions were reached to deprive a great many men of their unemployment benefit. The expression was hotly resented by the Minister of Labour, who pointed out that the percentage of disallowances had been $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 1924, while in the past eleven months it had only been $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Mr. Clynes did not dispute the figures, but he maintained that in many cases the refusal of benefit constituted personal persecution in view of the condition of the men and the terrible suffering imposed on them by the deprivation.

In view of the imminent dissolution of Parliament, the Chancellor of the Exchequer this year had embodied his Budget proposals not in one, but in two Finance Bills, one containing the provisions which were urgent, the other dealing with matters which could be postponed till a later date. The first of these was given its second reading by the House of Commons on April 25 without a division, and almost without discussion, so preoccupied were members with the coming election. Mr. A. M. Samuel, who introduced the Bill, pointed out that while in 1913-14 indirect taxation had constituted 42 per cent. of the total tax revenue and direct taxation 58 per cent., in the current year, if they deducted taxes like those on oil, betting, silk, and the McKenna duties which though theoretically indirect were not so in practice, the proportion would be 31 per cent. and 64 per cent., the residue consisting of indeterminate taxes. The proportion of taxes on comforts and necessities had been reduced from 4.43 per cent. to 2.91 per cent., which was the lowest on record.

The closing days of Parliament were occupied with passing the departmental votes. In the debate on the vote for the Colonial Office (April 30), Mr. Amery, the Secretary for the Colonies, recalled the gloomy prophecies which members of the Opposition had made when the Government concluded its latest treaty with

Iraq five years before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 85). The event, he said, had completely justified the Government's action. The frontiers of Iraq had not been threatened in the interval, and British expenditure on and in Iraq had sunk from over 8,000,000*l.* in 1922-23 to 1,650,000*l.* in the present Estimate. Mr. Amery also mentioned that the value of the exports from Great Britain to the Colonies had risen from 47,000,000*l.* in 1924 to over 55,000,000*l.* in 1927, and her imports from the Colonies from 50,000,000*l.* to 60,000,000*l.* in the same period. As a purchaser of goods from Britain the Colonial Empire as a unit now ranked third after India and Australia. Labour members who took part in the debate showed themselves still nervous about the Government policy in Kenya, their suspicions having been roused by the recent despatch of Sir S. Wilson, an official of the Colonial Office, to East Africa to make a report. They were assured by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Under-Secretary, that no change would be made in the Constitution without the House being consulted.

In asking for the Board of Trade vote on May 6, the President called attention to the rapid progress which was being made in the reorganisation of industry in the country. As evidence he cited the fact that while in 1924 the monthly average of new issues for domestic concerns in the United Kingdom had been 7,400,000*l.*, in 1928 it had been 18,300,000*l.*, and for the first quarter of the current year 23,000,000*l.* He mentioned in particular steel, coal, and cotton, as industries in which reorganisation was being actively prosecuted. In the two former the beneficial results were already apparent; cotton was still under a cloud, but the fact that the Bank of England stood behind it with 2,000,000*l.* was a proof that confidence was felt in its future.

The Minister of Health on May 1 reported that the total number of new houses completed in the previous year was 169,000, as compared with 200,000 in the year before. He attributed the difference to the rush to get new houses finished in 1927 before the subsidy was reduced. In reviewing the national health, he alluded to the recent importation of virulent smallpox into the country through a steamer from the East, as a result of which the French ports had for a time been closed to all passengers from Britain not recently vaccinated. He pointed out that the figures of mild cases of smallpox had been increasing of recent years, and warned the public that as long as they had so large a part of the population unvaccinated they were running a great risk.

Among the cross-currents introduced into the election by groups with special interests, the most important was the issue of peace. Appeals to the electors to place peace before party were made by the League of Nations Union and other pacifist bodies, and a striking letter to the same effect was published

by Lord Robert Cecil. Having been consulted by a correspondent as to how he should vote in the election, Lord Robert replied that in normal times as a good party man he should have advised him to vote Conservative. But at the present juncture it seemed to him that the question of erecting trustworthy barriers against war before it was too late transcended in importance all ordinary political issues. A vigorous and progressive peace policy was literally vital to every one, and his counsel therefore to his correspondent was that, disregarding all party ties, he should vote for a candidate who could be trusted to stand for such a policy. As in the great majority of instances the assurances of Liberal and Labour candidates on this head were more positive than those of Conservatives, Lord Robert was in effect working against his own party. On the other hand, the Conservatives obtained support from the Catholic clergy, who found their attitude on the question of State grants to Catholic schools more satisfactory than that of the other parties, and advised their flocks to vote accordingly.

The campaigning strength of the Liberal Party received a notable accession at the end of April in the person of Sir John Simon, who at that time returned to England after his second visit to India with the Commission of which he was the head. Sir John immediately entered into the electoral fray with zest, and made some telling speeches in support of Mr. Lloyd George's unemployment policy and in criticism of the Government. Sir John was in a privileged position, as the local Conservative Association in his constituency of Spen Valley forbore from putting up a candidate against him, in accordance with a promise which they had given to the Prime Minister when Sir John first became Chairman of the Commission. The Conservative headquarters spoke of running a candidate in his constituency, but Mr. Baldwin again intervened and induced them to desist. Mr. Churchill in the course of the campaign accused Sir John Simon of "firing from under the white flag," but Lord Birkenhead, who as Secretary of State for India had originally procured his appointment, warmly defended him against the charge.

On May 1 the House of Lords for the ninth time debated the Optional Clause, again on a motion brought forward by the indefatigable Lord Cecil. The Government again adopted the view that the time was not yet ripe for Britain to sign the clause. The Lord Chancellor deprecated the raising of these debates so frequently, because the Government was liable to be placed by them in a false position. They had to indicate some of the factors which rendered caution necessary and delay expedient, and this statement might easily be misrepresented into an expression either of distrust of the International Court or dislike of arbitration, both of which feelings were far from the mind of himself and his colleagues. Lord Cecil's motion that Britain should

sign the Optional Clause received the support of Lord Reading and Lord Parmoor, and in the end was defeated only by 26 votes to 19.

A new electoral register came into force on May 1. The increase in the electorate over the figure of the previous register was about six million, of whom of course the vast majority were young women between the ages of 21 and 30, who had been enfranchised by the Act of 1928. In the new register the women outnumbered the men in all but about 38 constituencies. The places where men were still in a majority included the City of London and some of the coal and steel areas. The excess of women electors in Scotland and Northern Ireland was very small; for the country as a whole it was about 9 per cent.

On May 3 the House of Commons passed the third reading of the Finance Bill almost without discussion. On the same day it also passed without discussion a Bill for raising the age of consent for marriage from fourteen to sixteen. The Bill had been originally brought forward by Lord Buckmaster in the House of Lords, and had been subjected to long and searching inquiry in that Assembly before being allowed to pass. The members of the Lower House were, however, already weary of legislative work and could only think of the electoral campaign.

A great outcry was raised by the Press of all parties in Britain when it became known, in the first week of May, that Mr. Owen Young, the Chairman of the Experts Conference on Reparations then sitting at Paris, had suggested a revision of the Spa percentages to the disadvantage of Britain. In sending delegates to the conference at the beginning of the year, the British Government had given them no instructions, as it did not bind itself to accept the decisions of the conference, nor did it now interfere with their freedom of action. In order, however, to reassure public opinion, Mr. Churchill stated categorically in the House of Commons on May 9 that such a proposal as that outlined by Mr. Young would in no circumstances be entertained by the British Government—an announcement which was received by the House with loud cheers.

The Parliamentary session came to an end on May 10. The King's Speech stated that relations with Foreign Powers continued to be friendly, though owing to the civil war in Afghanistan it had been found necessary to withdraw the British representative from Kabul in February. The Government had taken a further step towards disarmament by announcing at Geneva its intention of accepting the protocol prohibiting chemical and bacteriological methods of warfare. Mention was made of the return of the Simon Commission from India after completing the first part of its task, which was to acquire information and collect evidence in that country itself prior to framing a report to be presented to Parliament. Of the Bills which received the royal assent,

by far the most important were the two dealing with the reform of local government—one for England and one for Scotland.

With the close of its fifth session the Parliament elected in November, 1924, expired, being formally dissolved as from May 24. Although it possessed to the end an overwhelming Conservative majority, it had done curiously little to further the causes which the bulk of Conservatives had most at heart. It had made only the most cautious advances towards Protection by introducing a few and insignificant safeguarding duties, and it had done nothing at all to strengthen the House of Lords as a bulwark against Socialism. More than this, it had carried one measure—the extension of the franchise to young women—to which a large number of Conservatives were bitterly opposed. On the other hand, it had thoroughly gratified Conservative opinion by sanctioning the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government in Russia, by reintroducing the eight-hour day in the coal mines, and by curbing the powers of trade unions. At the time of the General Strike it had allowed the Government to assume almost dictatorial powers in order, as it thought, to protect the Constitution against a dangerous attack; but in dealing with the Savidge case, where no such emergency was present, it had shown itself jealous of the liberty of the subject.

Shortly before Parliament broke up (May 6) the Prime Minister issued a "Message to Britain," in which he set forth clearly the work done by the Government in the preceding four years, and asked the nation to give the Conservative Party an opportunity of bringing its work to completion. He drew attention to the revival in trade which had just set in, and argued that such was not a time to gamble with rash Socialist schemes of State control. In the interval which ensued up to the General Election, Mr. Baldwin carried through a very heavy programme of election speeches in various parts of the country, while Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. MacDonald were scarcely less active. The latter, in order to secure for himself greater freedom of movement, had taken the precaution, a year or more before, of exchanging his old constituency of Aberavon, which was thought to be a little shaky, for Seaham, in Durham, which was considered absolutely safe; it had been represented for some years past by Mr. Sidney Webb, who was now retiring from politics on account of age.

On May 10 Lord Bradbury, on account of the pressure of other work, resigned the position of Chairman of the Food Council which he had held since the creation of that body. He was succeeded by Sir A. Pownall, the Vice-Chairman. In his letter of resignation Lord Bradbury claimed on behalf of the Council that in regard to several of the most important articles of food it had given to the public the information necessary to enable them to buy to the best advantage, and its published

reports had in several instances undoubtedly influenced prices to the benefit of the consumer. More than this it could hardly accomplish without compulsory powers, which it did not as yet possess.

As one means of counteracting the depression from which they had suffered for so long, the industries of the north-east coast district organised this year an exhibition on a grand scale. The exhibition was opened by the Prince of Wales on May 14 amid scenes of great popular enthusiasm. It was described by him as a challenge to foreign competitors and an announcement to the world that the great shop of the north-eastern industrial district was still open, ready to meet all orders in a spirit worthy of its great traditions. He congratulated the organisers of the exhibition on their courage and vision in choosing precisely the time of deepest depression for advertising their wares.

The "save the countryside" campaign was given a useful stimulus by the Government through the publication, on May 14, of a White Paper offering advice to local authorities how to frame by-laws for the control of petrol-filling stations, which admittedly had of recent years become a serious disfigurement of the country. Power to draft such by-laws had been conferred on the local authorities twelve months previously by an amendment to a Petroleum Bill which, though introduced by the Government, had been opposed by Conservative members and had only been carried with the help of Labour votes. Not only in this but in other respects also the local authorities had power to prevent much of the disfigurement of which nature lovers complained, but they were slow to use it. Meanwhile private generosity was active in saving particular beauty spots from "desecration," but it was recognised that this was an inadequate instrument for coping with the evil, and that it required to be supplemented by some effort of a more public kind and on a national scale.

During the greater part of the election campaign, the subject most keenly discussed in political circles was Mr. Lloyd George's unemployment scheme. Early in May the objections so far brought against it were answered with great force and vivacity in a pamphlet entitled "Can Lloyd George do it?" from the pens of the well-known publicists Messrs. J. M. Keynes and H. D. Henderson, who had taken a prominent part in the framing of the scheme itself. The pamphlet had a great vogue, and the Conservative headquarters, in order to counteract its effect, had recourse to a most unusual expedient. An official White Paper of some 50 pages was issued, containing criticisms of the scheme from various points of view by four Cabinet Ministers and by the Treasury officials, and the public was informed in this way that the expert opinion of the Civil Service condemned the scheme as either impracticable or wasteful.

Both Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. MacDonald immediately

pointed out that this document was virtually a party pamphlet, and protested vigorously against its being issued at the public expense. The Government replied that members of the Civil Service were debarred by their position from publishing their views on Mr. George's scheme, so this was the only way in which the public could be informed what they really thought about it. To this Mr. Lloyd George replied that if the Ministers had put a series of questions to their departments and then published the questions and answers, they might have produced a document of value, but what they had done was to put their own opinions in the form of a White Paper, which was a purely political proceeding.

The election for the next Parliament had been fixed for May 30. The contest, which by this time was in full swing, was a three-party one in the full sense of the term. Only in 7 constituencies was a candidate allowed to go in unopposed, as compared with 32 in 1924. For the other 608 seats there finally entered the field 590 Conservatives, 570 Labour, and 512 Liberals. There were in addition 25 Communist candidates and 31 unspecified. The total number of candidates was thus 1,728, as against 1,428 in 1924. There were 69 women candidates. The dimensions which the electorate had now reached made the task of candidates and organisers more difficult than it had ever been before, and from their point of view the contest was exceptionally exacting.

In spite of the unprecedented number of political meetings, the campaign was attended by little excitement. Except just towards the close there was much less rowdyism than at the two previous General Elections. It was the general experience of speakers that audiences appreciated reasoning and argument better, and were less amenable to appeals to passion and prejudice than in previous elections. The impassivity of the electorate baffled the political prophets, and up to the end each party was confident that the tide was running strongly in its favour. In compliment to the female half of the electorate the British Broadcasting Company allowed three speeches to be broadcast by women candidates, the Duchess of Atholl speaking for the Conservatives, Miss Megan Lloyd George for the Liberals, and Miss Bondfield for the Labour Party; while, as in 1924, the three evenings before the election were signalled by broadcast messages from the party leaders—Sir John Simon from London, Mr. MacDonald from Newcastle, and Mr. Baldwin from Manchester.

The Conservative Party were hard put to it to find a popular election cry. The de-rating plan, on which they had built such high hopes twelve months previously, had fallen entirely flat with the constituencies, where it was regarded with suspicion as a device for extracting money from the poorer ratepayers for the benefit of the richer. The Government frowned on any

reference to House of Lords reform. Safeguarding also was a subject which had to be handled very gingerly. Shortly before Parliament dissolved a committee appointed to consider an application for safeguarding from the Yorkshire woollen industry had submitted its report to the Government. The Committee recommended the imposition of a duty, but with so many qualifications as to make it almost impracticable ; and the Government deemed it prudent not to publish the report for the time being.

In their deficiency of popular election cries, the Conservative Party fell back upon the personal popularity of the Prime Minister as their principal asset. Their efforts were largely directed towards creating a kind of legend of Mr. Baldwin as a pre-eminently "safe" man, whom the people could implicitly trust to preserve the country from rash commitments and dangerous experiments. One of their devices was to placard the constituencies with a portrait of the Prime Minister over the inscription "Safety First." To drive the lesson home, Conservative agents a few days before the election addressed to the majority of the electors a facsimile of "a personal letter" from the Prime Minister, asking them to vote for the Conservative Party in the interests of stability and continuity of policy. The letter, which was addressed from Downing Street, bore the Prime Minister's seal, a feature upon which Opposition speakers commented severely as an offence against good taste. The whole policy of "Safety First" was also denounced by the Opposition as indicating a tame acquiescence in the evils from which the country was acknowledged to be suffering.

Mr. Baldwin's own political creed was clearly outlined in the election address which he issued to his constituents on May 11. It was characteristic by virtue not only of the actual items enumerated, but of the order in which they were put. In the forefront was placed the promotion of Imperial Preference, as the principal means of maintaining the unity of the British Commonwealth. Next came the policy of Imperial development, as defined by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain thirty years before, *i.e.*, the treatment of colonial territories as the undeveloped estates of the British Empire to be developed by British capital and enterprise. Safeguarding occupied the next place, with a repetition of the pledge not to impose protective taxation on food or construct a general tariff. The promotion of peace and disarmament and the strengthening of the League of Nations were mentioned last, after a number of industrial and social proposals. Significantly enough, no reference was made either to agriculture or the House of Lords.

In a public speech on May 14 Mr. MacDonald complained that the Prime Minister's safeguarding policy was still vague, and the country did not know exactly where he stood in the matter. Mr. Baldwin tried to remedy the omission in a speech

delivered in the City of London a couple of days later. The Government, he said, intended, if returned to power, to change the existing procedure for dealing with safeguarding applications on the lines already indicated by the Minister of War in the previous November—that is, instead of the existing *ad hoc* committees or tribunals there would be a permanent tribunal set up by the President of the Board of Trade, much on the lines of the tribunal set up under the Merchandise Marks Act. All industries would have access to this tribunal, the iron and steel with the rest. No safeguarding duty would be imposed on food.

The safeguarding issue was brought into momentary prominence by a speech of Sir Herbert Austin, the head of the well-known motor works of that name, who said on May 20 that if the safeguarding duty on motors were abolished, his firm might have to close down. This challenge—which produced the nearest approach to a sensation in the whole election campaign—was immediately taken up by Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden, who tried to construe the remark into an intimidation of Sir Herbert's workmen against voting Labour; Mr. Snowden even hinted threateningly that a Labour Government might force Sir Herbert to carry on, or take over the motor works under the Emergency Powers Act. The threat was promptly ridiculed by Lord Birkenhead, who pointed out that no man in England could be forced to run a business against his will, and also spoke contemptuously of the business capacity of the Labour leaders, making, however, an honourable exception of Mr. J. H. Thomas.

The eve of the poll brought a welcome surprise to the Liberal Party in the shape of a "business men's manifesto" commending Mr. Lloyd George's unemployment scheme. The manifesto was signed by over a hundred well-known representatives of all branches of trade and industry—not all of them Liberals—who stated that after studying the proposals and examining the objections brought against them, they had come to the conclusion that they represented a practical scheme which was economically and financially sound. They therefore urged upon all industrialists and business men irrespective of party to support the Liberal policy as the only complete, comprehensive, and expert scheme before the country for grappling with the evil of unemployment.

Polling took place throughout the country on May 30 with a complete absence of excitement. Before the end of the next day it was known that Labour was the largest single party, and that the sanguine forecasts of the Labour organisers had been more than realised. The final result was as follows:—

Labour	-	-	-	-	287 seats.
Conservatives	-	-	-	-	261 „
Liberals	-	-	-	-	59 „
Others	-	-	-	-	8 „

The "others" comprised four Irish Nationalists who usually voted with the Labour Party, and four Independents who usually voted with the Conservatives. Besides capturing over 130 seats from the Conservatives, Labour won 17 from the Liberals, and in return only lost two—both to Conservative candidates. One of these, significantly enough, was in the district near Birmingham where the Austin motor works were situated.

Of the twenty-five Communist candidates, not one was successful, and twenty-one forfeited their deposits, having received less than an eighth of the votes cast. The total Communist vote was little more than 50,000. About 80 per cent. of the electors went to the poll. The total vote cast for the Conservatives was 8,664,243, for Labour 8,360,883, and for the Liberals 5,300,947. Thirteen women candidates were successful. A comparison of the voting in certain constituencies with that of previous elections indicated that in the boroughs the bulk of the new women voters had supported the Labour candidates, and in the counties the Liberal. Labour proved to have made immense strides in the industrial districts at the expense both of Conservatives and Liberals. Birmingham, for so many years the impregnable stronghold of Conservatism, yielded four seats to Labour.

The defeated candidates included a number of Ministers—the Minister of Labour, the Solicitor-General, and several Under-Secretaries, besides many other prominent members of the Conservative Party. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs escaped defeat only by 43 votes. Among the Labour candidates who obtained seats were two well-known pacifist writers on international affairs, Mr. Norman Angel and Professor Noel Baker. The Labour Party brought all its leaders back to Parliament with the exception of Mr. Sidney Webb, who had not been a candidate in the election. All the Liberal leaders who had sat in the last Parliament retained their seats, and they were joined by two men who, even when not in Parliament, had played a prominent part in the counsels of the party—Sir Herbert Samuel and Sir Donald Maclean.

The chief causes of the Government's defeat were not far to seek. One was its failure not merely to solve the unemployment problem but, as was generally agreed, even to realise its gravity. Another was its slackness in the cause of peace. While its professions of a desire to reduce armaments were no doubt sincere, it disgusted the ardent friends of peace by its unwillingness to incur any risk or make any sacrifice to bring about this object. The labouring classes were further estranged from it by its unsympathetic administration of the Poor Law and the Pensions and Insurance Acts. Its safeguarding duties had frightened Free Traders without creating any considerable new body of supporters. By not accepting the Samuel Report on the coal

mines, Mr. Baldwin had alienated many of the Liberals who joined the Conservatives in 1924 to oppose Socialism, and had thus rendered possible the revival of the Liberal Party which now deprived the Conservatives of all the gains they had made in the 1924 election.

There could be no doubt that the country had pronounced against a Conservative Government. But equally plainly it had pronounced against a Socialist Government. Not only had the Labour Party failed to secure a full half of the seats in Parliament, but the votes cast for it were less than those cast for the Conservative Party alone—8,360,883 against 8,664,243. The idea of a Liberal administration, though it had been broached more than once by Mr. Lloyd George in the course of the election campaign, could not be taken seriously in face of the exiguous representation of the party in Parliament. The will of the people had been expressed with great definiteness in a negative sense; how to give it a positive interpretation was a problem of which the solution was not immediately apparent.

Since the verdict of the election, while clearly against the Government, was not so clearly in favour of any other party, Mr. Baldwin might have remained in office, as he had done in 1923, till it was confirmed by Parliament; and so he was advised to do by some of his colleagues, in order, as they said, that the Liberals might have the responsibility of putting the Socialists in office. Mr. Baldwin, however, preferred to bow to the plain intention of the majority of the electorate, and on June 4 he placed his resignation in the hands of the King. Having gone so far, he had no option but to recommend Mr. MacDonald as his successor. Mr. MacDonald had declared in the course of the election campaign that he would not again take office on the same terms as in 1924, and had appealed to the electorate on that ground to give him a clear majority. The electorate had not done so, and he was therefore again at the mercy of a combination of the Conservatives and Liberals. Nevertheless, now that the Premiership was offered to him, he accepted it, without even taking any steps to assure himself of the support, or at least the neutrality of the Liberals.

The fall of the Baldwin Ministry, while hailed with exultation by the progressive parties, was not deeply regretted by the bulk of its own supporters, who found much to criticise in its leading personages. Mr. Baldwin had been more amiable than forcible, and had shown himself too much inclined to wait on events instead of trying to direct them. Mr. Churchill had proved himself the most able debater in the party, if not in the House, but as a financier his success had been questionable; he had not fulfilled his promises of reducing expenditure, and he left to his successor a formidable task in the financing of the de-rating scheme. Sir Austen Chamberlain as Foreign Secretary had

lowered the prestige of the country by his excessive complaisance towards France. Mr. Neville Chamberlain was respected for his efficiency, but he had needlessly repelled the members of the Labour Party by a somewhat dictatorial manner. Sir William Joynson-Hicks at the Home Office had given the impression of being over-zealous in small matters, to the point of interfering unnecessarily with the liberties of the subject, while he shrank from tackling bigger abuses; thus shortly before Parliament was dissolved he had stopped a couple of small Derby sweepstakes run by hospitals for charity, but when asked to forbid the vastly bigger Stock Exchange sweepstake, which was just as clearly illegal, he had excused himself by means of a quibble.

Not merely did Mr. MacDonald ignore the Liberals in his Cabinet-making, but he dealt them a shrewd blow by drawing to his own side one of the most promising members of their exiguous band of representatives. He offered the post of Attorney-General to Mr. W. A. Jowitt, a highly successful barrister who had been responsible for one of the Liberal gains at the election. Mr. Jowitt with very little hesitation accepted the offer, having, as he said, come to the conclusion that it was to the Labour Party that Radicals like himself had now to turn for achieving the objects they had at heart. He offered the Liberal Association in his constituency (Preston) to resign his seat and stand again as a Labour candidate. That body, however, while not concealing its chagrin and declaring that no Liberals would follow Mr. Jowitt into the Labour camp, recognised that he had acted from patriotic motives, and refrained from putting him to the expense, trouble, and risk of another election, on condition only that he would not stand for Preston again.

By the offer of the Lord Chancellorship, Mr. MacDonald secured another valuable recruit to the Parliamentary Labour Party in the person of Mr. Justice Sankey, who, as head of a Royal Commission in 1919, had drawn up a highly socialistic report on the coal mines. He also prevailed upon Mr. Sidney Webb to defer his intention of retiring from political life and to accept a post in the Government with a seat in the House of Lords.

In three days Mr. MacDonald had completed his Cabinet as follows :—

Prime Minister and First Lord of the			
Treasury	-	-	Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald. (1924— <i>Mr. MacDonald.</i>)
Chancellor of the Exchequer	-	-	Mr. Philip Snowden. (1924— <i>Mr. Snowden.</i>)
Secretary for Foreign Affairs	-	-	Mr. Arthur Henderson. (1924— <i>Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.</i>)
Lord Privy Seal	-	-	Mr. J. H. Thomas. (1924— <i>Mr. Clynes.</i>)
Secretary for Dominions and Colonies	-	-	Mr. Sidney Webb. (1924— <i>Mr. J. H. Thomas.</i>)

Lord President of the Council	- - -	Lord Parmoor. (1924— <i>Lord Parmoor.</i>)
Lord Chancellor	- - -	Lord Justice Sankey. (1924— <i>Lord Haldane.</i>)
Home Secretary	- - -	Mr. J. R. Clynes. (1924— <i>Mr. A. Henderson.</i>)
Secretary for India	- - -	Mr. Wedgwood Benn. (1924— <i>Lord Olivier.</i>)
Secretary for War	- - -	Mr. Tom Shaw. (1924— <i>Mr. Stephen Walsh.</i>)
Secretary for Air	- - -	Lord Thomson. (1924— <i>Lord Thomson.</i>)
Minister of Health	- - -	Mr. Arthur Greenwood. (1924— <i>Mr. Wheatley.</i>)
Minister of Labour	- - -	Miss Margaret Bondfield. (1924— <i>Mr. Thomas Shaw.</i>)
Minister of Agriculture	- - -	Mr. Noel Buxton. (1924— <i>Mr. Noel Buxton.</i>)
President of Board of Education	-	Sir C. P. Trevelyan. (1924— <i>Sir C. P. Trevelyan.</i>)
President of Board of Trade	- -	Mr. W. Graham. (1924— <i>Mr. Sidney Webb.</i>)
First Lord of the Admiralty	- .	Mr. A. V. Alexander. (1924— <i>Lord Chelmsford.</i>)
Secretary for Scotland	- -	Mr. W. Adamson. (1924— <i>Mr. William Adamson.</i>)
First Commissioner of Works	- -	Mr. George Lansbury. (1924— <i>Mr. F. W. Jowett.</i>)

Other members of the Government, without a seat in the Cabinet, were, besides Mr. Jowitt, Sir Oswald Mosley, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Mr. J. B. Melville as Solicitor-General; Mr. F. O. Roberts as Minister of Pensions; Mr. Herbert Morrison as Minister of Transport; Mr. T. Johnston as Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Scotland, and Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith as Postmaster-General. Lord Arnold declined a seat in the Cabinet for reasons of health, but consented to join the Government as Paymaster-General without pay. Among the junior Ministers were Mr. Ben Turner, the veteran Trade Union leader, who took the highly responsible position of Minister of Mines; Mr. C. G. Ammon at the Admiralty, Mr. Ponsonby at the Dominions Office, Dr. H. Dalton at the Foreign Office, Miss Susan Lawrence at the Ministry of Health, Mr. T. Pethick-Lawrence at the Treasury, and Dr. C. Addison at the Ministry of Agriculture. A certain piquancy attached to the last-named appointment as in the course of the election campaign Mr. Lloyd George had stated publicly that he had had to dismiss Dr. Addison from the Ministry of Health in 1919 on account of incompetence. Mr. MacDonald now announced that Dr. Addison had given the Labour Party valuable assistance in drawing up its agricultural policy.

Mr. Thomas accepted the office of Lord Privy Seal on the understanding that he was to be responsible for carrying out the Government's unemployment policy, and to have the assistance in this task of Mr. Lansbury and Sir Oswald Mosley. Mr.

MacDonald would have been only too happy to take over the Foreign Office, but he recognised, on the strength of his experience in 1924, that the duplication of this post with that of Prime Minister was too great a strain for one man. In the person of Miss Bondfield, a woman for the first time in England attained to Cabinet rank and a place in the Privy Council.

The country took the change of Government very quietly. There was no hysterical outburst among the propertied classes such as had occurred on the advent of a so-called "Socialist" Government in 1924. The chief reason was that the experience of that year had shown the apprehensions then felt to be largely illusory. Financial circles also were reassured by the fact that the Exchequer would again be under the direction of Mr. Snowden, who was considered to be at least as "safe" an occupant of the Treasury as the Conservative Mr. Churchill. Among the working classes, on the other hand, to whom in the main the result of the election gave unalloyed satisfaction, there was no jubilation. The programme of the Labour Party had been such as to inspire in them hope rather than enthusiasm, and for the carrying out even of that programme it was obvious that the new Government would be dependent on the good-will of the Liberal Party.

The first indication of the attitude which the Liberal Party intended to adopt in the new political situation was contained in a letter addressed on June 11 by Sir H. Samuel to the Liberal candidate at Rugby, where a by-election had been rendered necessary by the death of one of the candidates in the General Election. Sir Herbert pointed out that the country at the General Election had rejected both Toryism and Socialism. The new Government, he said, would have a full and fair opportunity for their measures, and unless they endeavoured to put into practice the Socialist theory, those measures were likely to be favourably received by the House of Commons. If, however, they adopted an immoderate policy, the Liberal Party would be ready not only to overthrow them, but also to see that some other alternative was before the country besides a return to a Government like the last.

At a meeting of the Parliamentary Liberal Party held on June 13, Mr. Lloyd George was, with one dissentient, elected the leader of the party in Parliament. There was some discussion on the question of party discipline, but no definite decision was arrived at. It was, however, obvious from the tone of the meeting that the party was likely to be far more homogeneous than it had been in the last Parliament.

At a luncheon held after the meeting, Mr. Lloyd George endorsed and amplified the statement on Liberal policy made by Sir Herbert Samuel a couple of days previously.

Mr. George professed to be greatly encouraged by the election, as a result of which the Liberal Party had been elevated to a

position of responsibility for national affairs second only to that of the Government of the day. He proposed that they should use the power given to them by the electors in no paltry or fractious spirit. Their main purpose as a united party—for such, he thought, they could now call themselves—should be to see that the Government faithfully carried out the mandate of the nation. The only programme and policy which had emerged triumphantly from the polls were those which had been advocated by the Liberal Party—peace based on arbitration and real disarmament, the provision of useful work for the unemployed, Free Trade, reform of the land system, taxation of land values, reorganisation of the coal-mining industry, the abolition of slums, and the improvement of educational facilities. Both Toryism and Socialism had been decisively rejected; and so far as the Liberals were concerned, the mandate of the Government would end as soon as it failed to pursue a Liberal policy. The general attitude of Liberals towards the new Government would also be influenced by the line which it took up on the question of electoral reform. They regarded the present system as a stultification of democracy and a menace to the country, and would use all their power in the new Parliament to have it altered. Mr. Lloyd George warned his hearers that the Liberal Party must expect a great deal of insult and insolence from members of the other parties, who bitterly resented its continued existence. He referred particularly to an insulting reference contained in Mr. MacDonald's letter to Mr. Jowitt. Such sentences could not fail to wound, but they must not be allowed to deflect their judgment on great issues.

The declarations of the Liberal leaders cleared the political atmosphere. They pointed out to Mr. MacDonald a way of retaining office for at least a considerable period without any sacrifice of principle or self-respect. The Prime Minister made no open response to Mr. Lloyd George's statement; but his subsequent conduct showed that he had taken it to heart and that he had tacitly accepted the conditions which it laid down.

CHAPTER III.

LABOUR IN OFFICE.

ON assuming office, Mr. MacDonald lost no time in proclaiming to the public that the new Government intended to reverse the policy of its predecessor in various important particulars. In an interview which he gave to the correspondent of a French newspaper on June 5, he declared that the Labour Government would at once embark on a practical policy of disarmament and peace, in the

pursuit of which it would appeal for the general co-operation of Europe. It would eschew special ententes and alliances, which he regarded as things of the past, and seek to inaugurate a new era of European co-operation, without international rivalries or secret diplomacy. On June 8 he delivered from the broadcasting studio a brief address to the nation in which he stated that Mr. Thomas and his colleagues would lose no time in getting to grips with the unemployment problem. He further announced that, although he was not Foreign Secretary, he hoped himself to pay a short visit to Geneva for the next meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and that the Government would shortly invite representatives of both employers and employed in essential industries to confer with them on measures for the relief of industry. A further change of direction was foreshadowed by the declaration of the British Government delegate at the International Labour Conference at Geneva a few days later (June 11), that Britain proposed to take steps to ensure at the earliest possible moment the ratification of the Washington Hours Convention.

Immediately afterwards Mr. MacDonald went for a few days to Lossiemouth in the North of Scotland—his native place—in order to recuperate after the fatigues of the election. While he was still there, General Dawes, the new American Ambassador, who had just been appointed to succeed Mr. Houghton, arrived at Southampton (June 14). General Dawes was known to be the bearer of important suggestions from the President of the United States for an Anglo-American naval agreement. Hearing that Mr. MacDonald was in Scotland, he immediately, without visiting London, took train for Forres, near Lossiemouth, and thither Mr. MacDonald came to meet him on June 16. On the same day the two statesmen had an informal conversation on the subject of naval disarmament as between Great Britain and the United States. They then parted, the Prime Minister returning to Lossiemouth and the Ambassador going to London. Mr. MacDonald afterwards described the conversation as “most satisfactory,” and he further announced that it was intended to be the beginning of negotiations in which the other naval Powers would be invited to co-operate.

The exchange of views thus commenced was carried a step further a couple of days later by public pronouncements from both parties. Speaking at Lossiemouth on June 18, Mr. MacDonald enlarged upon the hint which he had already given, that he was looking forward to a conference on naval disarmament which would be attended not only by England and America, but by all nations directly interested in the matter. The so-called Anglo-American conversations would have a world-wide purpose—they were meant to be inclusive, not exclusive. Though the United States would enter into no European entanglements and alliances,

no one ought to suspect that it would decline to serve the common interests of peace and democracy.

In a speech to the Pilgrims' Club on the same day, General Dawes propounded his views on the proper method in which to approach the problem of naval disarmament. His experience in the Reparation Commission had, he said, led him to the conclusion that an international problem which had both technical and political sides should not be dealt with by mixed Commissions consisting of both statesmen and experts, though this seemed on the surface the most natural way. There was a much greater chance of success if the experts on either side first formulated their views, which would probably be highly conflicting, and the statesmen then tried to effect a compromise between them. So in the matter of naval relations, each Government should call upon its naval experts to lay down what constituted equality as between navies—to produce as it were a “yardstick” for measuring the different factors in naval power. These “yardsticks” would probably differ considerably, as each expert would “weight” the factors in the way most favourable to his own country. It would then be the task of the statesmen to fix a common “yardstick” which should be applied to all navies alike, and to draw up a final agreement in terms which should be intelligible to the ordinary layman.

On June 5 the National Executive of the Labour Party met to celebrate the magnificent electoral victory won by the party, and to thank the Secretary, Mr. Henderson, for his share in organising it. It was decided to open immediately a great Victory and Thanksgiving Fund to commemorate Labour's General Election successes and the formation of the second Labour Government. All sections of the movement were to be invited to contribute to this fund, which would be used for carrying on the work of the Labour Party and strengthening its organisation in preparation for the next General Election.

The reaction of the other two parties to the verdict of the election was naturally of a very different character. At a meeting of the Liberal and Radical Candidates' Association on June 18, Sir Herbert Samuel expressed disappointment with the result of the election, though he declared that they would go on fighting. The meeting expressed its regret that the House of Commons still failed to represent the nation and the electors on the register, and urged the Parliamentary Party to press for electoral reform. It also placed on record its resolve to maintain the integrity and independence of the party and to increase its strength.

In the Conservative camp, the severe defeat suffered by the party at the polls was naturally the cause of some soreness and searching of heart, but by the bulk of the party it was taken philosophically, and it did not in the least shake their confidence in their leader. A meeting of the Central Council of the National

Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations held on July 2 and attended by about 800 delegates unanimously affirmed its entire confidence in Mr. Baldwin as leader of the party, and assured him of its loyalty and support. Mr. Baldwin in replying said that from the correspondence he received he judged that the spirit of loyalty, cheerfulness, and confidence was still strong in the party, and he promised that so long as he was responsible for the leadership, no effort would be spared to keep together what was still the greatest party in the country and to lead it again to victory.

Parliament met on June 25 for the formal business of electing a Speaker and swearing-in members. Captain Fitzroy was unanimously re-elected Speaker of the House of Commons. Sir John Sankey took his seat in the House of Lords as Lord Chancellor, with the title of Baron Sankey. At the same time, it was announced that Mr. Sidney Webb, the newly appointed Minister for the Dominions and Colonies, would be elevated to the peerage, with the title of Lord Passfield.

Mr. Jowitt's acceptance of office was the subject of much adverse comment throughout the country, especially in legal quarters, which regarded it as calculated to bring discredit on the profession. The condonation of his action by the Executive of the Liberal Association in Preston was not endorsed by the rank and file of the party there, and a demand was raised for his resignation from Parliament. In order to place himself beyond reproach, the new Attorney-General, after consulting with Mr. MacDonald, decided (June 26) to resign his seat as soon as he could lawfully do so, and to stand again at Preston as a Labour candidate; he considered that the action of the Liberal Party there had absolved him from his promise to the Executive not to contest Preston again. After a hotly fought election, he was returned by a substantial majority (July 30).

The Government had not been many days in office before it was reminded by the Miners' Federation of its election pledge to repeal the mining Eight Hours Act. The miners' leaders were as well aware as the Government that this step, if taken precipitately and without proper precautions, might involve the industry in heavy loss and so make the workers' plight worse than before; nevertheless, they were convinced that it could be effected safely if the Government was in earnest. This point was pressed home by them in an interview which they had with the Prime Minister and other members of the Government on June 27. They did not insist on an immediate reply, and the Government took time to formulate its plans.

The Parliamentary session commenced in earnest on July 2, when members assembled in large numbers to hear the new Government's statement of policy. The King's Speech, in contrast with the last two or three presented by Mr. Baldwin, out-

lined a very wide range of activity, both in the legislative and the administrative spheres. In regard to foreign affairs, the Government, it was stated, would make preparations for the holding of a conference of representatives of the Governments concerned in the new reparations scheme drawn up by the Young Conference, which in turn would pave the way for the evacuation of the Rhineland. The conversations which had been opened with the United States Ambassador on the subject of a reduction of naval armaments would be continued. The Optional Clause of the Permanent Court of International Justice would be signed as soon as practicable. Last, but not least, an endeavour would be made without delay to resume diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government. In the domestic field it was announced that schemes were being prepared for the improvement of the means of transport, for the stimulation of the depressed export trades, and similar purposes. Proposals would be submitted to Parliament in due course for the reorganisation of the coal industry. A measure would also be introduced to remedy the hardships inflicted on trade unions by the Act of 1927. The factory legislation so often postponed by the late Government would be taken in hand, and the House would be asked to ratify the Washington Hours Convention. An extensive policy of slum clearance would be embarked on, and the Widows' and Orphans' Pensions Act of 1925 would be amended. Inquiries would be instituted into the condition of the iron and steel and the cotton industries, and a Commission would also be appointed at an early date to investigate the whole field of legislation relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors. Finally, the Government proposed to institute a comprehensive examination of the electoral system, with a view to bringing it more into conformity with the new conditions.

From the King's Speech it appeared that there were three matters in which the new Government intended definitely to reverse the policy of its predecessor—in signing the Optional Clause, in renewing diplomatic ties with Russia, and in ratifying the Washington Hours Convention. In a number of other matters it announced its intention of acting, but did not yet seem to have made up its mind on the precise manner in which it would act. Mr. Baldwin, in criticising the Speech, observed that a great part of it might have been summed up in the words: "My Ministers are going to think"—a remark which drew from Labour members the retort: "That is more than you ever did." The Speech was in fact largely an appeal by the Government to Parliament for time and patience, and revealed a determination on Mr. MacDonald's part to tread warily and not to provoke opposition unnecessarily.

Mr. Baldwin, in opening the debate on the Address, gave a favourable, if cautious response to the implied appeal of the King's Speech. The Conservative Party, he said, desired to offer no factious opposition, and intended to assi:

of Government, but he warned Mr. MacDonald that this would require a certain amount of self-control on both sides. In reference to the Speech itself, he asked for explanations on a number of points, particularly the Government's intentions with regard to the safeguarding duties, which were not mentioned in the Speech.

In replying to Mr. Baldwin's questions, the Prime Minister filled in some of the blanks in the King's Speech. The conversations with America, he said, were meant to assist the work of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, the Chairman of which had asked the great naval Powers to arrange such conversations. The report of the Experts' Conference on reparations was being considered by the Treasury, the Foreign Office, and the Board of Trade, in preparation for the conference of Governments which would soon have to be held, and for the place of which they had suggested London. At this conference Britain would go back on none of her contracts, but in future arrangements she would see that her just business interests were not sacrificed. The resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia would, of course, depend upon the acceptance by that country of the conditions he had laid down in his Note on the Zinovieff letter in 1924. For the purpose of stimulating trade, their first step would be to have consultations with the leaders in the most important trades and industries—they had in fact begun already—so as to get at the facts. The present Government would certainly not renew the safeguarding duties if it was in office when they expired, and it might even repeal them earlier. Finally, he stated that the inquiry into electoral reform would be of a comprehensive character, and would aim at discovering the best method of enabling the people to express its will.

Mr. MacDonald did not confine himself to answering Mr. Baldwin's questions. He both commenced and ended his speech with an appeal to the Opposition parties to co-operate with the Government where no sacrifice of principle on their part was involved, and so to make Parliament a real Council of State. He promised them that such co-operation would be duly appreciated, and would win for them similar consideration from the side of the Government.

The Prime Minister's appeal was addressed formally to both of the Opposition parties, but it was obviously the Liberals alone from whom a practical response might be expected. This was the first occasion on which Mr. MacDonald since his accession to office had given any indication of a desire to placate the Liberal Party. Certain remarks to which he had given utterance, coupled with his seduction of Mr. Jowitt, had created the impression that he intended to treat the Liberal Party with disdain, relying upon its inability to turn him out of office without committing political suicide. The moderate character of the King's Speech, therefore, with its unexpected reference to electoral reform, and still more

the conciliatory tone of Mr. MacDonald's speech afforded them a welcome surprise. Nevertheless, mindful of some of his past utterances, they now accepted his overtures with caution. Mr. Lloyd George thanked the Prime Minister for his promises to institute an inquiry into the question of electoral reform, but he wanted to know whether he was in earnest. He pointed out that the Liberals were most anxious for the reform to be introduced before the next General Election. If the Government meant business, then the Liberals would be very happy to co-operate with them in the carrying out of their general policy, which was so largely on Liberal lines. But if the proposed inquiry was to be merely a method of gaining time and postponing action, then the Liberal Party would not consider itself under any obligation to facilitate the work of the Government.

In a statement made the next day on the course of Parliamentary business, the Prime Minister said that there were a few Bills which it was necessary for the Government to put through without delay, notably two relating to schemes for the relief of unemployment, one dealing with the Unemployment Insurance Fund, and one with the housing subsidy. After these had been disposed of, the House would adjourn for the long vacation, so that members could come back fresh in the autumn to deal with the great problems with which they were faced. It was the intention of the Government that the session which had just commenced should last till the July of the next year. In order to secure full facilities for the Government, Mr. MacDonald moved that private members' time should be suspended till the Christmas recess, but on objections being raised by the other party leaders, he agreed to appropriate the time for the present only up to the adjournment, and to review the position again in the autumn.

Having been told so much, members were naturally anxious to know what would be done with the second half of the Finance Bill which had been introduced by Mr. Churchill just before the dissolution. Mr. Snowden was ready with the information, and announced simply that the Bill would not be proceeded with. This meant that the proposals to tax bookmakers' telephones and totalisator stakes, and to reduce Excise liquor duties and to allow the sale of half bottles of whisky, would be dropped. Consequently the Government, unlike its predecessor, would make no profit out of betting and would grant no favours to the liquor trade. Other features of the Bill, however, to which the Government had no objection would be considered in connexion with the next Budget.

On the second day of the debate (July 3), Mr. Thomas informed the House of the plans which he had so far made for finding useful work for the unemployed. He made no pretence that they amounted to very much, but thought they showed at any rate that the problem was receiving much closer attention from the

present Government than it had from the previous one ; whether the results would be very different remained to be seen. One of his lines of action was to inquire what there was the country was importing from abroad which it could make for itself. He had in this way found that the railway companies were importing 1,500,000*l.* worth of timber from abroad for making sleepers, and he had induced them to order steel sleepers which could be made at home—a statement which caused some head-shaking among orthodox Free Traders. One statement of his which gave particular satisfaction to the members of his party was that all the money of the Road Fund would be devoted to the repair and construction of roads and bridges. The most important innovation which he proposed to introduce was to permit public grants to be made not only to municipalities, but also to public utility companies, such as railways, harbours, and docks, for the carrying out of schemes which would provide employment. For this purpose he would seek power at once to guarantee a sum of 25,000,000*l.* for loan purposes, or alternatively to grant interest. He would also ask power to amend the East Africa Loan Act in order to set free money for the development of that territory. Other financial measures which he had in mind were to set aside a million pounds annually for the development of the colonies, and to extend the export credit scheme for a longer period of years.

Strong dissatisfaction both with the King's Speech and with the speech of Mr. Thomas was expressed by Mr. Maxton, as representing the Independent Labour Party. He complained that the programme of the Government fell considerably short even of the policy outlined in the thesis "Land and the Nation," which he had found inadequate enough from the Socialist point of view. Still, he disclaimed any intention of embarrassing the Government, and promised them his active support on one condition, which was certainly not easier than Mr. George's—that they should so arrange the affairs of the country that no unemployed man or his wife or child should go in dread of starvation. The machinery of public relief, he said, was jolting along inefficiently, and it was the duty of the Cabinet to make it run more smoothly while they worked out their wider schemes.

The possibilities of co-operation between the Liberal Party and the Government were placed in a clearer light by Sir Herbert Samuel on the third day of the debate in a speech which won general approval from all quarters. Sir Herbert welcomed the appeal of the Prime Minister that the House should as far as possible constitute itself into a Council of State, and suggested that this object could best be attained if on ordinary questions members in all parts of the House should be able to vote on the merits of the questions, and the Government should undertake not to resign or dissolve Parliament unless defeated on a major issue,

The country had voted in favour of social improvement and international peace, and party manoeuvres must not be allowed to make that mandate of no avail. Members with the consent of the Government should be allowed to exercise a far greater freedom of debate and decision than had been customary in recent years.

On the third day the debate turned on foreign affairs. Sir Austen Chamberlain asked the Government to consider whether by signing the Optional Clause it might not impair the already existing machinery of arbitration. Mr. Henderson replied that the Government had already weighed all the implications involved in the step, but would not act before it had received the opinion of the Dominions, which it was already consulting. With regard to the evacuation of the Rhineland, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated that in his opinion it would be of little use for Britain to remove her troops unless the other occupying Powers did the same; he doubted if even Germany would welcome such a step. He was, however, in hopes of being able to persuade France and Belgium to evacuate in conjunction with Great Britain at an early date. Dealing with the question of Russia, Mr. Henderson repeated the assurance already given by the Prime Minister, that the conditions for a resumption of relations laid down in 1924 would be insisted on. At a later stage of the debate, the Minister somewhat mystified the House by stating that according to his legal advisers at the Foreign Office, the rupture of 1927 had not destroyed the relations between Great Britain and Russia created by the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Republic in 1924, but had merely suspended the normal machinery of diplomatic intercourse, and it was this machinery which now required to be re-established. The distinction was too fine to be seized by the non-legal mind, but it did not seem to be of any practical importance.

The first trial of strength between the Government and its opponents came on the question of fiscal policy. On July 8 Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister, who had been President of the Board of Trade in the last Government, moved a resolution criticising the Government for failing to make any clear declaration of their policy in regard to the safeguarding, McKenna, and analogous duties, and to the maintenance of Imperial Preference, and thereby creating a condition of uncertainty prejudicial to trade and employment. As far as the safeguarding duties were concerned, the answer was given on the same day by Mr. Graham, the President of the Board of Trade, on the lines already indicated by the Prime Minister, only in more definite terms—that the Government would certainly entertain no more applications for safeguarding, and that it reserved the right to propose the abolition of those already existing without further notice. Mr. Snowden, on the next day, declared his uncompromising adherence to the Free Trade doctrine,

but declined to make any statement of his intentions regarding the McKenna duties and Imperial Preference until the next Budget. He made light of the supposed hardship which this attitude of the Government would cause to the trading community, saying that they knew perfectly well what to expect. The House upheld the policy of the Government by 340 votes to 221, and so made it clear that in the lifetime of the present Parliament there would at any rate be no extension of Protection ; how far and how soon there would be a reversion to Free Trade was not so clear.

On the fourth and last day of the debate on the Address (July 10), the Government was placed in a somewhat awkward predicament by a resolution moved by a Scottish Liberal member calling for the suspension of the Scottish Local Government Act until further inquiry had been made as to its effects and the local authorities had been consulted. The mover quoted from a speech of Mr. MacDonald during the election campaign in which he had advocated this very course, and the opposition offered by the Labour Party to the Bill when it was before Parliament was still fresh in every one's mind. Now, however, after a few weeks of office, the Prime Minister had found that it would not be easy to interfere with the operation of the Act without causing serious dislocation. He therefore undertook as a compromise to suspend at once the clauses of the Act dealing with education, to which particular exception was taken, and to institute at some future date an inquiry into the whole question of Scottish administration and self-government. The Liberal Party were not satisfied with this concession, and persisted in carrying their amendment to the vote ; and supporters of the Government found themselves to their great mortification voting in the same lobby with the Conservatives against their own convictions. The Government majority on this occasion was 320.

On the same day (July 10) a Conservative member in the House of Commons called attention to the fact that the Prime Minister had a few days before flown in a Royal Air Force aeroplane from London to Durham in order to attend a Labour Party demonstration there, and a number of Conservatives criticised the action as an improper use of military machines. Technically there was no doubt that they were right, as such machines could be placed at the disposal of Ministers for official purposes only. Nevertheless, no blame was held to attach to Mr. MacDonald, as he had no means of reaching the meeting in time except by air, and the cost of hiring a private aeroplane would have been prohibitive to a man of his means. The debate drew attention once more to the fact that the Prime Minister's salary was inadequate to the requirements of his position, but no immediate step was taken to remedy the fault.

On Sunday, July 7, services of thanksgiving for the recovery

of the King from his serious illness were held throughout Great Britain. The King and Queen and Royal Family attended the service at Westminster Abbey, which was broadcast to all parts of the world. The King had by now resumed the performance of those functions which had been delegated to a Council of State during his illness, but he had not ventured a few days before to open Parliament in person.

As soon as the Address was disposed of, the Minister of Labour sought power from the House of Commons to increase the State's contribution to the Unemployment Insurance Fund from 6*d.* to 7½*d.*, which would make it one-half instead of two-fifths of the joint contributions of the employers and employed. Miss Bondfield stated that the Fund was now in debt to the extent of 36,500,000*l.*, and at the present rate of expenditure would soon come to the end of its borrowing powers, which were limited to 40,000,000*l.* (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 104). The present proposal would, she said, result in an additional revenue of about 3,500,000*l.*, and make the total Exchequer contribution 15,500,000*l.*, or one-third of the whole. She explained that it was nothing more than a stop-gap measure, to tide over the emergency in which the Fund found itself. This tinkering with the Fund was by no means to the taste of the more advanced section of the Labour Party, which had expected different things from a Labour Government. A number of speakers from this section reminded the Government that the Labour Party had promised the unemployed work or maintenance, and they asked how they could face their constituents during the vacation if they had nothing better to offer them than the previous Government had given. However, they consoled themselves with the thought that there was still time for the Government before Parliament rose to bring forward a more comprehensive measure for dealing with the Unemployment Insurance Fund, although they received no definite assurance to this effect, and they allowed the resolution to pass without a division. A new Unemployment Insurance Bill based on the resolution was passed in the course of the next few weeks, not without further strictures from Labour members on the narrowness of its scope.

In the course of the debate on unemployment insurance, complaints had been made by Labour speakers of inconsiderate treatment of applicants for work at Employment Exchanges. In order to pacify them, the Minister of Labour announced on July 18 that in future the question whether an applicant was or was not "genuinely seeking work" would not be decided directly by the Chief Insurance Officer but would first be reported upon by local committees and trade unionists. Better provision would also be made for the comfort of the unemployed at the waiting rooms, and other steps would be taken to make their lot easier.

The next item of their programme which the Government

took in hand after salving the Unemployment Insurance Fund was the promotion of colonial development. On July 12 Mr. Thomas moved a resolution authorising the advance, either by way of grant or loan, of not more than 1,000,000*l.* annually for ten years for agricultural and industrial development to the Governments of the more backward, non-self-governing colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories. The proposal was welcomed by the Conservatives; Mr. Amery called it a compliment to the Conservative programme, in which it had held an important place. Some Labour members looked at it with more critical eyes, and complained that no conditions were attached to the grant either for safeguarding the rights of native labour or for promoting the principle of public ownership. Mr. Thomas made light of the objections, and commended the scheme as the first instalment of the plans which he had in mind for providing employment for British workers. The resolution was finally agreed to without a division.

A Colonial Development Bill based on the resolution was introduced in the following week. As a result of criticisms, chiefly from Labour members, clauses were inserted in the Bill prohibiting the use of forced or child labour on schemes financed under the Bill, and securing to the Colonial Governments any enhancement in the value of land due to the Bill.

On the next day (July 16) the Government asked the House of Commons for money with which to finance its schemes for providing employment in the coming winter. Mr. Thomas moved a resolution authorising the Government, first, to guarantee principal and interest of loans raised for constructive works up to a total of 25,000,000*l.*; secondly, to make grants covering the interest on such loans in cases where this was deemed advisable. The closeness with which the new Government followed in the footsteps of its predecessor was again made a matter of self-congratulation by Conservative speakers. Mr. Churchill rejoiced to find that the Treasury was still in strict control. He laid stress on the fact that, according to the resolution, assistance was to be offered not only to local authorities, but also to private bodies which undertook works of public utility, and he drew the inference that the Labour Party "was gradually retreating from the follies of Socialism to the firmer ground of the modern capitalist system"—a gibe which was received by the Ministerialist benches in silence. On this occasion the Government escaped hostile criticism from the ranks of their own party, and it was left to Mr. Lloyd George to express disappointment at the narrow scope of their proposals. Mr. George also criticised the absence from the resolution of any limit to the sum which might be advanced by the Government in the way of interest on loan. Mr. Churchill suggested that on this ground the Liberal Party should unite with the Conservatives in securing its rejection, but Mr. Lloyd

George shrank from this step, and the resolution was allowed to pass.

When the Development Bill based on this resolution was brought up for second reading (July 19), Mr. Thomas at first said that he was unable to fix any limit for the total amount to be given by the Treasury to public utility companies for interest or for loans, as he did not yet possess a basis upon which to work out such a figure. Speakers from the other parties continued to urge the necessity for securing Parliamentary control over the projected expenditure, and Mr. Snowden finally intervened with a statement that the Government would fix a definite limit in the Committee stage of the Bill. In accordance with this statement, Mr. Thomas on July 22 announced that the limit for this expenditure would be 25,000,000*l.* till Parliament met again in November, and this figure was accepted on all sides without demur.

In the matter of housing, which still constituted a formidable problem, the Government decided for the present merely to continue the subsidy which the previous Government had announced its intention of dropping in October. In the debate on the resolution which was brought forward by the Minister of Health on July 15, the Liberal Mr. E. D. Simon and the Socialist Mr. Wheatley, found themselves united in criticising the Government for not immediately restoring the subsidy to the level at which it had been fixed in the Act of 1924, and from which it had been lowered in 1926. Conservative speakers also found fault with the Government's action as being neither one thing nor the other. Miss Lawrence pacified the back-benchers on her own side by stating that this was only a temporary measure to prevent the situation from becoming worse before they brought in the real Bill for dealing with the housing problem which had been promised in the King's Speech. The resolution was then agreed to without a division, and a Bill based upon it was passed in the course of the next few days.

On July 18 the Minister of Education greatly pleased the Labour and Liberal Parties by announcing that the Government intended to raise the school-leaving age to 15 as from April 1, 1931. This had been one of the express pledges of the Labour Party in the election campaign, and the absence of any reference to it either in the King's Speech or in the Ministerial speeches on the Address had caused general surprise and no small disappointment to many of the Government's supporters and well-wishers. Even now they would have liked to see an earlier date fixed, but it was explained that the interval which the Government was allowing itself was the minimum required for providing the increased accommodation and making the financial arrangements which would be necessary.

The good effect of the Minister of Education's statement on the Government's followers was immediately undone by a

statement of the Home Secretary on another subject. On coming into office Mr. Clynes had found awaiting him a request from Mr. Trotzky, the exiled Bolshevik leader, for permission to reside in England. After mature consideration the Home Office had refused the request. The decision was hailed with delight by the Conservatives, but disappointed large numbers of Liberals and Labour people. On July 18 Mr. Clynes was asked his reasons for refusing the traditional right of asylum to a political exile. He replied that Mr. Trotzky's assurances of good behaviour had been satisfactory, but the Government was afraid that his presence in the country might be an incitement to certain persons to stir up trouble, and he declined to reconsider his decision.

The same day (July 18) witnessed another and more serious brush between the Government and its would-be supporters. The Prime Minister announced that there would be no time before Parliament rose for suspending the education clauses of the Scottish Local Government Act, for which purpose a Bill had been already drafted and circulated. Scottish Labour and Liberal members protested vehemently against this postponement, which they regarded as a breach of the Premier's promise to them, though Mr. MacDonald denied having made any such promise. They asked whether Parliament could not sit longer in order to get the Bill through, but they could obtain no reply. A Liberal member thereupon moved the adjournment of the House to consider the question as a matter of public urgency, but he just failed to secure the requisite number of votes.

The Bill for handing over the London County Council trams to a traffic "combine" (*vide* p. 15), which had got through most of its stages in the previous Parliament, was brought up again by the Conservative Party on July 17. The opponents of private monopoly were now in the ascendant in the House, and the Bill was rejected by 295 votes to 172. Conservative speakers expressed fears that this would mean a continuance of the traffic congestion in London, as money would not now be forthcoming for the building of new railway tubes which were urgently needed. The Minister of Transport, however, was confident that he would be able to secure this object without sacrificing the trams, and undertook to give his attention to it during the vacation.

One of the first acts of the Government, and one which gave particular satisfaction to the Labour Party, was to remove the appointed Guardians whom Mr. Neville Chamberlain had placed in control of poor relief at West Ham, Bedwellty, and Chester-le-Street, in accordance with the Default Act of 1927. It appointed others to take their place till the office of Guardians should be abolished in April, 1930, by the new Local Government Act. Mr. Chamberlain on July 23 protested vigorously against this step as being obviously a political move and not intended to improve the Poor Law Administration. The debate brought out

once more the bitter feeling harboured by Labour members against the late Minister of Health for what they regarded as his harsh and unfeeling administration of the Poor Law. The subject as usual excited passion to an unusual degree, and gave rise to much exchange of personalities. Mr. Chamberlain's motion to rescind the Government's order was defeated by 284 votes to 154.

While the Government was making plans which at the best could effect but a slight reduction in the number of unemployed, the danger of an enormous accession to that number suddenly became imminent. The Lancashire cotton industry was again threatened with the stoppage which had with difficulty been averted in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 52). The amalgamations carried through early in the year brought no immediate improvement in trade, and employers were still faced with the problem of reducing costs. Once more they came reluctantly to the conclusion that for this purpose a reduction in wages was indispensable. As in the previous year, they first tried to induce the operatives to accept the reduction of their own free will. The operatives again refused. The employers' associations then, as in the previous year, took a ballot on the question of enforcing the reduction under threat of a lock-out. This time they secured the requisite majority with an ample margin. Notices were then posted at the mills informing the workers that from July 29 they would have to accept a reduction of 12·82 per cent. on their wages. The operatives' associations decided in the course of the next week by even larger majorities to cease work rather than accept the reduction. Thus a trade dispute involving nearly half a million workers threatened to nullify all the Government's efforts to reduce unemployment.

To avert such a catastrophe the Ministry of Labour, which had been watching the situation closely, now intervened. Representatives of the employers and employed were invited to Whitehall on July 17, and were there persuaded by officials of the Ministry to arrange another conference between the two sides. The conference was held at Manchester on July 19, and was entirely fruitless. The workers' representatives insisted that as a preliminary to all further discussion the lock-out notices should be withdrawn. The employers would not consent, and the two sides separated leaving the situation exactly as it was before. The Ministry of Labour, however, continued its efforts, and as a result of further representations by the permanent officials, the two sides were induced to meet again on July 25.

The annual conference of the Miners' Federation, which opened at Blackpool on July 22, possessed an unusual political significance. The conference had in effect to decide whether it would hold the Government to the Labour Party's election pledge to restore the compulsory seven hours day in the mining industry. The coal-owners were already uttering warnings that any reduction of

working hours would cause loss of trade and profits, and would eventually lead to a lowering of wages. The Government was not unimpressed by their arguments, and sought to find some compromise which both sides might be induced to accept. On July 23 the President of the Board of Trade made a statement in Parliament on the course which the Government had, after full consultation with both sides, decided to follow. Legislation dealing with hours of work and other factors in the coal industry would, he said, be introduced during the autumn session, and in the intervening months the Government would be in regular consultation with the Federation and the owners as to the terms of the legislation.

The Miners' Conference considered the Government's attitude in a secret sitting on July 23, 24, and 25. A long discussion took place on a resolution which had been drafted some time before, while the Conservative Government was still in office, calling for the immediate repeal of the Eight Hours Act and the restoration of the seven hours day. A number of speakers, including Mr. Cook, adjured the conference not to pass the motion, on the ground that it would unduly embarrass the Government. Mr. Smith, the President, also disclaimed any intention of embarrassing the Government; nevertheless, he advised the conference to adopt the resolution, promising at the same time that he would not press it on the Government, but would continue to negotiate with them in a friendly spirit. The conference thereupon passed the resolution without any dissentients.

In order to improve relations between the House of Lords and the Government, Lord Darling proposed on July 24 that Ministers of the Crown who were not peers should have the right to sit and speak, though not to vote, in the Upper House. The proposal was warmly supported by Lord Buckmaster, who saw in it a first step towards a genuine reform of the House. Lord Parmoor, on behalf of the Government, deprecated the plan on the ground that it would not add to the authority of the House, and other speakers considered it impracticable. In the end it was negatived without a division.

The Prime Minister made his anxiously awaited statement on naval policy on July 24. From this it appeared that his conversations with the United States Ambassador were already beginning to bear fruit. A committee co-ordinating the three services had been set up to advise the Government, and in the opinion of this committee the outlook had brightened sufficiently to justify them in suspending the building of two cruisers, cancelling a couple of submarines, and slowing down dockyard work on other naval construction. The Admiralty, he said, had made arrangements for absorbing a large amount of the labour which would be displaced by this step, but in any case he was sure that the House and the country were in favour of very active steps

to secure peace. As soon as the House rose, he said, he proposed to make this matter his chief concern until an issue was reached, and he hoped to be able to visit America for this purpose in October.

In order to improve British relations with Egypt, the Government at this time brought about the resignation of Lord Lloyd, the High Commissioner of Egypt, who had long shown himself averse to pursuing a conciliatory policy in that country. The announcement of the resignation by the Foreign Secretary on July 24 caused a great commotion among the Conservative members, who were taken completely by surprise and suspected that Lord Lloyd's recall portended some change of policy in regard to Egypt. They tried to raise a debate on the subject at once, but were not allowed by the Speaker, and had to wait till the adjournment. In the interval (July 25), Lord Lloyd's friends in the Upper House raised the question there, and demanded to know the precise reasons which had led to his recall. Lord Parmoor told them—as Mr. Henderson had already stated in the House of Commons—that this would involve going back a considerable period, and bade them wait for the debate in the Lower House. Lord Birkenhead protested with great vehemence against the cavalier manner in which the Leader was treating the House, but Lord Parmoor refused to add anything to his previous statement.

On the next day (July 26) the matter was raised in the House of Commons by Mr. Baldwin (Sir A. Chamberlain happening to be away from England at the time), chiefly with a view to discovering whether the new Government had introduced any change in Britain's policy towards Egypt. Mr. Henderson stated emphatically that that policy was still based on the Declaration of 1922, and would continue to follow the lines laid down by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald when he was Prime Minister in 1924. Dealing with Lord Lloyd's resignation, he said that shortly after his going to the Foreign Office a communication had been received from Lord Lloyd, the tone of which had struck him as peculiar. He had accordingly examined a number of the communications which had passed between his predecessor, Sir A. Chamberlain, and Lord Lloyd, and had found that during the whole of the latter's tenure of office as High Commissioner there had been marked divergence of views between them. Sir Austen had always been in favour of interpreting the 1922 Declaration in a liberal spirit, whereas Lord Lloyd had consistently advocated the policy of the "firm hand" in Egypt. On various occasions friction had become acute between the Home Government and its representative in Egypt, and the latest controversy between them had led to Sir A. Chamberlain issuing to Lord Lloyd on May 28—two days before the General Election—a complete restatement of the principles upon which the Government had decided to conduct

relations with Egypt. As the policy of the new Government towards Egypt would certainly not be less liberal than that of its predecessor, he had come to the conclusion that Lord Lloyd would not be a suitable instrument for carrying it out, and he had accordingly sent to Lord Lloyd on July 3 a Note practically inviting him to resign.

Mr. Henderson's statement greatly pleased his own party. It also satisfied that section of the Conservative Party which, like Mr. Baldwin, had no great sympathy for Lord Lloyd personally. Mr. Churchill, however, as a close friend of the late High Commissioner and a supporter of his policy in Egypt, made a virulent attack on the Government for its treatment of him, and suggested that a shrewd blow had been dealt to the independence and self-esteem of British representatives abroad. Mr. MacDonald at once denounced the suggestion as mischievous and baseless. He also assured the House once more that no new treaty would be concluded with Egypt without the consent of Parliament and the Dominions.

On July 24 the Chancellor of the Exchequer met a large and representative gathering of the banking and mercantile community at a dinner given by the Lord Mayor of London, and assured his audience that he would be a vigilant guardian of the public purse. He referred to the difficult monetary situation which had arisen through the drain of gold during the last few months from the Bank of England to foreign countries, and he appealed to City financial houses to exercise caution in foreign lending where the exchanges were unfavourable to Great Britain. He was anxious, he said, that they should be able to tide over the present situation without a further increase in the Bank rate, because he believed that the psychological effect of an increase in the Bank rate would be very injurious to trade and commerce.

The Royal Commission which had been appointed to inquire into the dangers of motor traffic issued the first part of its report on July 26. The Commission was of opinion that legislation on the subject of the general control of road traffic was long overdue, and that to delay it longer would be disastrous. The chief recommendation of the Commission for ensuring greater safety on the roads was that the speed limit for motor-cars and motor-cycles should be abolished, but the penalties for dangerous driving should be considerably increased, and that penalties should also be inflicted for failure to observe an official road sign. Other important recommendations of the Commission were that every applicant for a driving license should be required to make a declaration of his physical fitness to drive, that all cars carrying headlights should be fitted with apparatus for dipping or swivelling them, and that insurance against personal injury to a third party should be made a condition for the licensing of any vehicle.

Shortly before Parliament rose, the Government fulfilled two

of its election pledges by appointing a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the licensing laws, and two special committees to consider the condition of the cotton and the iron and steel industries. At the same time, the Minister of Labour appointed a committee to consider and report to her upon the treatment accorded by insurance officers and courts of referees to applicants at employment exchanges, and especially upon the way in which the condition of "genuinely seeking work" was enforced.

In the debate on the adjournment, Mr. Lloyd George strongly criticised the Young scheme of German reparation payments which was shortly to be submitted to an international conference. He pointed out that the scheme demanded various new sacrifices of Great Britain, and expressed surprise that a British delegate should ever have signed it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the fact of the scheme having been signed by a British delegate by no means committed a British Government to accept it. He agreed with Mr. Lloyd George's opinion of the general character of the scheme, and said that he would take care at the conference that greater sacrifices were not imposed upon Great Britain than upon other countries which could afford them as well or even better.

Parliament rose for the summer recess on July 26, leaving Ministers face to face with an unusually large number of problems which claimed their whole attention. The Prime Minister was in the thick of his conversations with General Dawes and Mr. Gibson on the subject of an Anglo-American naval agreement. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was shortly due at the Hague to represent England at the international conference on the Young scheme of reparations. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs was trying to negotiate new agreements with Russia and Egypt. The Lord Privy Seal and his coadjutors had to put into shape their plans for providing employment. The requirements of the mining industry were being considered by a Committee of the Cabinet, and the Minister of Labour was anxiously trying to prevent the threatened stoppage in the cotton industry.

The last-hour endeavours to avert the catastrophe in Lancashire proved unavailing. On July 27 the lock-out notices duly came into force, and nearly half a million persons were thrown out of work. Both parties to the dispute at first adopted an unbending attitude, and paid no heed to the efforts which were made in various quarters to bring them together. As the outlook did not improve, the Prime Minister, who was then at Lossiemouth, expressed a desire to see the representatives of the employers. The latter accordingly on August 10 journeyed to Edinburgh, whither Mr. MacDonald came to meet them. This interview—the proceedings of which were not divulged—proved to be a turning-point in the history of the dispute. Both

sides now lent a readier ear to the representations of Sir Horace Wilson, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour, and on August 15 he had the satisfaction of obtaining the consent of both to submit their differences to arbitration and to abide by the award. On the strength of this agreement, work was resumed on August 19 at the old rates of wages, after a stoppage of three weeks.

The Arbitration Board sat for two days (August 21 and 22), during which it heard statements and took evidence from both sides. On the second day a final effort was made by both sides to reach agreement in a three hours' conference, but without success. The chairman, Sir Rigby Swift, thereupon delivered the arbitral award. The Board, he said, after hearing both sides, was not at all convinced that a reduction in wages was the only remedy for the existing state of affairs in the industry, which was certainly deplorable. But it was also convinced that something must immediately be done to alleviate the present position, and accordingly it was unanimously of opinion that the employers' case for a reduction had been made out and that wages should be reduced by the equivalent of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.—half the amount claimed by the employers—the reduction to come into force by September 14. The operatives accepted the award loyally, but not without deep resentment at what seemed to them the off-hand and perfunctory manner in which it had been reached.

On July 29 the Minister of Labour announced her intention of issuing to the Press every month a statement of the number of insured persons in employment, in addition to the weekly returns of the number of unemployed. Her object in making this change was to correct the false impression often given by the unemployment figures, especially in foreign countries, of the state of British trade, much to the detriment of its prestige. She had at first desired to issue unemployment returns also only once a month, but deferred to the objection of Conservative members, that this would prevent them from comparing present returns with those of previous years, and so deprive them of legitimate material for criticism.

On August 2 an Economic Mission headed by Lord d'Abernon left England for South America, in order to investigate on behalf of the Government the possibilities of developing British trade with the Argentine, Brazil, and Uruguay. The Foreign Secretary sent it a letter on its departure in which he wished it all success, and stated that Great Britain valued very highly the ties of sentiment which had subsisted between her and the Republics of Latin America since their attainment of independence. The Mission was away over two months, and brought back valuable information concerning South American markets, besides being instrumental in procuring a new trade agreement between Great Britain and the Argentine.

In accordance with the promise given in the King's Speech, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs on July 17 had presented a Note to the Soviet Government, through the medium of the Norwegian Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow, inviting it to send a representative to London to open discussions with him with a view to the resumption of official relations. The Soviet Government replied on July 24 through the same agency that it was willing to undertake a preliminary exchange of views on the question of procedure and the subsequent discussion of controversial questions, and stated that it was instructing Mr. Dovgalevsky, its Ambassador in Paris, to proceed to London for this purpose.

Mr. Dovgalevsky duly arrived in London on July 29. As soon as he met Mr. Henderson, he was informed to his surprise that normal relations between the two countries could not be restored before the questions at issue between them, including that of debts, had been solved. Mr. Dovgalevsky insisted that the highly complicated question of debts should be left for settlement until after diplomatic relations had been resumed. When Mr. Henderson refused, he took it as a sign that the British Government was not really desirous of re-establishing normal relations with Russia, and he accordingly broke off the negotiations and returned to Paris (August 1)—much to the satisfaction of the Conservatives and the disappointment of the Labour Party and the Liberals.

Greater success attended the Foreign Secretary's dealings with Mahmud Pasha, the Premier of Egypt, who had come to England some time before to discuss the affairs of his country with the Government. After numerous conversations on the best means of settling the outstanding questions between Great Britain and Egypt, the two Ministers succeeded in agreeing on a series of proposals which they undertook to lay before their respective Governments at the earliest opportunity, and formal Notes to this effect were exchanged on August 3. The proposals aimed at giving effect to the declared policy of the Labour Party in regard to Egypt, and so placing Britain's relations with that country on an entirely new footing. The military occupation of Egypt by British forces was declared to be terminated, and in its place an offensive and defensive alliance was to be concluded between the two countries on equal terms. Britain was to support Egypt's application for membership of the League of Nations and to use its good offices with other nations to secure the abolition of the capitulations in Egypt. England further transferred to the Egyptian Government the responsibility for the lives and property of foreigners in Egypt. To ensure the protection of the Suez Canal, Britain was to be allowed to maintain such forces as she considered necessary in the neighbourhood of the Canal; the presence of these forces, however, should not in any manner constitute an occupation or prejudice the sovereign rights of

Egypt. The Egyptian Government on its side, in engaging foreign military or civil advisers, was to rely upon Great Britain as far as possible. Each country was to be represented at the Court of the other by an Ambassador. The status of the Sudan was to remain unchanged.

The publication of these proposals, on August 6, gave great satisfaction to the Labour Party, and revived its faith in the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, which had been somewhat shaken by his treatment of Mr. Dovgalevsky.

At the conference on reparations which opened at The Hague on August 6, Great Britain was represented by Mr. Snowden, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Graham. In his speech at the opening ceremony, Mr. Snowden maintained and developed the views on the Young scheme which he had already expressed in Parliament (*vide* p. 69). He refused at the outset to be bound by the statement of the experts, that the report must be taken as a whole. He approved of the fundamental part of the report, which fixed the amount of the annuities to be paid by Germany; he did not consider this amount to be beyond Germany's capacity. He also heartily welcomed the abolition of controls and sanctions. He was doubtful, however, about the wisdom of dividing the German annuities into two categories, a conditional and an unconditional, and he objected emphatically and uncompromisingly to the proposed distribution of the latter category, by which the lion's share of it would go to France and Italy, and only a small proportion to England. He pointed out that this involved an alteration of the Spa percentages to England's disadvantage, and declared that this was a thing to which England would never consent, as she considered that the sacrifices she had already made were great enough. He concluded by saying that all parties in Great Britain were agreed in desiring to wipe out all international debts and all reparations. But so long as reparations were paid and received, and so long as debts were payable, Great Britain would insist on being fairly treated.

Mr. Snowden's insistence on British rights brought him into conflict with the French, Belgian, Italian, and Japanese delegates, who desired the scheme of the experts to be accepted as it stood. They represented to him that he was likely, if he persisted in his attitude, to wreck the conference and so delay the pacification of Europe. He maintained his ground firmly, however, being upheld not only by his conviction of the justness of his cause, but also by the knowledge that his own country was solidly behind him. His opening speech had received practically the unanimous approval of the British Press, which demanded with one voice that Britain should not be called upon to make any further sacrifices for the benefit of France or Italy. The Prime Minister, on August 12, sent him a telegram assuring him that the country was supporting his case irrespective of party or section,

and reaffirming his contention that Britain must be subjected to no more inequitable burdens. At the end of the first week of the conference, Mr. Snowden informed a Press gathering at The Hague that he had received shoals of messages from people of all classes in Great Britain thanking him for the stand he had made, and for showing that a British statesman with backbone had at last been found. He himself was by that time well aware that he was not only defending the financial interests of his country, but also giving a new turn to its foreign policy. The prestige of England, he stated, was involved in the matter. He was trying to assert the right of Great Britain to take the place in international policy and affairs to which she was entitled. Of recent years her policy had been so weak that she had ceased to count, and other nations had taken advantage of her. The time had come for her to make herself respected once more.

Mr. Snowden's firmness won its reward, and before many days had passed the French delegates abandoned their contention that the Young Plan must be accepted as an indivisible whole, and consented to discuss the possibility of altering it in the three respects demanded by Mr. Snowden—the proportion of unconditional to conditional payments to be made by Germany, the percentages to be received by the creditor Powers, and the payments in kind. Nevertheless, at first their concessions were offered in so grudging a spirit that he rejected them almost contemptuously, and more than once threatened to leave the conference. At length on August 27, when his patience was all but exhausted, they made an offer which he felt he could accept as a basis for further discussion. A few days later he finally assented to an arrangement which, while it did not go the whole length of his demands, seemed to him to be a sufficiently near approximation. Under this, Britain was to receive a capital sum and a guaranteed annuity amounting together to 2,000,000*l.* as compensation for the 2,400,000*l.* which she was losing by her reduced share in the new reparations total; also a share in the unconditional portion of the reparation payments amounting in all to 4,800,000*l.*, more than 80 per cent. of the original claim. In addition Italy undertook to purchase 1,000,000 tons of British coal annually for three years.

The acceptance of the Young Plan in this modified form was accompanied by a decision on Britain's part to commence immediately the evacuation of the Rhineland and to complete it in three months. Mr. Henderson, who had presided over the Political Commission of the conference, had the satisfaction of seeing complete agreement reached between France, Belgium, and Germany on the future control of the Rhineland Provinces. At the last meeting of the Commission, on August 29, after reading the report which embodied the agreement between the four Powers, he reviewed the proceedings of the Commission, which

had dealt with questions of less complexity indeed than those before the Financial Commission, but nevertheless of immense importance for the reconciliation and mutual understanding of the peoples of Europe. He thanked his colleagues in the Commission for the spirit of co-operation in which they had approached the task of finally liquidating the problems left by the war on the principles of equity and justice, and expressed the belief that the decisions they were then taking would mean that henceforward the war, with the divisions, the hatreds, and the clashes of interest which it left behind, would be no more than an evil memory. M. Briand, M. Hymans, and Herr Stresemann all paid warm tributes to the skill and tact shown by Mr. Henderson as Chairman of the Commission, his endless patience and unfailing geniality.

Before leaving The Hague for Geneva, in order to attend the session of the League of Nations, Mr. Henderson issued a statement (August 30) emphasising the desire of Great Britain to maintain the most cordial relations with France, in spite of the differences between them which had been revealed at the conference. They sought for collaboration with all nations, but especially with France, who was their nearest neighbour and with whom they had common interests in all parts of the world. Mr. Henderson spoke most eulogistically of M. Briand's policy of reconciliation and understanding, as the best means of overcoming the crisis left behind by the World War. He expressed the hope that from now onwards they would work together to secure the general acceptance of obligatory arbitration, to carry through a general treaty for all-round disarmament, and to make of the League of Nations the living power which it ought to be.

Mr. Snowden, and those members of the British delegation who accompanied him, had an enthusiastic reception on returning to London on September 1. On the same day they issued a statement summing up the results of the conference. Foremost among these was put the restoration of the political and economic sovereignty of Germany. Mention was made of the satisfaction of British claims, but greater stress was laid on the re-establishment of British influence in international affairs. The agreement for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Rhineland was characterised as the greatest political achievement since Locarno. The relations of Britain with other countries were stated to be more cordial than at any time since the war, thanks to the stand it had made on behalf of the sanctity of international agreements.

On August 20 the Prime Minister, who was still at Lossiemouth, issued a statement that his conversations with General Dawes were proceeding satisfactorily, though no definite result had yet been attained. The whole field of naval armament had been surveyed and the fundamental problems which had hitherto baffled the representatives of both countries had been discussed.

with great frankness, with complete good-will, and an increasing understanding of the position on both sides. Mr. MacDonald warned the public that an agreement to be of any value would have to include other countries besides Great Britain and America, and this made their task much more complicated. Their principal object, therefore, was to procure a wide conference—say, a resumption of the Washington Conference some time before the date at present fixed for it—and an Anglo-American agreement was to be regarded merely as a preliminary to this.

Mr. MacDonald found time on September 1 to make a flying visit to Geneva in order to take part in the Assembly of the League of Nations. He broke his journey at Paris, and had a most cordial interview there with M. Briand. Addressing the Assembly on September 3, he made some important statements on Britain's policy in foreign and international affairs. He said that agreement was now in sight between himself and General Dawes on a method for the reduction of naval armaments which he hoped would in due course be laid before a conference of all the Powers directly interested in the matter. He announced that the British Government had decided to sign the Optional Clause, although he did not yet know definitely whether all the Dominions would do the same. He further declared it to be the policy of Great Britain to support every endeavour to remove tariff barriers and to promote economic co-operation between nations.

In accordance with this announcement, Mr. Henderson, on September 19, signed the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, binding Great Britain to refer all disputes with other nations to the arbitration of the Court. Liberty of action was, however, reserved in the case of three kinds of dispute—those in regard to which the parties had agreed or should agree to have recourse to some other method of peaceful settlement; those with any other member of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and those with regard to questions which by International Law fell exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom. A proviso was also made that the consideration of disputes which were really political in character though juridical in appearance might be transferred from the consideration of the Court to that of the Council of the League of Nations. The declaration of acceptance was made subject to ratification by Parliament; it was to be valid for ten years and thereafter until further notice; and it was to cover only disputes which might arise in the future, while those relating to past events would be submitted to the Court only by special arrangement as heretofore. In spite of previous declarations, Mr. Henderson signed without waiting for the consent of all the Dominions, but they all soon followed suit.

On his return to London from Geneva on September 21, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs made a statement setting forth the

part played by the British delegates in the tenth Assembly of the League of Nations. On the paramount questions of arbitration, security, and disarmament he affirmed that the British delegation had spoken with conviction. He called attention to the deep impression made by the speeches of the Prime Minister on the Optional Clause, by Lord Cecil on disarmament, and by the President of the Board of Trade on tariff reduction. He announced that, following upon the last-named speech, the British delegation had made practical proposals, which he hoped would soon be realised, for an international conference on the coal industry and for agreements for the limitations of tariff barriers.

On August 27 the Government decided to allow annually a week's holiday with pay to all workpeople in Government industrial establishments, consisting chiefly of some 60,000 to 70,000 men and boys employed in the workshops of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. It was estimated that the cost to the Exchequer would be about 225,000*l.* a year. This concession had been requested by the workpeople for many years, but without success. The Government now decided to grant it chiefly in order to prove itself a model employer and to give a lead to all other employers of labour ; and the step was warmly welcomed in trade union quarters both for this reason and because it tended to improve the status of the manual workers by bringing it more on a par with that of the clerical workers.

The sixty-first Trade Union Congress opened at Belfast on September 2, with Mr. Ben Tillett in the chair. The report of the General Council stated that the membership of the trade unions had declined by about 200,000 in the past year, and now stood at some 3,725,000, as against over six millions in 1920. The decline this year was due chiefly to a writing down of the membership of the Miners' Federation, so as to exclude those members who could not pay their dues, and also to the expulsion from the Federation of the Seamen's Union (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 86). Considerable space in the report was devoted to an exposure of the disruptive tactics of the Communists and their allies within the trade unions, and the executives were urged to be on their guard against them, although they were stated to be a diminishing influence. The report also contained a detailed record of the Mond-Turner Conferences, which were held to have done the trade unions good service by affording a basis of approach between the General Council and the employers' organisations, and by proving that there was a large amount of common ground for agreement on outstanding problems of industry.

The President, in his opening address, drew attention to the great widening of the functions of the trade union movement which had taken place since its inception, as a result of changes

in its outlook, its policy, and its organisation. Trade union policy in the future, he said, should have a new direction and should take full account of the changes which had occurred in world economics during the last decade. One of these was that finance had become a far more dominant factor in the direction of industry, and that much of the balance of international financial control had migrated to the United States. In view of this fact he advised the trade union movement to follow with the closest attention the proposals which were being made for the organisation of the British Commonwealth as an economic unit. He further suggested that there should be periodical inter-Dominion conferences of organised labour throughout the Empire for the purpose of framing a common policy and expressing a common view on economic questions to the various Dominion Governments. Another change they had to face was the tendency towards amalgamation and rationalisation. This movement was inevitable and could not be resisted, and they should therefore direct their endeavours to making its results beneficial to the workers. They must not only prepare for the inevitable scientific reconstruction of industry, but must forthwith begin to influence and direct it. Mr. Tillett, in conclusion, gently reminded the Government that it had been placed in office chiefly by the trade unions, and that the Congress looked to it to fulfil its pledges in respect of the Trade Unions Act of 1927, the Miners' Eight Hours Act, the Washington Hours Convention, factory legislation, and other matters of vital interest and importance to the trade unions.

With the object of preventing competition between unions, Mr. Cook, on September 2, moved that a committee should be appointed to deal with the question of reorganising the trade unions on the basis of one union to each industry. The idea had been brought up at the Congress two years previously and had been rejected, chiefly on the ground of the insuperable difficulty of marking clearly the boundaries of any industry. The same objection again carried weight, and the motion on a card vote was defeated by 1,923,000 votes to 1,668,000.

By an overwhelming majority the Congress, on September 3, sanctioned a scheme laid before it by the Council for developing and enlarging the Labour organ, the *Daily Herald*, so as to make it equal in size and circulation to any daily in the kingdom. The scheme involved the transference of the paper to private ownership and management, but the Council of the T.U.C. was to retain control of the policy, and the editor was confident that under the new regime he would be able to preach the gospel of Socialism as vigorously as ever.

In order not to embarrass the Government, the Congress refrained on the whole from passing resolutions of a political character. It could not forbear, however, from expressing

obliquely its disappointment with the Foreign Secretary by passing a motion urging the Government to resume trade negotiations with Russia as soon as possible. It also passed resolutions calling for the repeal of the Trade Union Act, and instructing the General Council to demand the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the relationship between industry and finance, with a view to discovering whether the worker could not obtain a greater share in the profits of industry. The interest of the Congress in this question was further shown by its passing unanimously, on the last day, a resolution warning workers against the subversive methods of welfare and workshop committees set up by employers, and urging them to adhere to the principle of collective bargaining as the best means of exacting the maximum economic wage.

The Congress emphatically endorsed the denunciation of disruptive activities contained in the General Council's report. It showed itself much more critical of the recommendation of the Council that the Mond-Turner Conferences and the joint negotiations with the employers' organisations should be continued. Fears were expressed by responsible speakers that the negotiations were diverting the trade unions from the pursuit of their proper aims, and so enabling the employers to steal a march on the workmen. In the end, however, the report was adopted.

On the eve of the evacuation of the Rhineland (September 12), the Secretary of State for War sent a letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the British occupying forces, thanking the officers and men for the way in which they had all maintained the British reputation for chivalry, courtesy, and fair play during the time of the occupation. It was, he said, a source of profound satisfaction to him and to the public at large that the British troops could come back from the Rhine with the respect of the people amongst whom they had been quartered so long.

The troubles which took place in Palestine at the beginning of September sharply reminded the Government of the responsibilities of Great Britain as the Mandatory Power for that country. Soon after order had been restored (September 12), a representative Jewish deputation waited on the Colonial Secretary to thank him for the promptitude with which troops had been ordered to the scene of the disturbances, and to urge upon him the necessity of taking adequate precautions for the protection of the Jewish population of Palestine in the future. Lord Passfield, in reply, stated that Britain had no idea of giving up the mandate, and that she would continue to administer it in the spirit of the Balfour Declaration, but he warned his hearers that the influx of Jews must be regulated by the capacity of the country to absorb new settlers. Before long a Commission was sent out from England to investigate the cause of the disturbances.

Considering that the real solution of the unemployment problem was to get customers for British goods, Mr. J. H. Thomas on August 9 had gone to Canada in order, as it was announced, to arrange some scheme which would be of mutual benefit to the trade and industry of both countries. On his return on September 18, he humorously remarked that he had played the rôle of a commercial traveller—an unusual course, he admitted, for a Cabinet Minister, but one which seemed to be necessitated by the circumstances of the moment. He also bore witness to the magnificent welcome he had received everywhere in Canada ; the Canadians, he said, accepted any member of the Government as the representative of His Majesty, to whom they were intensely loyal.

On commencing his conversations with General Dawes in June, Mr. MacDonald had let it be known that, should they lead to a successful issue, he intended to visit President Hoover in order to promote better understanding between Britain and America, and he went so far as to book a passage provisionally to New York. On going into the question of parity with the American Ambassador, he found that the difficulties were somewhat greater than he anticipated, and while he did not at any moment give up hope of discovering a solution, for a considerable time he left his projected visit in suspense. However, after some weeks of strenuous discussion, the differences had been narrowed down to so small a compass that he felt justified in announcing, on September 16, his definite intention of leaving England on October 28. At the same time a statement was issued acquainting the public with the progress so far made by the negotiations.

In the proposals now formulated between Mr. MacDonald and General Dawes, Britain declared that for the purposes of security, she would consider her cruiser requirements met with a total tonnage of 339,000, divided between 15 cruisers of approximately 10,000 tons each with 8-in. guns, and 35 cruisers of approximately 6,500 tons each with 6-in. guns. These tonnage figures were considerably less than those which had been put forward as Britain's minimum requirements at Geneva in 1927. The United States made no objection to these demands, and on her side was willing to consider parity in cruisers attained with a total tonnage of 315,000 distributed between 21 8-in. cruisers of 10,000 tons, 10 "Omaha" cruisers of 7,000 tons with 6-in. guns, and 5 new 6-in. cruisers of 7,000 tons. Britain was unwilling to see the United States with more than 18 8-in. cruisers of 10,000 tons, though she was ready to allow the 30,000 tons thus deducted from the U.S. cruiser strength to be made up in some other way. Thus there was still a hiatus between the British and American requirements, but in view of the substantial amount of agreement reached, it was considered that the way

had been sufficiently prepared for a Five-Power Conference which would make decisions of a more binding character.

Acting on this assumption, the British Government on September 19, with the full concurrence of the Government of the United States, announced its intention of issuing invitations to the Governments of France, Italy, and Japan to take part in a Five-Power Conference on Naval Disarmament to be held in London in the third week of January, 1930. The full details of the proposals drafted by Mr. MacDonald and General Dawes were submitted to the Governments to be invited, and they were notified that a favourable result could not be obtained without their full and sympathetic co-operation, especially on the question of limiting the tonnage of destroyers and submarines.

Mr. MacDonald eventually sailed for New York on the *Berengaria* on September 28. His object, as he stated to the Press before leaving, was to discuss with President Hoover and other American public men not only the question of naval disarmament but also that of Anglo-American co-operation and understanding in general. He hoped in fact that he would be able to do something "to narrow the Atlantic." He carried with him the good wishes of the entire nation, and the general sentiment was happily expressed by the King in a telegram wishing him God-speed on his journey and describing his mission as "a contribution to those happy relations between two great peoples which must be an article of faith among all men of goodwill." Before his departure the Prime Minister sent for Mr. Baldwin, as leader of the Opposition, and made him fully acquainted with the substance of the conversations which he had had with General Dawes on the subject of naval disarmament. He left Mr. Snowden to act as his deputy and preside over the meetings of the Cabinet in his absence.

After an interval of two months, the British Government, early in September, made a fresh attempt to reopen negotiations with Russia. Having taken soundings while at Geneva, Mr. Henderson informed the Soviet Government that he was prepared to discuss with their representative the question of the procedure to be adopted in future negotiations. The offer was promptly accepted, and M. Dovgalevsky again came to London and opened conversations with Mr. Henderson on September 24. The discussions—which were subsequently transferred to Lewes, in order to enable Mr. Henderson to attend the Labour Party Conference at Brighton—turned on the conditions under which negotiations might take place on the questions outstanding between the two countries. Mr. Henderson on this occasion conceded the Russian demand that as a preliminary to such negotiations full diplomatic relations should be resumed, including the exchange of Ambassadors. Mr. Dovgalevsky, on his side, consented that the Russian Government should give an under-

taking, concurrently with the appointment of an Ambassador in London, not to countenance any hostile propaganda against Britain. On these terms an agreement was reached on October 1—subject to the approval of the British Parliament—on the procedure to be adopted in future negotiations.

The annual conference of the Labour Party, which opened at Brighton on September 30, under the chairmanship of Mr. Morrison, the Minister of Transport, was occupied chiefly with the consideration of a new draft constitution which the Executive had framed for the purpose of widening the membership and tightening the discipline of the party. For the former object it was proposed that a new class should be formed of national associate members who should be enrolled directly by headquarters without joining any local society. Strong objection was taken by a number of speakers to this scheme, on the ground that it would create a special and in some ways privileged class, and might lead to the formation of a rich caucus within the party. The feeling of the meeting was so obviously adverse to the proposal that the Executive decided to withdraw it without putting it to the vote. The conference showed a similar spirit by its rejection of a proposal of the Executive that affiliated members should be allowed to include certain professional organisations.

For securing better discipline within the party, it was laid down that each affiliated organisation must accept the programme, principles, and policy of the party, agree to conform to the constitution and standing orders, and submit its political rules to the national Executive. Regulations were also drafted for enabling headquarters to control the selection of Parliamentary candidates, and for ensuring that these should conduct their campaign in accordance with the declared policy of the national Executive. This attempt to restrict the freedom of candidates was by no means to the taste of many of the delegates, but in the end this part of the report—which included a definition of the objects of the party—was accepted without alteration.

The conference provided a suitable opportunity to members of the Government who were also leaders of the party to render an account of their activities for the period during which they had been in office. Mr. MacDonald, who had just left for America, sent a message regretting his absence, and explaining that he could not postpone his departure as he wished to be back as soon as possible after the opening of Parliament. In order to clear away a certain misunderstanding which had arisen, especially in France, with regard to his mission, he emphasised the fact that an Anglo-American agreement was only meant to be preliminary to the larger agreement which must be reached in conference with the other naval powers, and was not to be presented to other nations as a *fait accompli* which they must take or leave. After referring to the achievements of the Government in foreign

affairs, he said that he hoped during the next session to make similar progress in home affairs. He warned them, however, that the task was a very formidable one, and therefore pleaded for time to study and to lay secure foundations.

Mr. MacDonald might well appeal for patience to those of his followers who expected that the advent of a Labour Government would mean the beginning of a Socialistic regime. While the Government was infusing a new spirit into the handling of foreign affairs, it failed to give any signs of a similar boldness in dealing with domestic problems. The Coal Committee of the Cabinet met the representatives of the mine-owners and the miners week after week without being able to report any progress. Mr. Thomas was more active than his predecessor in sanctioning schemes for public works, but he did not produce any new and comprehensive plan for dealing with unemployment. At the end of September the Bank of England, in spite of Mr. Snowden's appeal (*vide* p. 68), raised its Bank rate from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., without any protest being raised by the Government, which recognised that the step was dictated by financial reasons. Truly might Mr. Baldwin say, in a manifesto which he issued to his party at this juncture, that "the Government had availed themselves of the Parliamentary recess to take a holiday from Socialism."

The first Cabinet Minister to address the Labour Party Conference was Mr. J. H. Thomas, who of course spoke on unemployment. He had no very cheering message to give. While claiming that the Government had tackled the problem much more energetically than its predecessor, he did not pretend that so far it had achieved a much greater measure of success, nor did he speak with confidence of its chances in the future. The utmost he would promise was that by next February the number of unemployed would be less than in the previous February, when it happened to have been abnormally high. He adhered to the orthodox capitalist doctrine that the best remedy, and the only sound remedy for unemployment, was to increase the export trade, but he had no clear idea how this was to be done. Having interviewed coal-owners and steel manufacturers since his return from Canada, he was now in a position to state that that country might purchase more British coal and steel than she had done before, but he could not say how much. And he had to admit that in return Britain would have to take more wheat from Canada, to the disadvantage of the British farmer.

In the debate on Mr. Thomas's address, the speakers showed themselves fully sensible of the difficulties of his position and anxious to help him. Even Mr. Wheatley, who complained that he had undertaken the impossible task of trying to make the capitalist system run smoothly in Great Britain, promised him his whole-hearted support. But the debate on the whole

had a somewhat damping effect on a gathering which, according to the Chairman's opening speech, had met in high spirits and a well-grounded mood of self-congratulation.

The cheerfulness of the conference was restored the next day (October 2) by an address from Mr. Henderson on foreign affairs. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs submitted a long and considered statement on the Government's foreign policy in every field of importance—in Palestine, in Iraq, in Egypt, in Russia, and in the matter of arbitration and disarmament. His record of what the Government had already achieved on behalf of peace and international friendship proved to be highly gratifying to his audience, and the strong pacifist tone which ran through his address was fully in accord with their own sentiments. He roused them to a high pitch of enthusiasm by declaring at the close that the Labour Government had in view a national security which should be common to all nations great and small, and by appealing to them to try to make this a "disarmament year."

On the next day (October 3), Mr. Snowden addressed the conference on the recent raising of the Bank rate, a subject in which the delegates took an exceedingly keen interest. Mr. Thomas had been closely questioned on the matter after his address a couple of days previously, and alarmist views had then been expressed, along with great resentment against the Governors of the Bank of England. Mr. Snowden now set himself, and with no small success, both to moderate the wrath and to allay the apprehensions of his hearers. He made it clear to them, by a very lucid exposition, that the raising of the Bank rate at the present juncture was the only way to restore the sterling exchange, and that it had already produced a marked effect in this direction. He further pointed out that on previous occasions also disastrous consequences to trade and employment had been prophesied on a rise in the Bank rate, but had not in fact followed; thus the raising of the rate from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the previous February had been followed in the course of a few months by a great decrease in unemployment and a considerable expansion of foreign trade. Similarly in the present case also it was possible that no evil results would follow. Still he confessed that he was very much in the dark as to the precise relation between industry and finance, and recent events had made him more determined than ever to carry out without delay a plan which he had already mentioned in Parliament three months before, of setting up a committee of inquiry to investigate the subject—an announcement which was received by the conference with applause.

A motion in favour of family allowances led to an animated discussion which revealed sharp differences of opinion on the subject. The motion was finally shelved. A debate on unemployment insurance gave rise to some severe criticism of the treatment accorded to applicants for benefit, and charges were

made that the "administrative persecution" of which Mr. Clynes had complained a few months earlier was still being continued under a Labour Government. A motion to "refer back" the portion of the report dealing with the subject was defeated only by a very small majority, although it was pointed out that to pass such a motion would be equivalent to a vote of censure on the whole of the members of the Labour Party in the House of Commons.

The Conference of the National Liberal Federation at Nottingham on October 3, did not meet in very happy circumstances. The report of the Executive Committee stated that the finances of the Federation were in an unsatisfactory condition, owing to insufficient support from the rank and file. It also described the last election as "a lost battle." However, the delegates refused to lose heart, and after considering the financial position came to the conclusion that the Federation was easily in a position to finance itself, and would do so. A resolution was passed confessing disappointment with the result of the election, but expressing satisfaction that the part played by the Liberal Party had enabled the nation to give a clear decision on the issues submitted to it, and calling the attention of the public to this fact. Resolutions were also passed urging the Parliamentary Liberal Party to support the Government in so far as it pursued a Liberal policy but no further, and reaffirming the declarations of policy laid down before the General Election, and embodied in the resolutions of the Yarmouth Conference of 1928.

Mr. MacDonald declared on his arrival in the United States that he had not come to conclude a naval agreement, much less a formal alliance, but to remove misunderstandings which had arisen between the British and American peoples and make them better disposed towards one another, a task for which personal contact between the political leaders was in his opinion essential. His reception by the American public and by the President personally was all that could be desired, and his conversations with the latter were conducted in an atmosphere of the utmost friendliness. As a result he was able to announce at the end of his ten days' visit—in a joint statement issued by himself and President Hoover—that both their Governments were resolved to accept the Peace Pact not only as a declaration of their good intentions, but as a positive obligation to direct their national policy in accordance with its pledge. "In a new and reinforced sense," they said, "the two Governments not only declare that war between them is unthinkable, but that distrusts and suspicions arising from doubts and fears which may have been justified before the Peace Pact must now cease to influence our national policy." Questions still outstanding between them would be dealt with by conversations similar to those which had taken

place that summer in London. And, as Mr. MacDonald pointed out in an additional statement, all this had been achieved not for the purpose of dividing Britain and America from the rest of the world, but rather to enable each of them to be more effective in promoting the cause of international peace.

The first-fruits of Mr. MacDonald's visit to the American President were manifested on October 7 in the issue by Great Britain of invitations to the United States, France, Italy, and Japan to take part in a Naval Conference in London in the third week of January, 1930. It was stated in the invitation that agreement—provisional and informal—had been reached between the British and American Governments on a number of important points. One was that the principle of parity should be adopted in each of the several categories, and that such parity should be reached by December 31, 1936. Another was that it would be desirable to reconsider the battleship replacement programmes provided for in the Washington Treaty of 1922, with a view to diminishing the amount of replacement construction implied under the Treaty. A third was that submarines should, if possible, be abolished. The conference, it was stated, was not meant to set up any new machinery for dealing with the disarmament question, but only to facilitate the task of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission and the subsequent General Disarmament Conference.

In order to co-ordinate the efforts that were being made to preserve the rural amenities of Britain and to give them a more national character, a conference of some sixty-eight local organisations engaged in this task was held in Manchester on October 10. After a successful meeting the conference adjourned to Ambleside, and there considered the particular problem of preventing the Lake district from being spoilt. It decided, among other things, to appoint a committee to place its views before the committee which the Government had set up to consider the question of national parks.

The Government, through the mouth of the Minister of Transport, Mr. Morrison, professed full sympathy with the aims and objects of the nature lovers, and recognised in theory the need for preserving the amenities both of town and of country. In trying to put this principle into practice, it found itself confronted at this time with two problems arising out of its equally natural desire to minister to the material needs of the people by the provision of an abundant and cheap supply of electricity. The Electricity Commissioners, in order to improve the supply of electricity to towns and villages on the South coast, proposed to carry wires on pylons across the South Downs. A great outcry was raised by a number of the residents and people familiar with the country, and the Government was earnestly implored to forbid the scheme. Mr. Morrison so far paid heed to the protests

that he personally went over the proposed routes and chose one in which he was satisfied that the pylons could be set up without defacing the natural beauty of the scenery. Other people, however, were not so easily satisfied, and the agitation still continued. Another project of the Electricity Board which caused a similar and even stronger outcry was to erect a huge power station in Battersea, near Battersea Park, one of London's finest open spaces. Objection was taken to this scheme not only on æsthetic but also on hygienic grounds, and strong pressure was brought to bear on the Government to forbid it, at least till it had been proved that the sulphur fumes which would be emitted could be rendered innocuous.

The Cabinet on October 16 approved the final text of a Bill to amend the Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Pensions Bill of 1925 in such a way as to remedy some of the hardships to which it had given rise. The chief of these was the exclusion from benefit, in the too strict application of the contributory principle, of widows whose husbands had died before January 4, 1926. It was now proposed to bring all of these between 55 and 70 within the scope of the Bill; also to add certain other small categories of new beneficiaries. These provisions met the chief complaints against the Bill as it stood; but the demand for an increase in the rates of pensions payable was for the present ignored.

On October 24 the Committee appointed by the Minister of Labour in July, with Sir H. Morris as Chairman, to consider the procedure for determining claims to unemployment benefit, with special reference to the "genuinely seeking work" test, presented its report. The Committee came to the conclusion that it was not possible to apply this test fairly in all cases. They therefore suggested that a claimant should be disqualified for benefit only (a) if it could be shown that he had refused an offer of suitable work, or (b) if he failed to prove that he had made reasonable efforts to obtain work which was known to be available.

CHAPTER IV.

LABOUR'S "FIRST INSTALMENTS."

PARLIAMENT met on October 29 to continue the session which had been adjourned three months before. In the House of Commons, Mr. Snowden announced on behalf of the Government that they hoped to pass into law before Christmas the new Pensions Bill, a new Unemployment Insurance Bill, and a measure dealing with the coal industry, besides some Bills of a minor character, and some supplementary estimates. Mr. Baldwin humorously re-

marked that in forming such expectations the Government showed some of the optimism of childhood, especially as his own party would ask for a number of days to discuss certain matters of urgent importance.

In the House of Lords on the same day (October 29), Lord Buckmaster asked what was going to be done with the ex-enemy property still in the hands of the British Government under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and moved that the treaty should not apply to sums of 5,000*l.* or under where the owner was either born of British parents, or had resided in England for twenty-five years before 1914. Lord Passfield in reply stated that the Government had still in hand about 3,000,000*l.* worth of ex-enemy property, which it would endeavour to restore to its rightful owners. He agreed with Lord Buckmaster that the terms of the treaties on this head were wholly iniquitous, but pointed out that since the report of the Blanesburgh Committee in 1924, the obligation of the Government to return such property had been admitted. At the same time certain cases of hardship had occurred which could no longer be redressed; the money which the Government had acquired in this way would, by the agreement just concluded at The Hague, be set against the German reparation account. Lord Buckmaster was still not satisfied that the rights of the owners were properly safeguarded, and persisted in his motion, which was agreed to.

A few days later (November 11), the Chancellor of the Exchequer refused to entertain a proposal put forward by the German Government for the unconditional return to it of all German private property confiscated during the war which was still unliquidated, on the ground that such a course would conflict with the recommendations of the Young Plan. He also rejected a claim by the Government of the Reich for the payment to it of all surpluses resulting from the liquidation of German private property after the covering of British private losses in Germany, on the ground that the disposal of such surpluses was already a *chose jugée*.

As complaints continued to be made about the Government's attitude in this matter, Mr. Snowden explained the situation very fully in the House of Commons on November 21. He did not go into the question whether the original provision of the Treaty of Versailles, giving to the Allied Powers the full right of disposing of the property of ex-enemy nationals in their countries, was justified or not. He contented himself with pointing out that the Young Scheme, which Germany had just accepted, declared all liquidation of German property up to date to be a closed account, in respect of which the German Government waived all claims, in recognition of the great reduction which was being made by the scheme in the reparations total. He further claimed credit on behalf of the British Government for great generosity in having

returned no less than 5,000,000*l.* worth of ex-enemy property in the way of compassionate allowances, and having waived claims to another 5,000,000*l.* worth.

On October 30 the House of Commons, on a private member's motion, debated the dumping of German wheat in England about which the farmers had complained so bitterly and so ineffectually to the previous Government (*vide* p. 3). The present Minister of Agriculture was unable to give them any more satisfaction than his predecessor. He admitted that the effect of the imports was "regrettable and most damaging," but he could not see, any more than the late Government had seen, how any immediate steps could be taken to counteract it; the two remedies proposed—the imposition of a countervailing duty and the grant of a subsidy—were both inadmissible. Like his predecessor, he had nothing better to offer the farmers than sympathy. The motion calling upon the Government to take immediate steps to combat the evil was defeated by 266 votes to 157.

The first measure brought before the House of Commons dealt with coast erosion, a subject which had engaged the attention of the previous Government also. It was proposed to invest the Board of Trade with considerable powers for the purpose of combating the enroachments of the sea, which in certain parts, particularly on the East coast, were annually depriving the country of valuable agricultural land. A number of members—mostly Unionists—objected on principle to the extension of the powers of a Government department, though they admitted that some central authority was required to deal with the problem of coast erosion.

On October 31 the Minister of Health moved the second reading of the Government's new Pensions Bill (*vide* p. 86). To pacify the members of his own party, who were looking for a much more comprehensive measure, he announced that this was only a "first instalment," and that the whole question of insurance in its relation to social service was being investigated by the Government. The great merit which he claimed for the Bill was that it would provide pensions for about 500,000 widows who did not come within the scope of the existing law, but who were not less deserving of consideration on the score of need than the widows already drawing a pension. He admitted that in respect of most of these no insurance contribution had been paid. He pointed out, however, that even in the existing Act the contributory principle had been abandoned in respect of orphans, and he therefore saw no objection to making a further sacrifice of it for the sake of widows as well.

Mr. Chamberlain twitted the members of the Government with their failure to fulfil the promises which they had made before the election, and affirmed that the Conservative party still adhered to the contributory principle, in spite of the slight departures

which they had made from it, for well-defined reasons, in the Act of 1925. Labour members declared themselves satisfied with the Bill as a "first instalment," and the Liberal Party approved of it in principle; nor was Conservative opposition carried to the point of forcing a division.

On the next day (November 1) Miss Lawrence moved a financial resolution authorising the expenditure within the next fifteen years of some 98,000,000*l.* for the purposes of the Bill. She described this expenditure as a "slight equalisation of income" which would, if anything, make the country more prosperous; and so it was regarded by the bulk of the Labour speakers. Conservative members wrung their hands over the increased burden which would be laid upon the taxpayers, but again they refrained from challenging a division.

The Widows' Pensions Bill emerged from the Committee stage with very little alteration. The Conservatives moved a large number of amendments which, while ostensibly designed to remove anomalies from the Bill, had no other effect than to take up a great deal of valuable Parliamentary time. The third reading was not reached till November 19, ten days after the second, although the House had discussed very little else in the interval. The Minister of Health admitted that there were many imperfections in the Bill, but he claimed that at any rate it removed many injustices, and would bring comfort and hope to more than half a million people. Mr. Chamberlain having made a last protest against the violation of the contributory principle, the Conservatives allowed the third reading to pass without a division.

In response to an appeal from the Prime Minister, the Left Wing of the Labour Party had abstained from offering active opposition to the Bill during the later stages of its passage through the House. They could not, however, refrain from showing their dissatisfaction with it by tabling an amendment, which they knew had no chance of coming to the vote, setting forth its shortcomings in their eyes—its inadequate scales of benefit, and its failure to rectify the position of the applicant for benefit.

The Pensions Bill was given a second reading by the House of Lords on November 27. In the Committee stage a Conservative amendment was moved that no widow should receive a pension who had a private annual income of 250*l.* or more. Lord Arnold pointed out that it would cost the Government about 50,000*l.* a year to make the necessary investigations, and that in any case less than 1 per cent. of the widows would be affected. Nevertheless the amendment was carried by 37 votes to 16. With this alteration, and one or two of a minor character, the Bill passed its third reading on December 3. The House of Commons rejected the amendment excluding widows with means from the benefits of the Act, and the Upper House thereupon bowed to its decision.

On November 1 the Prime Minister returned from his visit to the United States and Canada. In a statement which he issued for publication on his arrival in England, he declared that his visit had given him great satisfaction, as he believed that his meeting with President Hoover, and his conversations with him and with other United States statesmen, had brought the peoples of the two countries much closer together, and improved enormously their mutual understanding. He was convinced that it had also paved the way for a more effectual co-operation with other Powers in maintaining the peace of the world.

A few days later (November 5), in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister gave a formal report of his mission to America, and rendered official thanks to his hosts for the very warm welcome which they had extended to him. He added nothing to the information which had already been made public, but brought into relief once more the fact that war between Great Britain and America had been declared unthinkable, and that the old distrusts and suspicions would no longer influence national policy. Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lloyd George, on behalf of their respective parties, offered their felicitations to Mr. MacDonald on the success of his tour. Mr. Baldwin testified that he had acted throughout as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and not as a party leader. He had himself, he said, long cherished the idea of going to America on a similar mission, but the time had not been ripe before he left office. He rejoiced that his successor had been more fortunate.

On November 4 Mr. J. H. Thomas gave an account to the House of Commons of the way in which he had used the powers conferred upon him three months previously (*vide* p. 62), and incidentally made his long-awaited statement on the results attained from his visit to Canada. He claimed for himself that he had allowed no grass to grow under his feet, and mentioned a number of undertakings of public utility—water schemes, electrification of railways, improvement of roads and bridges, and so forth—which had been “speeded up” by the offer of a Government loan or guarantee. To judge by the amount of expenditure involved, the present Government had been much more active in stimulating employment than its predecessor. Whereas under the last Government the Unemployment Grants Committee had sanctioned only 6,000,000*l.* in two years for municipal undertakings, under his auspices it had already sanctioned 11,000,000*l.* in three months, and in addition 7,000,000*l.* had been sanctioned for private undertakings, 21,000,000*l.* for roads and 3,000,000*l.* for Colonial development—a total of 42,000,000*l.* If the number of unemployed had increased during this period by 100,000, this only showed that the one real remedy for unemployment was an improvement in the export trade. It was chiefly for this purpose that he had made his visit to Canada, and he was

not dissatisfied with the results. He had brought British coal and steel to the notice of Canadian importers, and paved the way, as he hoped, for a much brisker export both of these and of other articles.

In the debate, Sir L. Worthington-Evans expressed apprehensions lest the undertakings mentioned by Mr. Thomas were only such as would be put in hand sooner or later in any case, so that the Government in assisting them was only diverting credit from more legitimate uses. He further pointed out that the last Government had also sent a trade expert to Canada, so that Mr. Thomas had reaped where others had sown. Mr. Lloyd George observed that the Government's schemes would take some time to mature, and made little provision for the present and immediate future, so that a black winter seemed to be in store for the unemployed. He also blamed Mr. Thomas severely for having left his post and gone to Canada on an errand which could quite well have been performed by a subordinate. Mr. Maxton was even more disgruntled, and called on Mr. Thomas to throw overboard his capitalist philosophy of unemployment and adopt a Socialist one—a call to which the Minister made no response.

Soon after Parliament met, the Government produced its first tentative scheme for dealing with the coal industry. After endless discussions with representatives of the owners and the miners, the Coal Committee of the Cabinet succeeded in formulating a number of proposals aiming at three main objects. One was to reduce by half an hour the maximum daily period of work. The second was to provide for the gradual acquisition by the State of the royalties in coal and other minerals worked with coal. The third was to give power to the State to establish schemes for regulating the output and sale of coal, and to compel collieries to conform to such schemes.

These proposals were communicated on October 30 to the Executive Committees of the Miners' Federation and the Mining Association. They were immediately declared to be unsatisfactory by both bodies. As the Government itself regarded them as merely preliminary, and was not in fact united in support of them, it issued invitations on November 1 to representatives of the Federation and the Association to a joint discussion of them on November 6. The Executive of the Federation on November 5 accepted the invitation. The Executive of the Mining Association told the Government immediately that as the discussion was bound to involve the question of wages, it could not take part, this being a matter which did not fall within its competence. Nevertheless it consulted the individual districts, and on the strength of their replies, formally declined the invitation at the last moment.

The members of the Cabinet and the representatives of the miners duly met on November 6. In the absence of the coal-

owners' representatives, discussion turned on the question whether the Government's proposals represented the maximum which it was prepared to do on behalf of the miners. The Federation delegates were very anxious that it should at least in some way obtain an undertaking from the coal-owners not to reduce wages when the hours of work were shortened. The Cabinet, however, would not commit itself definitely to anything beyond what it had already offered.

On the next day (November 7) the Delegate Conference of the Miners' Federation met to consider what attitude it should adopt towards the Government's proposals. In the course of the autumn the mining population had been warned by various Government spokesmen, notably by Mr. Snowden, that an immediate return to the seven-hour day was impracticable. Most of the delegates had laid the warning to heart, and came prepared to give the Government's proposals patient consideration. Only the Yorkshire delegates, led by Mr. Smith, refused to have anything to do with them, and when they found they could not impose their view on the conference, left the meeting. The rest of the delegates, led by Mr. Cook—who in many ways was showing himself at this time a "reformed character" in the matter of industrial conciliation—decided to accept the proposals as a "first instalment," and to make a recommendation to that effect to their respective districts.

The Miners' Delegate Conference met again on November 19 to come to a final decision. On the day before the meeting, Mr. Herbert Smith resigned from the presidency of the Miners' Federation, being well aware that he would not be able to carry the conference with him in his insistence on the restoration of the seven-hour day. His resignation was accepted with sincere regret, and his place was taken by Mr. T. Richards, the Vice-President. In the interval since the last meeting of the delegates on November 7, the Government had been persuaded by the Miners' Executive to supplement its previous proposals in various directions, notably by a promise to set up, if necessary, a National Wages Board, though without as yet specifying its duties or composition. Mr. Richards exhorted the meeting to avoid a recurrence of "the continuous and ruinous conflicts of the past," and the Government's proposals were accepted by all the districts except two—Yorkshire and the Forest of Dean. On the strength of this decision, the Government considered itself warranted in commencing to draft its Coal Bill.

Early in the session the time of both Houses of Parliament was claimed for important debates on Indian affairs, arising out of certain decisions taken by the Government during the Summer vacation in conjunction with the Indian Commission presided over by Sir John Simon and with the Viceroy of India. In pursuing their inquiries, the Commission had found that the relationship of

the Indian States to British India was likely to have an important bearing upon the possibilities of constitutional development in India, and they were led to the conclusion that if they excluded from their purview this problem, which did not come within their terms of reference, their recommendations would be unduly restricted. Accordingly, on October 16, Sir John Simon, after having already privately ascertained the views of the Government, wrote a letter to Mr. MacDonald asking formally whether the Commission might include within the scope of its inquiry the question of the relations between the Indian States and British India. He further suggested that, should this request be granted, a certain change should be made in the procedure originally contemplated, namely, that after the Commission had presented its report, and before it was submitted to an inter-Parliamentary Committee, the Government should confer with representatives of British India and of the States for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement. The Prime Minister replied on October 25, that he had consulted the leaders of the other parties and they concurred with him in welcoming Sir John's proposal to widen the scope of the Commission's inquiry ; also that the Government would adopt his suggestion of conferring with representatives of British India and the States before submitting the Commission's report to the joint Parliamentary Committee.

While coming to this arrangement with the Indian Commission, the Government empowered the Viceroy also to make a new approach to the people of India, but one which by no means commanded such general assent at home. During his stay in England a short time previously, the Viceroy had prepared, with the approval of the Government, a speech to be delivered on his return to India as an authoritative expression of British policy. The speech mentioned the proposed changes in the procedure of the Commission, and contained the statement that "in the judgment of His Majesty's Government, it was implicit in the Declaration of 1917, that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, was the attainment of Dominion status." This speech, like the proposed alterations in the Commission's procedure, had been submitted by the Secretary of State for India to the Opposition leaders, especially Lord Reading, as a former Viceroy, and also to the Commission. The Commission considered the reference to Dominion status to be inopportune, and refused to insert it in their letter to the Premier. Lord Reading also took strong objection to it as likely to create a wrong impression and raise false hopes in India, and he was supported in this view by a considerable body of Conservative and Liberal opinion.

Disregarding these protests, the Secretary of State for India authorised the Viceroy to make the offending statement, and his speech containing it was duly delivered on October 30. A loud

outcry was immediately raised in England by those whose opinion had been flouted. Lord Birkenhead wrote a violent letter against the Viceroy in the *Daily Telegraph*. On October 31 Mr. Lloyd George asked the Secretary for India in Parliament whether Sir J. Simon's Commission had been consulted with reference to this passage, and whether the passage was intended to indicate any change in the policy announced by previous Governments. The Minister replied that the Commission had not been consulted. As for the Viceroy's statement, it was intended to allay doubts which had been expressed both in Great Britain and in India, regarding the interpretation to be placed on the Statute of 1919, but it did not portend any change in policy either in substance or in time.

These assurances did not satisfy the Opposition parties. On November 5 Lord Reading, in the House of Lords, called upon the Government to declare clearly and unequivocally that the conditions contained in the Declaration of 1917 and the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1917 remained in force and applicable to Dominion status. He was well aware, he said, that the Government did not intend to make any change in the policy hitherto pursued, and he had in fact received personal assurances to that effect. Nevertheless, he felt bound to point out that Lord Irwin's statement had produced in India the effect which he had anticipated, and had been interpreted not only by Extremists but also by Moderates to mean that Dominion status would be conferred upon India in the near future. He was quite sure that the Government had not intended to give any such pledge, and he thought it of the utmost importance that Indian opinion should be disabused of the false hopes which it had conceived. He therefore called upon the Government to make it quite clear that no change was implied in the policy hitherto pursued or in the time when Dominion status might be attained.

Lord Parmoor replied on behalf of the Government that the conditions laid down in the Declaration of 1917 and repeated in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, with regard to the stages by which Dominion status was to be attained, still held good, and if people in India interpreted Lord Irwin's statement differently, that only showed how unreasonable they were. The Government, he assured Lord Reading, had no intention of deviating by reservations or otherwise from the lines of policy previously laid down. The statement had been made purely for the purpose of predisposing Indian opinion to give an unprejudiced consideration to the report of the Commission when it should appear. In allowing it to be made, the Government had followed the advice of the "man on the spot," which they thought of more weight than the opinion of the Commission.

Lord Birkenhead scoffed at the Government's defence, and reiterated Lord Reading's charges in much more vigorous language.

He asked what was the point of the Viceroy's statement, if it meant no more than Lord Parmoor had said, and charged the Government with trying to deceive the people of India. Lord Crewe and Lord Peel also criticised the Government. Lord Reading, however, declared himself satisfied with Lord Parmoor's reply, and advised the Government to circulate it in India.

The Opposition leaders chose to ignore the debate in the House of Lords, and opened the question *de novo* in the lower House a couple of days later (November 7). Mr. Baldwin, preserving the fiction that the House, till it was officially informed, had no cognisance of what was done "in another place," put to the Government the same questions that Lord Reading had asked on the precise implications of the Viceroy's statement. He made it clear that he and his party would have preferred the statement not to have been made, but since it had been made, he was anxious that it should not be misunderstood in India, and that it should not be taken as a reflection on the Commission. As Mr. Baldwin echoed Lord Reading, so Mr. Lloyd George echoed Lord Birkenhead, dwelling upon the harm which the statement might do in India—not immediately, but in a few months' time, when its illusory character was realised—and insisting that it should be placed in its proper perspective at once. He was aware of the answer which Lord Parmoor had given, but desired to receive similar assurances from the Secretary for India himself.

This request was not fulfilled. Mr. Benn explained why the Government had persisted with its plan of having the statement made in spite of the disapproval of the Commission and of those Opposition leaders whom he consulted. He also declared that the Government's decision had been justified by the event, as a marked change for the better had actually taken place in Indian opinion. But on the statement itself he refused to say anything more than that it meant exactly what it said. He declined to express any opinion on the interpretation put upon it in certain quarters in India, and displayed some irritation with Mr. Lloyd George for trying to draw from him a pronouncement on this delicate point.

Sir John Simon intervened in the debate to explain that the reason why the Commission had not associated itself with the Viceroy's statement was because it was absolutely determined to do nothing which could be construed or misconstrued as the presentation of an interim report. The Prime Minister then put it to the House whether the discussion had not gone far enough, in view of the situation in India. There was, he said, a difference of opinion as to whether it was expedient or inexpedient to make the declaration at the present juncture. The Government had made its decision, and intended to abide by it, and he asked the House now to allow the authorities in India to handle the situation.

The Prime Minister's appeal silenced further debate at the time, but it was not allowed to be the last word on the subject. On November 11 Mr. Baldwin wrote to him to point out that his question whether the Viceroy's statement implied any change of policy had not been answered by the Secretary of State for India. Mr. MacDonald thereupon assured him that no change was contemplated or would take place unless and until Parliament decided to amend the Act.

A few weeks later (December 18), a Labour member in the House of Commons moved a resolution welcoming the signs of Indian co-operation in the settlement of the constitutional problem, and expressing a hope that the Government of India would encourage good-will by sympathetic action. The House took this opportunity of showing that it could be united on the Indian question, and the motion was supported as warmly from the Unionist as from the Labour benches. The Secretary for India welcomed the resolution as an expression of good-will to India from the Imperial Parliament. He said that the Government desired the prospective round-table conference to be fully representative of opinion in India, and expressed the hope that before it was called, Indians would compose their differences, so that the Government might derive from it the maximum of assistance and guidance.

On November 5 the Foreign Secretary asked the House of Commons to confirm the arrangement which he had concluded on October 3 with the Soviet envoy, Mr. Dovgalevsky, relative to the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia. He was at great pains to show that the arrangement involved no "surrender" of the position he had taken up at his first meeting with Mr. Dovgalevsky at the end of July. On that occasion he had laid down two conditions for an exchange of Ambassadors. One was that there should be a mutual undertaking to abstain from hostile propaganda. The other was that he should first report to Parliament. Both conditions had been fulfilled. As to the advantages of resuming diplomatic relations, he thought the case was indisputable. In the first place, it would probably benefit British trade. It was true that America did a large trade with Russia although she did not recognise the Soviet Government. The fact remained, however, that since the rupture in 1926 there had been a marked fall in British exports to Russia, and still more in re-exports. The unofficial trade delegation which went to Russia in the Spring had also expressed the opinion that the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet was necessary for reviving British trade with Russia. Apart from this, questions were always arising between the two countries which could best be settled through the ordinary channels of diplomatic intercourse. Also, Britain's refusal to treat directly with the Soviet Government had an unsettling effect on European conditions generally. Mr.

Henderson mentioned two points which showed that the Government had laid to heart the lessons of 1924. One was that the Soviet Government had been definitely informed that the Communist International would be regarded as an organ of the Soviet Government. The other was that the Government had no intention of asking Parliament to guarantee any loan raised by the Soviet Government.

Mr. Baldwin on behalf of the Conservative Party opposed the motion. He reminded the Foreign Secretary that in his first interview with Mr. Dovgalevsky he had insisted that before diplomatic relations were resumed the questions outstanding between the two countries should be solved, and this was the position from which in the course of the next three months he gradually and abjectly receded. The Conservative Party, he said, was opposed to recognition of the Soviet Government so long as it believed in and worked for world revolution, and refused to comply with the accepted principles governing international relations. Mr. Lloyd George on behalf of the Liberal Party supported the motion for the same reasons as those given by Mr. Henderson. He pointed out in answer to Mr. Baldwin that under the Tsarist Government also Russia had been a menace to India, but no one had thought of refusing it recognition on that account. He did not deny the dangers of Russian propaganda, but considered that the advantages to be gained from recognition outweighed them. Sir A. Chamberlain joined issue with him on this point, but he failed to impress the Liberals, and the motion was eventually carried by 324 votes to 129.

No sooner was the agreement signed than an important difference of opinion broke out between the two Governments on the interpretation of the pledge to abstain from hostile propaganda. Mr. Henderson, in reply to questions in Parliament, said that he meant the pledge to cover the activities of the Third International (the "Comintern"), which he and his colleagues regarded as an integral element of the Soviet Government. On November 5 an article appeared in the *Isvestia*, the official organ of the Soviet, repudiating Mr. Henderson's interpretation and disclaiming the Soviet Government's responsibility for the Comintern. On November 18 Sir A. Chamberlain drew the Foreign Secretary's attention to the article, and asked him whether he did not think it advisable to defer the resumption of diplomatic relations until the Soviet Government should have accepted his view of the meaning of the pledge. Mr. Henderson replied that Ambassadors had in fact been already appointed, and he saw no need of raising difficulties unless and until the pledge should actually have been broken.

On November 4 the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to announce the composition of his promised Commission to inquire into the relations of industry and finance. The chairman was

Mr. Hugh Macmillan, K.C., and among the members, alongside of a number of authorities on economics, banking, and commerce, were Mr. Ernest Bevin, the trade union leader, and Mr. J. T. Newbold, the editor of the *Social Democrat* and an ex-Communist.

The other important Commission promised by the Government—that on electoral reform—was not completed till nearly a month later, its composition being announced by the Prime Minister on December 3. It consisted of twenty-one members, of whom the Conservative and Labour Parties had nominated eight each, and the Liberals five; the Government, to show its absolute impartiality, had taken no part in the nominations. Mr. Baldwin took exception to the name of Lord Hewart, the Lord Chief Justice, who had been selected by the Liberals, on the ground that a Judge of the High Court should not be nominated on a party panel. Mr. Lloyd George explained that the Liberals had nominated Lord Hewart in the belief that the Committee would be entirely of a non-party character, and that it would be greatly strengthened by including a constitutional lawyer of the eminence of the Lord Chief Justice. As Mr. Baldwin gave no sign of waiving his objection, Lord Hewart solved the difficulty by voluntarily withdrawing his name. At the same time he announced in a letter to the Press that he by no means waived his right, as a peer of the realm, to express publicly his views on political questions.

On November 4 the Government announced the issue of a new Five per Cent. Conversion Loan for an unlimited amount to provide for maturities of Treasury bonds falling due in the near future. Before the issue was offered to the public, certain financial houses were allowed to take up 30,000,000*l.* of it at a discount of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Some members of Parliament protested that this fact ought to have been mentioned in the prospectus. Mr. Snowden defended his action on the ground that these arrangements could not be made till the day following the publication of the prospectus, lest there should be a leakage of information. He explained that, taught by the experience of his predecessor on a previous occasion, he wished to make quite sure of raising enough to meet the most pressing maturities. He admitted that the course he had taken was unusual, but he pointed out that there was precedent for it, and he thought that it was justified by the requirements of the moment.

In his speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet, on November 9, the Prime Minister spoke hopefully of the international situation, saying that the prospect in front of them was the prospect of established peace. He paid a tribute to the work done on behalf of peace at The Hague by the late Dr. Stresemann and by M. Briand. The League of Nations, he said, was growing in moral courage, and at the last meeting of the Assembly marked steps were taken in peacemaking, not the least being the signing of the Optional Clause by Great Britain and the Dominions. In review-

ing the Government's conduct of foreign affairs, Mr. MacDonald was almost apologetic for the understanding with Russia. The problem of Russia, he said, had exercised the mind of one Government after another, and he did not think that anyone had been quite happy about it. They had to face the fact that Russia was there; it was self-delusion, in dealing with European problems, to assume that there was no Russia. The Government had recognised Russia, knowing the risks involved, in order to obtain Russia's help for comprehending Europe in a unity of peace, in addition to the reasons which affected England more particularly—the opening of markets and the stopping of propaganda.

The Armistice Day ceremonies were attended by even greater throngs this year than on previous occasions. For the first time the King was absent, being unable to take part in consequence of his recent illness; he was represented by the Prince of Wales, who on the previous evening, to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Armistice, had entertained over three hundred holders of the Victoria Cross to dinner. To emphasise the peaceful and civilian nature of the ceremony, the Government reduced the military element to the smallest number compatible with a full representation of the Services. On the other hand, they found themselves unable to adopt a suggestion, with which they declared themselves in sympathy, that the troops on duty should be unarmed, for the reason that this would not be in keeping with the solemnity of the occasion.

On November 13 Sir D. MacLean brought forward a motion calling on the Government to produce as soon as possible its Bill for raising the school-leaving age. The subject was discussed by the House in a non-controversial spirit, all parties showing themselves favourable to the idea of the motion. Lord Eustace Percy suggested that the leaving age should be raised by one term a year for three years in order to avoid violent fluctuations in the number of juveniles thrown on the labour market. The Minister of Education in reply promised to bring in a Bill before Christmas. He paid a tribute to the good influence which his predecessor (Lord E. Percy) had exercised on the local authorities, and stated that several of these had already practically completed arrangements for the change, including, in nearly all cases, a complete understanding with the Church schools. The promised Bill was actually laid before the House on December 20.

On November 14 a number of Conservative peers in the House of Lords expressed apprehensions lest the armed forces of the Crown had been reduced to a point at which they were no longer adequate for all the commitments undertaken by Great Britain in various parts of the world, especially in mandated territories. Lord Allenby pointed to the recent troubles in Palestine as a case in point. The Government was not prepared to deal with the question, and Earl de la Warr, the Under-Secretary for War, prudently

declined to do more than bring the matter to the notice of the Secretary. He did maintain, however, in answer to criticisms, that a strict watch was kept on the expenditure of the Army and Navy on the civil side, and that the nation's money was not being squandered.

On the following day the House of Commons gave a second reading without a division to a private member's Bill, providing that every person in employment should receive an annual holiday of not less than eight consecutive days with full pay. The mover said that the effect of the measure would be to add 9,000,000 persons to the 3,000,000 who already received such a holiday. Conservative members, while approving of the principle of the Bill, pointed out that it might cause considerable loss and hardship if applied to all industries indiscriminately. Mr. Lawson, the Government spokesman, rendered the motion for the second reading innocuous by declaring that time could not possibly be found in the session for the remaining stages. The debate, however, served as an appeal to employers to extend what all parties were agreed in regarding as a very desirable practice.

The Government was now ready with its second great effort in the field of social legislation—its Unemployment Insurance Bill, the text of which was issued on November 15. Like the Widows' Pensions Bill, it represented not what the Government had promised to do or would have liked to do, but the utmost which its financial resources would permit it to do. Weekly benefit for adult dependants was to be raised from 7s. 6d. to 9s. a week. Increases of benefit ranging from 2s. to 4s. per week were to be given to young persons of both sexes of 17 to 19 years of age. When the school age was raised to 15, insurance was to start from that age. The most drastic proposal of the Bill was that the "transitional" period for payment of benefit to persons not possessing the thirty contributions qualification should be extended by a year. The cost of this concession was estimated at 8,500,000*l.*, and the money was to be found by the Exchequer, and not by the Unemployment Insurance Fund. The "genuinely seeking work" test was to be abolished, and replaced by regulations which were meant to carry out the recommendations of the Morris Committee (p. 86). The machinery for deciding claims to benefit was also remodelled. The total increase in the amount which the Exchequer would have to find for Unemployment Insurance as a result of the Bill was calculated at 12,500,000*l.*

To the Left Wing of the Labour Party the new Bill was even less satisfying than the Widows' Pensions Bill had been. They expressed their disapproval freely at party meetings, and gave every indication that they would carry their opposition to it further and cause the Government serious embarrassment in the debate. To prevent matters coming to such a pass, the Prime Minister personally attended a meeting held by the Parliamentary

Labour Party on November 19, to consider its attitude to the Bill, and impressed on his followers the need for unity. He reasoned with the malcontents, pointing out that the Government never expected to be asked to fulfil its pledges within a few months, that it was likely to be in office for a considerable time yet, and that the present Bill should be considered a first instalment of what it intended to do. In spite of this appeal, about a dozen members voted against a resolution welcoming the Bill.

In order to give even more marked expression to their dissatisfaction with the Bill, some thirty-one Labour members, with Mr. Maxton at their head, signed an amendment calling attention to and regretting its various "omissions." It was known that the amendment had no chance of coming to the vote; nevertheless the party Whips took strong exception to its being placed on the Order Paper, and represented to the signatories that it was equivalent to a vote of censure on the Government. Thereupon ten of them—mostly new members who had not realised the significance of their action—withdrew their signatures; the rest remained defiant.

Miss Bondfield, the Minister of Labour, moved the second reading of the Bill on November 21. She said that the Bill was only intended to remain in force till April, 1931, by which time she hoped to be ready with a scheme for dealing with the whole problem of social insurance in a more comprehensive manner. The object of the present Bill was to remedy certain outstanding defects of the existing system, both on the administrative and the financial sides. Under the former head the chief subject of complaint was of course the "genuinely seeking work" provision. She admitted that in theory this regulation was sound, but in practice it had been found to impose an impossible psychological test, and she had therefore substituted for it a provision the object of which was to throw the burden of proof on the Exchange officials, and not on the applicant. The financial provisions of the new Bill aimed, first, at obviating the need for borrowing on behalf of the Fund, by transferring part of its expenditure to the Exchequer; secondly, at increasing its revenue by raising the State's contribution. The utmost increase which she could procure was about 2,000,000*l.* per year, and the bulk of this sum she was utilising on behalf of the wives of unemployed men, which she thought was the class most in need of assistance.

The subsequent debate, which lasted two days, brought into strong relief the many defects of the Bill both from the Opposition and the Labour points of view. Conservative speakers took exception to the combination of insurance and relief in one Bill, and pleaded for more consideration for the taxpayer. Labour speakers exclaimed against the niggardliness of the scales of benefit. On all sides doubts were expressed whether applicants for benefit would really find it easier to prove their *bona fides* under the new

regulations. The rejection of the Bill was moved by a Conservative member, Major Elliot, on the ground that it was ill-thought-out, and would do more harm than good. Mr. Lloyd George inclined to the Conservative view of the defects of the Bill, but thought that it might be improved in Committee. Mr. Maxton, also, while far from satisfied with the Bill, did not oppose the second reading. With this support the Government was able to secure a majority of 86.

In the course of this debate, Mr. Shaw, the Minister for War, to whom was deputed the task of replying for the Government, took occasion to assert that as a result of currency deflation, holders of Government stock were drawing a much larger income than they were justly entitled to. The remark created apprehension on the Stock Exchange lest the Government was contemplating some lowering of the rate of interest on War Loan, and confidence in that security was shaken. On November 28 Mr. Snowden was questioned on the subject in Parliament, and he reassured the public by stating that the Government had no intention of varying the contractual obligations entered into with the holders of Government securities.

In moving the financial resolution in connexion with the Bill, Miss Bondfield said that the sum total of the commitments might be summarised as follows: Increased rate of benefit to young persons, 370,000*l.*; increase of dependant benefit, 1,750,000*l.*; changes in conditions and method of determining claims, 3,250,000*l.*; contribution by the Fund to the cost of training persons under 21, 100,000*l.* In addition the cost of the so-called transitional claims, which would be borne by the Exchequer, was 8,000,000*l.* With this contribution, and the sum voted in July (*vide* p. 61), the income and expenditure of the Fund would balance at the point of 1,200,000 persons on the live register.

The path of the Bill in Committee proved to be not less thorny than the second reading had given reason to expect. The first point to be attacked was the lowering of the insurance age to 15, to which Mr. Lloyd George had particularly objected. A Liberal amendment was moved making the receipt of benefit up to the age of 18 conditional on attendance at an approved course of instruction. The feeling of the House, even on the Labour benches, was obviously in favour of the amendment. Miss Bondfield also considered that it was conceived in the right spirit, but under existing conditions she saw practical difficulties in the way of giving training to all juveniles under 18, and she did not think it right that in the meanwhile any of them should be deprived of benefit. Ultimately she carried her point, but only through promising to amend the Bill later in the sense desired.

When the scales of benefit came to be discussed, Miss Bondfield's determination not to go beyond the sum allowed her by the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought her into frequent conflict

with the Left Wing of the Labour Party, and fanned their discontent into open revolt. At an early stage one of them moved that the benefits for persons under 21 should be payable from February 1, 1930, instead of from March 13, as provided in the Bill. Miss Bondfield objected that the cost of this change alone would be 50,000*l.*; further that it would not be consistent to stop there, and that the cost of bringing the whole of the benefits of the Bill forward by six weeks would be 250,000*l.* Mr. Wheatley thereupon uttered an impassioned denunciation of the Government for disregarding its pledges, and thirty-two of his colleagues joined with him in voting for the amendment, while 222 members of the Labour Party supported the Government, the Opposition watching with amused interest the domestic quarrel in the Ministerial ranks. Similar unavailing efforts were made by the dissentient group to secure increases in the other scales of benefit. In the end this clause of the Bill was carried by 252 votes to 139.

The discussion on clause 4, which dealt with the disqualification of applicants for benefit, landed the Government in serious difficulty. The formula devised by the Ministry of Labour to replace the "genuinely seeking work" condition of the old Act did not satisfy either the Labour or the Liberal Parties, as it still seemed to throw too great a burden of proof on the workman. A Labour member, Mr. Hayday, moved an amendment that the simple condition of disqualification should be the refusal of suitable employment, the burden of proof to be on the officials. The Attorney-General said that the Government agreed with the principle of the amendment, but could not accept its terms, as it made no reference to the case in which a job was notified by the Exchange officials, and he therefore undertook to redraft the section for the Report stage. Similar objections were raised against the other sub-sections of the clause, and the Minister promised to redraft these also. Eventually the House became so confused as to what the wording of the clause was to be, that Miss Bondfield, on the suggestion of Mr. Baldwin, withdrew it bodily, with the object of presenting it again in a new form for the Report stage.

In order as far as possible to remove further obstacles from the passage of the Bill, Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden on the next day (December 6) attended a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and made an appeal for closer co-operation. The Prime Minister showed that it was absolutely essential to pass the Bill into law before Christmas, and that for this purpose it would be necessary to restrict amendments to a minimum. The Chancellor of the Exchequer on his side, pointed out that certain amendments which Labour members desired to move would involve further heavy demands upon the Exchequer, and declared that the commitments already embodied in the Bill marked the utmost limit to which he could go. After hearing the Ministers, the meeting agreed—not without dissent from the Left Wing—not to press

amendments of a financial character, and to co-operate with the Government in getting the Bill through as quickly as possible.

The vacillation shown by the Government in the debate on the Bill so far had created a widespread impression that they were hesitating whether to proceed with it or not. Accordingly, when the discussion on the Committee stage was resumed on December 9, Conservative members showed themselves most anxious to know the Government's intentions. Miss Bondfield stated that a new draft of clause 4 would be submitted on the Report stage, and that certain subsequent passages of the Bill would be brought into conformity with this. Major Elliot then urged the Government to withdraw the Bill, on the ground that its acceptance of what he called the Hayday formula would entitle some 200,000 more persons to benefit, and so increase the expenditure of the Insurance Fund by about eight million pounds. Miss Bondfield merely replied that she could make no decision until the new form of clause 4 had been actually drafted.

In further discussion in Committee (December 10), an amendment was brought forward by Mr. Maxton to shorten the waiting period from six to three days, as it had been in 1924, and was regretfully declined by the Minister of Labour on the ground that it would throw on the Insurance Fund an additional cost of some four million pounds a year. The Conservatives tried without success to shorten the transitional period fixed in the Bill, in order that the whole question of giving State relief under the guise of insurance might be gone into as soon as possible; the Minister thought that the time allowed was none too long for the necessary consultations. Miss Bondfield herself, in accordance with her promise at an earlier stage, introduced a new clause, which found favour on all sides, providing for approved courses of instruction for persons under 18, 75 per cent. of the cost to be shared between the Insurance Fund and the Exchequer, and the rest to be found by the local authorities.

By December 10 the Attorney-General had succeeded in drafting a new clause 4 which satisfied both the Government and the bulk of the Labour Party. The gist of it was that henceforth it would be for the officials of the Employment Exchange to prove that claimants for benefit had refused reasonable offers of work, not for the claimants to prove that they had not refused such offers. On the next day, the Ministry of Labour issued a memorandum dealing with the financial effects of the new clause. The estimate of the Ministry was that through the alteration of the test some 80,000 to 90,000 additional persons would be able to make good their claim to benefit, and that this would involve an expenditure of about four million pounds, of which two millions would come from the Exchequer and two millions from the Insurance Fund.

When the Report stage of the Bill opened on December 12,

Conservative members moved that the Bill should be recommitted, as the new clause made it virtually a different measure ; also on the more specific ground that as it imposed an additional charge on the public revenue, it could not be considered by the House on the Report stage. This objection was not upheld by the Speaker, who considered that the new charge was merely an increase on charges already in the Bill. The actual motion was lost by 95 votes. The Attorney-General then moved the new clause 4, which, he claimed, gave expression to the general feeling of the House—an opinion from which Conservative members vehemently dissented. Miss Bondfield pointed out that the financial memorandum had purposely taken every possible danger to the finance of the Fund into account, that its figures were largely conjectural, not being based on data which could properly be called actuarial, and that it was quite possible therefore that the new charge would turn out to be much less than was estimated. The clause was finally adopted by 290 votes to 159.

The Report stage of the Bill was concluded on December 16, and the third reading was taken on the same day, amid vehement protests from the Conservative Party at this cavalier treatment of Parliament. The Conservatives moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that it placed increased burdens on the Exchequer. Mr. Snowden justified the increased expenditure of the Exchequer by saying that in this way alone could the Fund be saved from insolvency, and he laid the blame for the desperate plight of the Fund on the mismanagement of the previous Government. Major Elliot did not neglect to call attention to the serious discrepancy between Mr. Snowden's view and that of Mr. Maxton and his friends, who openly proclaimed that it was no part of their purpose to make the Fund solvent. He prophesied that the real struggle in British politics would one day come between this section and the Conservative Party, when the smoke-screen put up by Mr. Snowden had cleared away. The Liberals refused to be frightened by this bugbear, and voted solidly for the third reading, which thus obtained a majority of 74.

The annual conference of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations was held in London on November 21 and 22, and was attended by about 4,000 delegates. In the interval since the meeting of the Executive in July (*vide* p. 54), an agitation had been carried on in the country for discrediting the Central Office and removing Mr. Baldwin from the leadership. A questionnaire had also been sent out by the party headquarters to the chairmen of constituencies in England and Wales inquiring into the reasons for the defeat of the party at the General Election, but so far only about 250 replies had been received. At the conference itself the question of the leadership was not raised. Some criticism was levelled at the Central Office of the Union as being responsible for the defeat of the party at the election, but

in the end that body was accorded a vote of confidence by a large majority. The conference again placed Empire development on a Protectionist basis, and Imperial preference, in the forefront of Conservative policy, and it greeted with loud applause speeches from the platform containing unmeasured vituperation of the Russian Soviet Government. Mr. J. C. Davidson, the Chairman of the Organisation, emphasised the need of better education within the party, and resolutions were passed calling for more strenuous efforts in this direction.

In connexion with the conference, Mr. Baldwin addressed a mass meeting on November 21. Referring to the agitation against him which had been carried on by certain sections of the party since the General Election, he said that he was ready to give up the leadership as soon as he received an intimation from the party that his services were no longer required, but not before. He refused to be dispirited by the result of the election, and derived great encouragement from the fact that the Government was in many things following closely in the footsteps of its predecessor. He accepted wholeheartedly the resolutions of the conference making Imperial development the basis of Conservative policy. After the speech a resolution expressing unabated confidence in Mr. Baldwin as the leader of the party was carried with enthusiasm.

In the House of Lords on November 19, Lord Beaverbrook, the Press magnate, pleaded the cause of "free trade within the Empire," a policy on behalf of which he had for some time been conducting a vigorous propaganda in the journals under his control. The object of the policy was, he said, to make the Empire a single economic unit, with freedom of trade between its constituent parts, but with a customs barrier against the rest of the world. The Government, of course, would not hear of such a plan, and even Conservative members who sympathised with the idea thought it impracticable, because the Dominions showed no sign of any willingness to give up Protection, even against England. In spite of this cold reception, the advocates of the plan brought the subject forward again before many weeks had passed. On December 9, in the House of Lords, Viscount Elibank urged the Government to arrange that at the Imperial Economic Conference in 1930, all aspects of inter-Imperial trade should be considered, and under cover of his motion took the opportunity, as did several other speakers, to press the claims of Imperial Free Trade. Lord Passfield replied that while the Government did not wish to rule out any subject from the discussions of the conference, it was not for Britain to suggest to the Dominions as a basis of discussion that they should make changes in their fiscal system for her interest, and he pointed out once more that what was called Empire Free Trade really meant that they should tax foreign imports, especially food.

On December 2 the Minister for Transport informed the House of Commons that the Government was on the point of "exploring plans for the complete consolidation of the passenger transport agencies at present operating" in the London area. At the same time he declared that the principle of public ownership was still a *sine qua non* with the Government, though it would be applied in such a way as not to interfere with business efficiency. A few months before he had expressed himself as confident of his ability to solve the traffic problem of London. His change of tone on the present occasion prompted Sir K. Wood to the caustic comment that he had destroyed the only practical Bill—that introduced by the Conservatives earlier in the year—and was giving them a lecture in its place.

On December 2 the Government published the text of its Road Traffic Bill, the purpose of which was to bring the law of the road into harmony with the new conditions created by the great extension of motor traffic. It was based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Transport, the second of whose reports had been issued only six weeks before. The new Bill proposed, among other things, to abolish formally the speed limit for motor cars and motor cycles, and to fix that for heavy motor vehicles like motor coaches and omnibuses at 30 miles an hour; to increase considerably the penalties for reckless and dangerous driving, and to make the driver's licence withdrawable on a second offence; to make careless driving an offence; to raise the minimum age for motor cyclists from 14 to 16; to exact from all applicants for motor licences a declaration of physical fitness; and to forbid drivers of heavy motor vehicles to remain on duty for more than five hours at a stretch or more than ten hours out of twenty-four. The Bill further provided against third party risks either by compulsory insurance or in some other way. Another important proposal of the Bill was to do away with the County as the traffic authority, and instead to divide England and Wales into ten, and Scotland into two traffic areas with three Commissioners for each.

The new Road Traffic Bill was brought before the House of Lords on December 5 by Earl Russell, who explained the motives underlying many of its provisions. A maximum of 30 miles per hour had been fixed for motor coaches because it was thought that a higher speed was unnecessary for these vehicles; if people wanted to travel faster they could use the railways. In the case of private motors there was no similar justification for imposing a speed limit—even if it were much higher than the present one—and further, the psychological effect of a speed limit was bad, because it diverted public attention from the real evil, which was dangerous or reckless driving. The unreasonable driver could only be cured by a change of psychology. Provision was made in the Bill for the issue by the Minister of Transport of a highway code,

which, though without statutory force, would, he thought, prove more effective in preventing accidents than any of the statutory regulations or enactments. The transference of certain powers from the local authorities to the new traffic authorities was, he thought, in the national interest, and he hoped would be accepted as such by the municipalities. After passing its second reading without difficulty, the Bill was keenly criticised in Committee, but it came through with only one substantial alteration, the clause empowering municipalities to run bus services beyond their own boundaries being rejected.

Towards the end of November attention was called in Parliament to the fact that seven Under-Secretaries of State were sitting in the House of Commons, although according to law, only six were allowed. For five months the Opposition had failed to notice the illegality, and it was first brought to light in a letter written to the Press by a country clergyman. The Prime Minister explained that the mistake had arisen through his overlooking the fact that the previous Government had divided the Secretaryship of State of the Colonies into two, each with its own Under-Secretary. In order to put matters right, one of the Under-Secretaryships, that for India, was transferred to a peer, Earl Russell. The other six were reshuffled among the holders, the "odd man out" Mr. Ponsonby, who had been Under-Secretary of State for the Dominions, becoming Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, the office hitherto held by Earl Russell. At the same time (December 3), a Bill was passed to indemnify each and every one of the Under-Secretaries against any penalties which might be invoked against them for having broken the law, albeit unwittingly.

About the same time the attention of the Government was called by Conservative members of Parliament to a speech made by the Minister of Finance of the Irish Free State, stating that if the Privy Council on an appeal reversed a decision of the Irish Supreme Court, the Irish Government would take steps to render its verdict nugatory and uphold that of its own Court. In a debate in the House of Lords on December 3, a number of speakers pointed out that the right of appeal from the Irish Supreme Court to the Privy Council was expressly laid down in the treaty granting Ireland self-government, and asked the Government what steps it intended to take to uphold British rights. Lord Passfield replied that Mr. Blyth's speech was certainly contrary to the treaty, but the Government did not feel that it would be called upon to act until some actual offence had been committed.

On December 4 the House of Commons gave its assent to a private member's motion calling upon the Government to use all its efforts to stimulate international action for the limitation and reduction of armaments. The debate afforded speakers once more an opportunity of contrasting the steps taken by Great Britain in

this direction with the policy adopted by some other nations. Referring to the air arm in particular, Sir S. Hoare pointed out that in the last four years Italy had increased her air expenditure by 28 per cent., France by 92 per cent., and the United States by 126 per cent., while Britain had reduced hers by 10 per cent. The First Lord of the Admiralty said that speakers were pushing at an open door when they urged the Government to strive for general reduction of armaments. Their hopes were at present centred on the Five-Power Conference to be held in London, which it was thought might lead to a substantial advance in international action.

After much "sniping" in the House of Commons, a definite attempt to prevent the resumption of closer relations with Russia was made by the Conservatives on December 4, through a motion brought forward in the House of Lords, "that the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Government is at this moment undesirable." The mover, Lord Birkenhead, went over the familiar arguments against recognition—that the Soviet Government did not acknowledge the sanctity of international obligations, that it was in close league with the Third International, and that there was no reason why Britain should not be able to trade with Russia without an agreement, just as America did. Lord Thomson, on behalf of the Government, joined issue with him on the last point, showing that there had been a fall of 75 per cent. in British exports and re-exports to Russia since 1926, when the Trade Agreement was broken off. Another reason for recognising Russia was in order to make the peace of Europe more secure. These considerations outweighed with the Government the risk—which they acknowledged to be a real one—of the Soviet Government not abiding by its pledges. The Government was supported by Lord Reading and Lord Cecil, while Lord Melchett and Lord Brentford sided with Lord Birkenhead. The motion in the end was carried by 43 votes to 21.

On December 9 Unionist members in the House of Commons called the attention of the Foreign Secretary to the adverse vote in the House of Lords in the previous week, and asked him if he would not render void the steps so far taken to re-establish relations with Russia in accordance with the provision of the Protocol of August 3, that no steps should be taken under it until it had been brought before Parliament. Mr. Henderson took refuge in the statement of the Prime Minister on July 15, that no step taken by the Government in this matter would become effective till it had been debated in the House of Commons. He pointed out that in so deciding the Government was following the procedure adopted by the last Government in breaking off relations, and that in fact the House of Commons had approved the Government's action on November 5 (*vide* p. 97).

As a last fling, the Conservatives on December 18 called upon

the House of Commons to express its formal disapproval of the Government's methods in conducting negotiations with the Soviet Government, and to condemn its carelessness in using the word "Parliament" where it meant "House of Commons" in the Protocol of agreement. Sir A. Chamberlain characterised the methods employed in the negotiations as inconsistent with the dignity of the country, and as condemning the Protocol in advance to futility. Mr. Henderson maintained that the use of "Parliament" in the Protocol for "House of Commons" was quite admissible, and he cited an opinion given to him by the Attorney-General, that where it was a question not of legislation but of executive action, "Parliament" would naturally mean the House of Commons, as the one body which could turn the Government out of office. He denied that he had ever tried to extract from the Russian envoy an undertaking as to debts before opening negotiations, leaving unexplained the discrepancy between this statement and that of Mr. Dovgalevsky (*vide* pp. 71, 97). In regard to propaganda, he gave the House to understand that while the Government would do their best to prevent it, they would not break off relations on the first provocation.

By this time the Russian Ambassador, Mr. Sokolnikoff, had reached London. Two days later (December 20) he presented his credentials, and, in accordance with the stipulation contained in the Protocol of October 3, immediately sent to the Foreign Secretary a formal confirmation of the undertaking then given by Mr. Dovgalevsky on behalf of the Soviet Government to abstain from hostile propaganda. Mr. Henderson replied that the British Ambassador in Moscow had been instructed to make a corresponding declaration.

On December 10 a White Paper was published setting forth the works for creating employment which the Lord Privy Seal had so far approved in the exercise of the powers conferred on him by Parliament. From this it appeared that he had sanctioned schemes involving a total expenditure of about 46,000,000*l.*, of which nearly 10,000,000*l.* would come from Government grants and 16,000,000*l.* from the Road Fund. As some of these schemes could not be carried out without the consent of Parliament, Mr. Thomas, on December 11, asked the House of Commons to alter its standing orders in such a way as to enable private Bills for promoting such schemes to be considered and passed with as little delay as possible—a request which was readily granted.

On December 11 the Government's proposals for a treaty with Egypt were severely criticised in the House of Lords by Lord Salisbury and Lord Lloyd, the late High Commissioner for Egypt. According to them, the Government was abandoning the Declaration of 1922, and embarking on a new policy which would have a most detrimental effect on British interests, both military and economic, in Egypt. Lord Parmoor maintained that British in-

terests were fully protected under the proposed treaty. Viscount Grey warmly defended the Government's policy, maintaining that the time was ripe for carrying out the undertaking made in the Declaration to give Egypt full self-government. He charged Lord Lloyd with wanting to upset the Declaration and to restore the Cromer regime which the Declaration was meant to terminate. Lord Thomson, on behalf of the Government, expressed apprehensions lest Lord Salisbury's motion, regretting the precipitation with which the Government's policy was entered upon, might, if carried, cause despondency in Egypt and complicate an already difficult position, and he appealed to him to withdraw it. Lord Salisbury, however, insisted on a division, and the motion was carried by 46 votes to 13.

Having obtained the approval of the miners for their proposed mining legislation (*vide* p. 92), the Government on November 27 submitted it to the coal-owners for their consideration. The owners pointed out that the marketing scheme outlined in the Bill differed in important respects from that which they had themselves elaborated, and was likely to subject them to considerable hardships. After some discussion, the Government succeeded in modifying this part of the Bill in such a way as to meet the requirements of the coal-owners. It then submitted its proposals to the leaders of the Liberal Party, who raised fresh difficulties.

Without waiting to secure the agreement of the Liberals, the Government on December 12 issued the text of the Coal Mines Bill which it had made up its mind to present in Parliament for a second reading before Christmas. The Bill dealt with marketing schemes, working hours, and a National Wages or Industrial Board, the subject of royalties being left for a subsequent measure. In regard to the first point, the existing wage ascertainment districts, of which there were about twenty, were to serve also as areas for the district marketing schemes. All the districts were to be fused under a Central Council, which was to lay down an output for the country as a whole and allocate the quota to each district, while the district body would in turn allocate the quota among the companies in its area. To protect the interests of the public, it was provided that no scheme should come into operation without the sanction of the Board of Trade. The Central Council was also empowered to impose a levy on the districts for the purpose of facilitating the sale of coal where foreign competition had to be faced. The second part of the Bill enacted that the maximum working day should consist of seven and a half hours and one winding time, as from April 1, 1930. The third part of the Bill proposed to set up a National Board, similar to the Board set up for the Railways in 1921, to deal with hours, wages, and conditions of employment in the industry, without power to enforce its decisions.

In spite of protests from the Opposition in Parliament and

from commercial bodies outside, the Government persisted in its determination to take the second reading of the Coal Bill before Christmas, in order, as it said, that it might ascertain the views of Parliament before resuming discussions with the coal-owners in the vacation. The motion for the second reading was formally brought forward on December 17 by Mr. Graham. He said that the purpose of the Bill was on the one hand to fulfil the pledge under which the Government lay to the miners, and, on the other hand, to provide for the better organisation of the mining industry. That the industry could not remedy its ills without Government assistance was, he thought, common ground with the great majority of those who had studied the subject; there were now very few who were prepared to say "let the industry work out its own salvation." The key to prosperity lay in marketing schemes. It was no doubt better that these should be undertaken voluntarily. But the schemes so far formed had broken down, with the exception of the so-called "Five Counties Scheme," embracing the coal-fields of South Yorkshire and the adjacent counties, and it was doubtful if even this could continue without Government assistance. Mr. Graham explained in great detail the powers which the Government proposed to take to itself, not in pursuance of any Socialistic theories, but purely in order to enable the industry to obtain better prices for its products. With regard to the reduction in the hours of work, he was confident that, owing to the improvement which was manifesting itself in the coal trade, this could be effected without leading to a reduction of wages, and he believed many of the coal-owners were with him in this belief. The proposed National Wages Board also, he thought, had the support of many coal-owners.

On behalf of the Conservatives, Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister moved the rejection of the Bill, chiefly on the ground that it was more a "price-fixing" than a marketing measure, and would have the effect of raising prices to the consumer. Sir Herbert Samuel, for the Liberals, gave a more reasoned statement of the same objection, at the same time leaving the door open for compromise. The Liberals, he said, had no quarrel with the proposals for reducing hours and setting up a National Board. But they took serious exception to the provision by which in the fixing of output quotas would be allotted to the individual pits, as this in their opinion would mean the bolstering up of inefficient pits; and they also thought that under the Bill the mine-owners would be given far too great a say in the fixing of prices. He therefore asked the Government whether it was prepared to introduce and give effect to the principle of compulsory amalgamations; whether it would make those provisions regarding marketing quotas to which the Liberals took exception purely temporary; whether it would ensure that if amalgamations took place they should be made on the basis of the real value of the mines and not an exaggerated

one ; and whether they would provide for a really effective control of prices in the public interest.

A reply to Sir Herbert's questions was presently vouchsafed by Mr. Turner, the Minister of Mines. With regard to compelling amalgamations, he said that the President of the Board of Trade thought that he already had sufficient powers for this purpose ; if it was found that he had not, he would ask for them when the Bill was in Committee. The continuance or otherwise of the marketing schemes would depend on the report of Commissioners to be appointed under the Bill ; while the question of exaggerated valuation, in the Government's opinion, would not arise. In regard to prices, Mr. Turner merely said that some observations would possibly be made on the matter when the debate was resumed in a couple of days' time.

The debate having been adjourned, the Parliamentary Liberal Party considered Mr. Turner's replies to Sir H. Samuel's questions, and found them wholly unsatisfactory. It was known, however, that the Government was prepared to make substantial concessions to the Liberal point of view, and accordingly, when the debate was resumed on December 19, Mr. Lloyd George again put the same questions. Mr. George's tone, however, was very different from that of Sir H. Samuel. He began by calling the measure " an incredibly bad Bill," and his criticism of it was marked by a biting, if brilliant pungency which did not suggest any disposition for compromise. At the end of his speech he went out of his way to irritate the Labour members—who were perhaps unduly sensitive on the point—by some mocking references to the Attorney-General and the Secretary for Mines. To mark their resentment, the Government refrained from putting up one of their number to answer him, as they otherwise would have done, and left it to Mr. Hartshorn to point out that if the condition of the mining industry would not be greatly improved by the Bill, it would grow much worse without the Bill.

Mr. Churchill, a little later, elaborated the charge brought against the Government by Mr. Lloyd George, that it had leagued itself with the coal-owners to fleece the consumers. The Prime Minister's suspicions had been aroused by the tone of both these speakers, and his first remark on rising to reply was that there seemed to be a political motive behind the opposition to the Bill. Nevertheless, he made a last appeal for fair treatment. He admitted frankly that the Bill was only a temporary expedient to enable the coal industry to stand the proposed reduction in working hours until it could be reorganised by amalgamations, and he expressed his willingness to see the proposals drastically altered in Committee. He did not deny that the effect of the Bill might be to raise the price of coal for a time, but he maintained that at all costs it was necessary to put the industry on its feet. He concluded by quoting from a leading article in *The Times* of that

morning a remark that in the public interest it was desirable that the second reading should be carried, as its rejection would produce many uncertainties and doubts, and would nullify the steps which the industry had so far taken to set its house in order.

The voting in the division tended to confirm Mr. MacDonald's surmise that a political manœuvre was on foot. In spite of the appeal of *The Times*, the number of Conservatives who voted against the second reading was unexpectedly large, several who had been away having returned hurriedly to town for the purpose. The Labour Party supported the Government to a man. Forty Liberals voted against the second reading, but two supported the Government and six abstained from voting. This Liberal defection just turned the scale in favour of the Bill, the voting figures being 281 for the second reading, and 273 against.

The fact that the Government had secured a majority, even by so narrow a margin, saved the country from a political crisis for the time being. But the action of the Liberals was interpreted by the Labour Party as a declaration of war, and an intimation that they would turn the Government out at the first favourable opportunity. The political outlook had once more become obscured, and the opinion was freely expressed in Parliament and elsewhere that a General Election was probable in a few months' time.

After considering the situation at a couple of Cabinet meetings, the Government decided to go on with the Coal Bill and to introduce a number of changes on the lines suggested by the Liberals. The chief of these, according to a statement issued by the President of the Board of Trade on December 23, was that a clause would be inserted in the Bill appointing Commissioners for the purpose of framing schemes of amalgamation in different parts of the country. It was further stated that while the Government adhered to its view that the fears of a rise in the price of coal as a result of the Bill were groundless, it would nevertheless consider further steps for protecting the public. A promise was also made that provisions would be introduced into the Bill for fixing a time limit to the marketing schemes.

Towards the end of the year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer received representations from the silk and other industries asking him to declare his intentions with regard to the safeguarding duties, as the prevailing uncertainty was interfering with business. On December 12, in answer to questions in Parliament, he promised to make a statement on the subject before the House rose, without, however, guaranteeing that it would convey much enlightenment. He made his promised statement on December 23, and as he had warned his hearers, it did not leave them much wiser. He declined in any way to anticipate his Budget decisions, and consequently gave no indication whether the various duties in force would be retained or discontinued. While refusing, how-

ever, to relieve traders of their uncertainty, he showed himself desirous of saving them from unnecessary loss ; and he therefore promised, if the sugar and silk duties were removed, to propose some scheme of rebates to meet the position of holders of duty-paid stocks, and similarly to give drawbacks on duty-paid exports in case any of the McKenna or safeguarding duties were repealed.

The Government had now concluded its legislative programme, but the House of Commons remained in session till Christmas eve, in order to discuss the Government's policy in regard to unemployment, Egypt, and Singapore. A debate on the first-named subject was called for by the fact that since the Government had taken office the number of unemployed had risen by about 200,000 and now stood at over 1,300,000. Accordingly, on December 20, Mr. Thomas was called upon by a number of speakers, including Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Wheatley, to give an account of his stewardship. By far the most severe critic of the Lord Privy Seal was Mr. Wheatley, who not only disapproved of his whole handling of the problem, but showed himself very sceptical as to his efforts to secure orders for British products. Mr. Baldwin calculated that, according to the recently issued White Paper, Mr. Thomas's schemes might find work for 70,000 to 75,000 men if spread over five years, but he sympathised with Mr. Thomas and his colleagues, because they were engaged in a hopeless task which was being rendered more difficult by the action of their own Government. Mr. Thomas in reply repeated what he had so often said before, that the only real remedy for unemployment was an improvement in the export trade, and of this he could not see much sign as yet, though he thought there were prospects of a great increase in the export of motor cars. In reply to Mr. Wheatley, he said he had good hopes that orders would come in from Canada when the winter ended and shipping was resumed. As to the question what difference there was between the policy of the Labour Government and that of the late Unionist Government, he described it by saying that Mr. Baldwin had put the brake on, while he was putting the accelerator on ; but he also did not believe that the problem could be solved by merely spending money.

On the motion for the adjournment on December 23, Sir A. Chamberlain raised the question of the proposals for a treaty with Egypt, a subject on which he was not unnaturally anxious to express his views. While not denying that the time had arrived for an alliance between Britain and Egypt, he was of opinion that in various respects the proposals failed to safeguard British interests sufficiently. Mr. Henderson, like Lord Parmoor in the other House, took his stand upon the declared policy of Lord Cromer and the report of the Milner Commission. The Government, he said, had proceeded on the assumption that no agreement of permanent value could be made unless credit were given to the

Egyptians for a desire to operate the agreement in the same spirit as that in which its provisions had been conceived ; and this was the explanation of the differences between the present proposals and the draft treaty negotiated by Sir A. Chamberlain himself with Sarwat Pasha in 1927 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, pp. 36, 263).

The last day of the session (December 24) was utilised by a number of Conservative speakers, including Mr. Amery, to voice their indignation at the action of the Government in slowing down the work on the Singapore naval base. An announcement to that effect had been made by the Government on November 13, and had been at once met with unavailing protests from the Conservatives. Having now obtained an opportunity of discussing the subject, they demanded to know whether the Government intended to abandon the work, and, if so, whether compensation would be given to those Dominions and Colonies which had already contributed to it. The First Lord of the Admiralty explained that they desired to spend as little as possible on the work until the coming Naval Conference, in case the resolutions there adopted should render it unnecessary, and he promised that in any case the Government would not come to a final decision without consulting the Dominions and Colonies concerned.

With this statement the serious business of the session was concluded, but a large number of members remained in their places a little longer to hear a "duel" between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Snowden on the management of the national finances. The ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, irritated by a slighting reference which his successor had made to him a few days before, indulged in a slashing attack on the latter's record during his six months of office. While admitting that he had fought a good fight at The Hague, he accused him of having adopted there a needlessly provoking manner, which had probably made him lose many advantages, and of having missed an excellent opportunity of claiming release for Britain from the Balfour Note. By his attitude to the safeguarding and McKenna duties, he thought Mr. Snowden would cause many thousands to be thrown out of employment in the course of the next year. He had already added over eight million pounds to the national expenditure for the coming year, and perhaps thirty million pounds for future years, and through the Coal Bill he would increase the indirect taxation of the country by as much. Mr. Snowden, as usual, excused the increased expenditure to which the Government was committing itself by the shortcomings of his predecessor. Instead of raising the money he required by taxation, Mr. Churchill had robbed every reserve on which he could lay hands, and those deficiencies now had to be made up. The House enjoyed the hard hitting, and the debate ended on a friendly note appropriate to the season.

On December 19 representatives of the General Council of the

Trade Union Congress for the second time met representatives of the two employers' organisations to consider possibilities of joint action. Since the last meeting in April (*vide* p. 35), the joint committee then appointed had framed a series of proposals for enabling the two parties at any time to consult together and co-operate in any matters which interested them. A resolution to adopt the proposals was moved by Mr. A. J. Cook—who on all similar occasions previously had been the chief dissident—and was carried unanimously. This decision was generally regarded as marking an important, if not very long step in the direction of industrial co-operation.

In view of the conditions prevailing in industry, the new machinery of conciliation thus created could not in fact be regarded as superfluous. Apart from the serious stoppage in the cotton trade, the year 1929 was indeed no less free from trade disputes than its two predecessors had been. But in more than one industry there was considerable unrest which, if not appeased, might easily lead to an open breach. In the cotton industry itself the operatives were still smarting under what they considered the unfairness of the arbitral award in August. In the Yorkshire textile industry the wage agreements which expired in the autumn had not been renewed. The railwaymen in November had sought to terminate the agreement by which in the previous year they had sacrificed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their wages, and had with difficulty been persuaded by the Companies to continue it for another six months. The agreements in the mining industry had fortunately lasted till the end of the year, and had been loyally observed, but the attitude of both masters and men made it clear that the task of framing new ones would not be easy.

IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

IN Northern Ireland the outstanding event of the year was the General Election (May 22), which resulted in a sweeping victory for Lord Craigavon, who returned to power with 37 members, whereas all other groups secured only 15 seats.

Controversy in the constituencies began early, and Opposition critics were hopeful that the demand for local option which was strongly backed by sections of the Protestant clergy would result in a split in the Unionist ranks. Lord Craigavon, while declaring that the door to further temperance reform had not been closed, declined to have anything to do with local option, which he maintained would be in practice "a grave danger to Ulster." Attempts were made to secure an agreement on the basis of a scheme to reduce licenses by closing down the poorer public-houses, and while this was rejected by the extreme Drys, the Moderates refused to push hostility to the Government to the point of contesting seats. Ultimately three local optionists took the field, but all were heavily defeated.

Lord Craigavon's efforts to detach support from the local optionists were facilitated by his concessions to a committee composed of representatives of the Protestant Churches and the Orange Order on the question of the Education Act. It was agreed on behalf of the Government that an amending Bill would be introduced to meet the claims of the Churches in regard to Bible instruction in the schools and the addition of a nominated element to borough and regional committees.

The decision to abolish proportional representation in Parliamentary election for all constituencies except Queen's University roused violent antagonism on the part of the National and Labour groups, whose leaders maintained that Ministers were acting in violation of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. The change from P.R. made it necessary to define new single-member constituencies, and the Redistribution Bill in which this change was effected was attacked by the Nationalists on the ground that the new constituencies were so delimited as to deprive them of

their fair share of representation. In the course of the second reading debate (March 7) five Nationalist members walked out of the House as a protest, and to pass the measure through the Committee stage the Government found it necessary for the first time in the history of the Northern Parliament to resort to the "guillotine" closure. As a pendant to the Redistribution Bill the Government set up a Commission (March 15) to investigate methods for remedying personation which for some years past had become increasingly common in Parliamentary elections. This was the first election since the extension of the franchise to women of 21, and the registers issued early in February showed that throughout Northern Ireland as a whole women voters exceeded men voters by 15,000, and were in the majority in the counties of Antrim and Down and the boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry.

The second Northern Parliament was dissolved on May 2, and in the General Election there were 61 candidates for 30 seats, 22 members having been returned unopposed. Unionists secured 37 seats, National League 11, Independents 3, and Labour 1.

Following the contests for the Northern Parliament came the elections for the Imperial Parliament, in which the Six Counties under the Act of 1920 are represented by 13 members. With the exception of two Nationalists, Mr. Joseph Devlin and Mr. T. J. Harbison, who were successful in Tyrone-Fermanagh, official Unionist candidates had an easy victory, and six local optionists and a solitary Liberal who had entered the lists were beaten by large majorities. Hitherto it had been the practice for certain Unionist members to sit in both Parliaments. On this occasion Lord Craigavon imposed a veto, with the object of ensuring that Northern representatives should be in a better position to support the Conservatives at Westminster. His chief whip, Captain Herbert Dixon, is now the only Unionist member with a seat in both Houses.

In the new Parliament Captain the Hon. Harry Mulholland was chosen Speaker in succession to Sir Hugh O'Neill, Bart., who had been returned to Westminster as one of the members for Antrim. In the elections to the Senate three Nationalists were returned for the first time.

The Minister of Finance (the Rt. Hon. H. M. Pollock), in presenting his eighth successive Budget in the Northern House of Commons, stated that expenditure for the year would amount to 10,094,000*l.* As a proof of increasing sobriety Mr. Pollock pointed out that in the previous year revenue from alcoholic liquors was 1,910,000*l.*, whereas five years ago the yield amounted to 2,439,000*l.*

A De-rating Bill on the British model met with little opposition in its passages through Parliament. By this measure agricultural land and farm buildings are freed from local rates, while

relief amounting to 75 per cent. of the rates is extended to productive industries and to transport undertakings on condition that rebates are given to manufacturers and farmers in respect of the carriage of raw materials.

Towards the end of the year the Government introduced a Bill to deal with the drainage of the River Bann, a problem which has exercised the minds of legislators since the days of Grattan's Parliament. Under the plan now formulated the Government undertake to bear two-thirds of the cost of the scheme up to 600,000*l.*, and the full amount of the cost in excess of that sum, restricting the contributions from local bodies in the areas affected to a maximum of 200,000*l.* The works, it is anticipated, will be completed by 1935. The scheme had the approval of all political sections.

The municipal year in Belfast opened badly with the rejection by a ratepayers' meeting (January 17) of the Bill which the Corporation sought permission to promote in the Northern Parliament, in order to give effect to the recommendations of the Collins Report for a revision of the functions and procedure of the Council. This was the second year running in which ratepayers had vetoed a Bill prepared by the Corporation, and there was a widespread belief that the deadlock thus created would force the Government to replace elected representatives by paid Commissioners. In accepting office as Lord Mayor, Sir William Coates said, "if there was not agreement on the desired reforms he thought it would be necessary for him to ally himself with those who desired to introduce Commissioners." While agreement was not reached, the Council succeeded, with less friction than was anticipated, in hammering out a scheme of unified central control of the civic finances, and the improvement in the position of the municipal tramways as a result of the arrangement with the omnibus companies did something to mollify critics.

Industrial conditions showed a slight improvement, though unfortunately the unemployed registering at exchanges remained throughout the year at the high total of from 30,000 to 35,000. It is satisfactory that the output of the Lagan shipyards exceeded that of any year since 1919. The record would have been still better had it not been for the strike of shipyard joiners, which dragged on from April to November, causing dislocation and deadlock in many departments. Efforts to revive the linen industry achieved little result. The gravity of the situation may be gauged from the fact that whereas in 1921 goods to the value of 16,000,000*l.* were exported, this figure in 1928-29 dropped to 9,000,000*l.* Inside the same period 100 of the 400 firms engaged in the manufacture have given up the struggle, and on all sides it is agreed that further drastic reductions must take place. Continental linen firms have maintained their advantage over Irish producers in the American market, and a delegation of Irish and Scottish

manufacturers which visited the United States to investigate the question at first hand reported strongly in favour of standardisation to eliminate waste in manufacture and distribution, and urged the necessity of co-operation and the abandonment of cut-throat competition at home. While the efforts of the Department of Agriculture have done much to raise the level of prices for eggs and butter, and cattle exports were well maintained, agriculture generally was hard hit as a result of industrial depression in Great Britain. Disastrous floods in October caused heavy damage to crops and live stock in several farming counties, and to alleviate distress the Government issued short term loans on easy terms.

The prosecution of a number of Donegal fishermen for trespass by the Bann and Foyle Fishery Co. raised a constitutional question with the Free State Government (see Free State) as to territorial jurisdiction over the waters of Lough Foyle. While the Northern Courts granted an injunction against the fishermen, the constitutional issue was left in the hands of the British Government.

During the year Belfast new Art Gallery and Museum was opened by the Governor, the Duke of Abercorn, who also laid the foundation-stone of the new Royal Courts of Justice in Belfast.

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

For the first time since the Free State came into being party controversies during 1929 were concerned in the main with economic problems instead of ranging over the constitutional issues raised by the Anglo-Irish settlement and the acceptance of membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In a speech delivered early in January Mr. de Valera formulated the policy of Fianna Fail as one of concentration on production for the home market and the exportation of surplus products in payment for imported goods which could not be economically produced at home. He proposed to attain his ends by a combination of protective tariffs, restriction of imports by licence, and a guaranteed price to encourage wheat growing.

This programme is in flat opposition to the Government plan which, as defined by Mr. Hogan, the Minister for Agriculture, lays stress on the importance of increasing the quality and quantity of Ireland's most profitable products. While adhering to the principle of selective tariffs, Ministers contended that the protection given must be measured not only by what industry needed, but by what the farmer can pay, and in an exhaustive analysis of the situation at the end of the year Mr. Hogan maintained that existing tariffs could not be extended unless some compensation were given to the agricultural producer. Fianna Fail suggested that compensation can be provided by a subsidy to encourage wheat growing and the restriction of imported feeding stuffs. As

against this it was argued that whereas in the last 90 years the price of wheat had increased only 18 per cent. the price of eggs had increased by 397 per cent., cattle by 340 per cent., and potatoes by 234 per cent.; and the analogy of the beet-growing experiment was put forward to show that a subsidy instead of extending the tilled area would result in the substitution of wheat for other crops.

With the object of discovering if an agreed policy could be found for improving the general situation and increasing employment, the Government set up an Economic Committee which included delegates of the different political parties together with representatives of the banking, trading, and farming interests. This body sat in private for several months, but was unable to arrive at any agreement on questions of importance.

The question of whether home-grown barley can be substituted for imported maize as feeding-stuff for stocks had been relegated to a Grain Growing Commission, and a strong Commission was also set up to investigate the possibilities of de-rating. This problem assumed a new importance in view of the freeing of the farmer in Northern Ireland from the burden of local rates, and the situation thus created was being adroitly used by Fianna Fail to make capital for its plan of repudiating payment of land annuities to British stockholders, on the ground that the 3,000,000*l.* which would be annually retained at home would provide the money required to give the Free State farmer the concessions now enjoyed by his northern neighbour.

The repeal of the Public Safety Act, under which prisoners charged with certain offences against the State might be tried before a tribunal of military officers, led to a campaign in Dublin to intimidate jurors. The foreman of a jury which had returned a verdict of guilty in a political case was attacked and desperately wounded in his own house (January 23), and a few weeks later a witness for the State in a similar prosecution was shot dead. The Government retorted by subjecting Republican extremists to cat-and-mouse arrest, under which suspects were rounded up, detained for examination and released, to be re-arrested after a short interval. This policy was strongly challenged by Fianna Fail and led to bitter exchanges in the Dail, in the course of which Mr. de Valera declared that the Government was simply continuing British rule in another form, and maintained that the authority of the Oireachtas was faulty in that it had secured a *de facto* position by illegitimate means.

In May the Minister for Justice introduced a Juries (Protection) Bill which provides for the secret empanelling of juries, majority verdicts of nine out of twelve, imprisonment for refusal to recognise the court, exclusion of the public from certain trials, and penalties for the intimidation of jurors. Labour joined Fianna Fail in opposing the measure, but as over a hundred amendments

were tabled the closure was rigidly applied, and the Bill passed into law without being subjected to searching criticism.

In defiance of an exclusion order Mr. de Valera crossed the Northern border with the intention of visiting Belfast. He was arrested at the frontier station of Goraghtwood (February 5) and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. In spite of resolutions from public bodies and Fianna Fail protests in the Dail the Government refused to make representations to the Northern Government, which, it was stated, was exercising a right also exercised by the Free State in its own territory.

In support of the policy of Gaelicisation a private member's Bill, which had strong Government backing, was introduced in March making it compulsory for future law students to acquire a knowledge of Gaelic sufficient to enable them to conduct legal business, oral and written, in that language. In spite of opposition from both barristers and solicitors, who pointed out that no legal text-book has yet been written in Irish, the measure was carried by large majorities. Later in the session additional grants were voted to Galway College with the object of facilitating its transformation into a Gaelic-speaking University, and in a new housing-scheme for the Gaeltacht preferential treatment is to be given to Irish-speaking families.

In his seventh Budget statement (April 24), Mr. Blythe, as a result of stringent economies, was able to declare a surplus of 100,000*l.*, and no new taxation was imposed with the exception of an increase of the taxation on motor buses. Net revenue for the coming year was estimated at 23,939,000*l.* and expenditure at 23,925,000*l.* The total dead-weight debt of the Free State was 20,000,000*l.*, or less than one year's revenue. Prior to the introduction of the Budget it was decided, on the recommendation of the Tariff Commission, to impose a tariff of 25 per cent. on imported woollens and worsteds and to increase the duty on imported articles of wearing apparel made up from woollen or worsted woven tissues.

The Censorship of Publications Act which became law in September had undergone considerable revision during its progress through both Houses. In particular the clause which delegated to certain "recognised associations" the task of submitting books for consideration by the Censorship Board was deleted. By the end of the year the Minister for Justice had not succeeded in securing five persons to act as members of the Board.

External affairs played a larger part than usual in Free State politics. Fianna Fail sharpshooters wasted ammunition in vain to prevent the Oireachtas from ratifying the Kellogg Pact; and unlike other Dominion delegates Mr. McGilligan signed the Optional Clause at Geneva without reservations. In speeches delivered during the year, Free State Ministers gave strong expression to their view that the new policy of co-equality is inconsistent

with a continuance of the right of appeal to the Privy Council, which in its present form was described as predominantly an English, as distinct from a Commonwealth, tribunal. Statements in this sense by Mr. Blythe, the Minister for Finance, gave rise to questions at Westminster, but the Free State Executive, while defining its position, refrained from formal action in regard to the right of appeal, pending the decision of the next Imperial Conference.

What might easily have been a critical situation as between the two Irish Governments was created in July by the action of the Northern Courts in a fishery prosecution which raised the question of territorial jurisdiction over the waters of Lough Foyle. While an injunction was granted against Free State fishermen, who were alleged to have trespassed on the fishing grounds of a company which has its headquarters in the six Counties, Lord Craigavon's Government refrained from enforcing the judgment when the question of jurisdiction was raised, on the ground that the territorial boundaries of Northern Ireland are a matter for the Imperial authorities. Discussions between London and Dublin were still proceeding at the end of the year.

During the year the Free State appointed Ministers Plenipotentiary to the Vatican, Berlin, and Paris, and in December it was announced that the Holy See would be represented in Dublin by Monsignor Paschal Robinson as Papal Nuncio.

In October recruiting began for the Free State Volunteer Reserve. It was intended that the regular Defence Forces, which numbered 5,800, should be used in future mainly to train a citizen army on the British Territorial model. There was already an A. Reserve of 3,400 ex-regulars and B. Reserve of 3,420 second-line troops, and the Volunteers when mobilised would have a strength of 50,000 men.

Industrially the most important event of 1929 was the progress made towards the completion of the Shannon hydro-electric works. Water was admitted in July into the head-race canal which runs for seven and a half miles from Parteen Villa to the great power station at Ardnacrusha, and though the distribution network has not yet been extended to the whole of the Free State large areas were being supplied at the end of the year with current from the Shannon. In a message issued in December Dr. J. A. McLaughlin, managing director of the Electricity Supply Board, stated, "1930 will see the Shannon scheme no longer a dream but a reality, and its success not a matter of prophecy but of fact." Cork benefited by the development of Ford's factory which shipped during the twelve months agricultural tractors to the value of nearly a million sterling, and the remarkable recovery of the import trade of Guinness's Brewery was of material service to Dublin. In the various industries which enjoy the protection of the tariff wall employment increased, though not to the extent anticipated by ardent protectionists.

If the boon of a good harvest was marred somewhat by the low level of prices, the export trade in agricultural products showed an all-round improvement except as regards butter, and the development of the marketing scheme of the Associated Creameries encouraged the hope that this defect would be made good in the near future.

Extraordinary enthusiasm marked the celebrations held in June throughout the Free State in honour of the centenary of Catholic Emancipation. It was estimated that nearly half a million people from all parts of Ireland attended a Pontifical High Mass in the Phoenix Park.

By-elections were fought in North Dublin and Sligo-Leitrim, in both of which Government candidates were successful.

CHAPTER II.

CANADA.

AFTER a recess of eight months, the Third Session of the Sixteenth Federal Parliament was formally opened by the Governor-General, Lord Willingdon, on February 7.

The first resolution of the re-assembled Parliament was on the motion of the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, seconded by Mr. R. B. Bennett, leader of the Opposition, expressing the gratitude of the people of Canada for the recovery of His Majesty the King and voicing their deep and sincere loyalty to the Throne, and their prayer, along with that of all other parts of the Empire, for his complete recovery.

The Speech from the Throne referred to the unprecedented prosperity apparent throughout the Dominion. "Never in the history of Canada," it said, "has there been such industrial and commercial expansion as that which has taken place during the past twelve months. In the production of the agricultural and other basic industries, all previous records have been surpassed. New records have also been established in the volume of construction and in the volume of foreign trade. Employment has been maintained at a high level, and all indications point to the continuance throughout the country of the present favourable conditions."

Reference was made in the Speech to the expansion of the mining industry in almost every part of the Dominion, to the increased production of the fishing industry, to the development of trade between Canada and the West Indies through the improved steamship service and the enlarged trade commissioner service, and to the extensive development of the air mail services and communications to all parts of the Empire by the restoration of the penny postage. Referring to transportation problems and

development, the Speech noted that the construction of the Hudson Bay Railway had now reached the point where steel was within thirty-seven miles of the terminus of the line at Churchill, and that further branch lines in the construction programme by the Canadian National Railways would be submitted to Parliament.

The announcement was then made that an amendment to the Railway Act would be sought granting the Board of Railway Commissioners wider powers of investigation in relation to subsidiary concerns and with respect to issues of capital stock. Also legislation would be introduced providing for a general pension scheme for employees of the National Railway system.

Respecting immigration, the Speech referred to the recent successful negotiations for reduced ocean rates for immigrants from Great Britain, and for the encouragement through co-operation with the provinces of juvenile settlement from the Mother Country.

Reference was also made to the negotiations with the provinces of Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia for the transfer to these provinces of their natural resources now federally controlled, but no statement was made regarding prospective legislation.

Concerning recent developments "for direct personal contact in the discussion of inter-Imperial and foreign affairs," the Speech noted the appointments of a British High Commissioner to Ottawa and the opening of Japanese and French Legations in Ottawa and of a Canadian Legation in Paris. The Speech announced that Parliament would be asked to approve the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war and also the convention between Canada and the United States providing for the preservation of the scenic beauties of Niagara Falls.

In the Debate on the Address, Mr. Bennett contended that Canada's prosperity was simply the consequence of her resources, that her trade position was highly unsatisfactory because a large part of the purchasing power created by Canada's natural wealth and industry was being diverted annually to the buying of American goods, and that a satisfactory inflow of British immigrants was not being maintained. Turning to foreign affairs, the Leader of the Opposition expressed scepticism about the value of the Kellogg Anti-War Treaty, and he argued that the problems of Great Britain and the Dominions offered an opportunity for co-operate solution. He suggested that the Canadian Government call a great Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa to thrash out problems of Empire settlement and development.

Mr. Mackenzie King, replying, disagreed with Mr. Bennett's interpretation of Canada's economic position, and urged that the Governmental policies had contributed substantially to the present prosperity.

Speaking on a resolution moved by Mr. Church (Conservative) calling for a treaty with the United States providing for an immediate start on the proposed deepening of the St. Lawrence River waterway with the development of the power scheme, Mr. King said that the recent reference of this matter to the Supreme Court had been inconclusive. With a view to securing a mutual agreement the Federal Government had asked for a conference after Parliament was prorogued between representatives of Ontario, Quebec, and the Federal Governments. He hoped that such a conference would result in an understanding and agreement making possible the drafting of a treaty with the United States. Meanwhile the plans in regard to the waterway remained in abeyance.

On March 1 Mr. J. A. Robb, Minister of Finance, presented the Budget. He began with an optimistic review of the financial and trade situation, and, estimating that the aggregate revenue from all sources at the end of the fiscal year (March 31), would be 454,942,000 dollars and expenditure 385,160,000 dollars, he forecast a surplus of 69,782,000 dollars. This would constitute exactly the sum applied during the year to reduction of the National Debt, which would then stand at 2,227,000,000 dollars, ~~to the~~ took credit for a total debt reduction of 226,708,000 dollars ~~in the~~ last six years and a decrease in interest liabilities of 100 dollars. He also declared that, in spite of proposed ~~tax~~ increases in taxation, the Government expected that the revenues the next fiscal year would be sufficiently buoyant to yield as much as during the present year; and the Government contemplated paying out of the cash surplus the 60,000,000 dollars of loan maturing on August 1 next.

Discussing the position of the Canadian National Railways, Mr. Robb claimed that it showed for the last fiscal year a surplus of 7,000,000 dollars after paying all debt charges, except the interest due to the Government. In regard to the trade situation he stated that the first ten months of the fiscal year showed a favourable trade balance of 154,000,000 dollars, exports being put at 1,187,400,000 dollars and imports at 1,033,000,000 dollars.

Mr. Robb expressed gratification at the steady development of inter-Imperial trade, and said that Canada, as the pioneer of British preference, looked on Empire trade as the keystone of her external trade policy and desired in every way to foster closer trade relations throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations. He also declared that the series of recent commercial treaties with foreign countries had resulted in a substantial stimulation of trade, exports and imports from them having each almost doubled since 1922.

He then announced a list of taxation and tariff changes, which, he said, were designed to reduce tax burdens and lessen the costs of production. The most important reduction was a general "cut"

of one-third in the existing sales tax schedules, which will henceforth average about 2 per cent. He intimated the intention of the Government to abolish what were popularly known as the "nuisance taxes," and said the imposts on insurance premiums other than life or marine, railway and steamship tickets, telegrams and cablegrams would be immediately wiped out, and the tax on sales and transfers of shares would be changed to a graduated scale and divided into four sections. He announced a list of thirty-two changes in the tariff, mostly of a minor character.

Mr. Robb said that in all tariff changes, the British preference, wherever applicable, had been kept in mind, and the reductions would involve an estimated loss of revenue of about 25,000,000 dollars. He claimed that the Liberal Government's financial policy of rigid economy and balanced Budgets, accompanied by steady debt reduction, had enhanced the international credit of the Dominion and strengthened the confidence of the domestic credit market, to the benefit of the provinces and the stimulation of private business enterprise; and, in conclusion, he asserted that the Ministry would continue the same cautious policy and refuse to support public extravagance.

The Budget debate hinged largely on the tariff. Conservative speakers urged the retaliatory raising of Canada against the United States, while the Progressives submitted a sub-amendment requiring the Government's "commitment of an immediate and substantial increase in the British preference as a step towards freer trade relations between and other nations."

The Government was unsuccessful in securing a vote on the Budget before the Easter adjournment owing to the pressure brought by Western members in charges against the administration of the Canada Grain Act by the Board of Grain Commissioners. They complained that great losses to wheat producers were due to the Commissioners permitting the grain trade to deprive farmers of the control of the elevators, the destination of their grain and to mixing in terminal elevators. This resulted in the House of Commons voting to extend the scope of the inquiry undertaken by the Agricultural Committee so as to cover every phase of the operations of the Grain Act. The unanimous report of this Committee recommending adequate amendments to the Act was adopted and passed into legislation before the end of the session. Some months later the Board of Grain Commissioners was entirely reconstructed.

In a brief reference to immigration (March 16), Mr. Robert Forke, Minister of Immigration and Colonisation, said, "Labour looks askance at any large immigration into Canada, afraid, perhaps, it might increase unemployment; the railway companies claim the country can absorb a much larger volume of immigration than is now coming in, but agriculturalists are not pressing

hard for increased immigration at the present time." The Minister added that the Government's policy consisted in bringing in immigrants of a proper type commensurate with the absorbing capacity of the country. He noted that the total immigration of the past year aggregating 166,782 persons was a higher percentage than ever entered the United States as compared with their relative populations, and, consequently, Canada had a larger problem of assimilation and absorption than ever confronted the United States.

Two months later when the House was considering Immigration Estimates, General McRae (Conservative Whip) criticised the Government's policy as inadequate, and complained that people were being settled in Western Canada too far from hospitals, railways, and schools. He claimed that only 34 per cent. of the immigrants came from Great Britain last year, but that 57 per cent. of the people rejected as immigrants were British. General McRae believed that the Peace River district of Northern Alberta (which he personally had thoroughly explored), offered the best opportunity for the British Empire to establish an adequate British immigration scheme. He estimated that there were at least 75,000,000 acres of good agricultural land which meant that homes could be found for 300,000 farmers or a rural population of 1,500,000.

Mr. Forke, replying to General McRae, predicted that Canada must eventually take measures to restrict the number of immigrants to her capacity to absorb them. There was no difficulty, he said, in getting all the British people needed by Canada if the country could absorb them, but the difficulty was to get the type of people who would succeed in Canada, people able to overcome the hardships of pioneering work in a new country. Answering the criticism that too few British subjects were coming to Canada, Mr. Forke stated that the racial origin of last year's immigrants was 75,000 British, 41,000 Northern European, and 51,000 all others. He admitted that some British immigrants came in by way of the United States.

Mr. Forke also pointed out that 78 per cent. of Canada's population was native-born, 12 per cent. British-born, and 10 per cent. foreign-born. He maintained that in view of these figures there was no need for alarm that Canada would cease to be British—indeed, it would some day be seen that the Canadian people were conserving all that was best in British institutions. It was a fallacy to suppose, he continued, that the Prairie Provinces were colonised by immigrants. Western Canada had been largely built up by Canadians from Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. Mr. Forke doubted if increased immigration would make Canada's population wealthier or happier.

An episode with possibilities of grave international friction occurred when a British liquor-carrying vessel, of Canadian registry,

was sunk by the gun-fire of an American revenue cutter. The facts were that in the early morning of March 20 the schooner *I'm Alone*, which cleared from Belize, British Honduras, for Bermuda, encountered the United States revenue cutter *Walcott* off the coast of Louisiana at a place alleged by the United States preventive authorities to be 500 miles off her course to Bermuda. The United States Government also alleged that at the time when the *I'm Alone* was encountered by the *Walcott* she was within the limits prescribed by Article 2 of the Convention respecting the Regulation of the Liquor Traffic signed at Washington on January 23, 1924, but this was disputed. The master of the *I'm Alone* declined to obey the command of the officer in charge of the *Walcott* to heave to, and made off with the revenue vessel in pursuit. The chase continued until the morning of March 22, when the *I'm Alone* was sunk by gun-fire from the United States revenue cutter *Dexter*, which had joined in the chase some time earlier, the master of the *I'm Alone* still refusing to heave to. When the *I'm Alone* sank the master and crew were thrown into the sea, which at the time was running moderately high, but were able to reach the *Walcott* or the *Dexter*, and were picked up by the crews of one or other of these vessels. The boatswain unhappily did not react to artificial respiration on board the *Walcott* and died. The crew of the *I'm Alone* were taken to New Orleans and proceedings were initiated, but on April 9 these were discontinued, the charges against them being withdrawn. On the same date, Mr. Vincent Massey, the Canadian Minister at Washington, acting upon instructions from His Majesty's Government in Canada, made strong representations to the United States Government.

Although widespread indignation was expressed in the Canadian Press—particularly against the treatment of the vessel's crew by the American revenue officers who had put Captain Randall and his men in chains—it was generally recognised that the vessel was engaged in rum-running at her own risk, and the official correspondence exchanged between Ottawa and Washington (subsequently placed before the House of Commons), was characterised by a restraint and judicial firmness on the part of Canada that evoked the commendation of the British Foreign Office. Ultimately the matter was referred to arbitration by mutual agreement. When, later, the United States Government asked that the clearance of ships laden with liquor and bound for ports in the United States be prohibited, Canada refused the request as impracticable, but offered to permit American preventive officers to have facilities for observing the proceedings in the Canadian docks and for transmitting accurate information concerning the departure of vessels laden with liquor for Detroit or other ports on the Great Lakes.

The conflict of American and Canadian interests was again emphasised when a suggestion emanating (April 8) from Washington that Canada should give an assurance of participation in the international deep waterway undertaking on the St. Lawrence in return for the United States withholding the proposed tariff increases on Canadian agricultural products met with a vigorous protest from the Conservative Press throughout the country. Indeed, throughout many months of the year the question of the impending revision of the American tariff and its probable effects on Canadian welfare was a matter of general—and in some quarters alarmed—concern.

Mr. Mackenzie King referring to these fears in the resumed Budget Debate asked Parliament, in the light of conditions then prevailing, to await the action of the Government next year. He deprecated any retaliatory measures, but intimated that his Government proposed to lead the way in the matter of increasing British preference. After a strongly-worded arraignment of the Government by Dr. Manion, a former Conservative Minister, which produced some heated exchanges, Mr. Robb's Budget was put to the vote and was carried by 107 to 83 (April 11).

Sir George Foster, a Liberal-Conservative, speaking in the Canadian Senate (April 12) on a motion asking what was the attitude of the Canadian Government in regard to Canada's adhesion to the Geneva Protocol, the Permanent Court of International Justice and the provisions for the treatment of national minorities under the Covenant of the League, declared that the United States had accepted the principle of compulsory arbitration in respect to the South American countries. Canada, he said, was awaiting the consent of Great Britain and the other overseas Dominions to agree to the same principle and join the World Court. Sir George suggested that if Canada's representative on the League of Nations had stated at the last Assembly meeting that the Dominions proposed to sign the compulsory clause and submit judicial questions to the World Court in conformity with other nations, Canada's lead would have been followed by other members of the Empire.

Mr. Raoul Dandurand, the Government's leader in the Senate, and former President of the League of Nations, said the attitude of the Canadian Government had already been made plain by the Prime Minister, who had advocated adherence to the Optional Clause of the World Court. Senator Dandurand explained the desire of the Government to secure the consent of all the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the proposal before any definite action was taken.

Canada's rôle in international affairs was also the subject of a noteworthy public statement by the Prime Minister (April), in which he pointed out that the three great nations to which the Dominion had appointed diplomatic representatives—the United

States, France, and Japan—had, in addition to immediate relations with Canada, relations with Great Britain with possibilities and consequences far more vast than those arising out of her relations with any other of the nations of the world. Problems of the Atlantic and problems of the Pacific and all that lie between were bound up in that relationship.

Replying to a question (May 1) regarding the attitude of the Canadian Government towards the renewal of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, Mr. King said that diplomatic relations were broken off in 1926, but since then Soviet trade agents had been in Canada as well as in Great Britain and the United States, and there was, on the part of Canada, no desire to restrict trade between the two countries.

The operation of a new provision in the Customs Schedule requiring 50 per cent. of British labour and materials on all imports qualifying for the British preferential rates gave rise to numerous difficulties and protests, particularly from British manufacturers of copper goods, cotton fabrics, and mercury, and its products. Strong representations having already been made by Sir William Clark, the High Commissioner for Great Britain, in correspondence tabled in the House, Mr. Milton Campbell (Progressive) said, during a debate, that the regulation would be an added impediment to British imports at a time when in view of the United States tariff, Canada should be fostering Empire trade.

Mr. Euler, Minister of National Revenue, replied that the British preference was intended for British goods, and that the 50 per cent. requirement was therefore reasonable. In respect of copper, the British manufacturer could obtain all necessary supplies within the Empire, and within a year or so could obtain all his supplies from Canada. Regarding cotton goods, investigations showed that if the cost of cotton was $10\frac{1}{2}$ pence per pound, then British manufacturers could come within the requirements. At that time (May 13) the price was slightly lower. The Government, however, added Mr. Euler, was making a thorough investigation of all specific cases, and if certain adjustments were found necessary they would be made. Mr. Robb, Minister of Finance, said that Canada, in increasing the proportion of British labour and materials required under the new Schedule, was simply following the example of Great Britain itself and the other Dominions. The whole principle was calculated to benefit inter-Empire trade.

The Tariff Advisory Board took up the work of investigation of these and other Customs questions and heard detailed representations made in person, during the late months of the year, by delegates from certain British manufacturing organisations.

Parliament was prorogued by the Governor-General on June 14. Legislation had been passed, in addition to measures already

recorded, covering authorisation of extensive railway programmes, including the provision of 50,000,000 dollars for Montreal termini of the Canadian National Railways; an increased steamship service to South Africa; an agreement on the long-standing question of the return to the Prairie Provinces of their natural resources; an investigation into the proposal to build a canal across the Isthmus of Chignecto; sanction of plans submitted by the Beauharnois Power Company for a 60,000,000 dollar power scheme near Montreal; provision for supplementary air mail services and for the payment of all War Reparation awards aggregating 6,000,000 dollars; amendments to the Dominion Elections Act, the Narcotic Drugs Act, the Fisheries Act, the Insurance Act, and the Juvenile Delinquents Act.

Resolutions to annul the Act of Parliament of 1919 requesting that no further titles shall be bestowed on Canadians; to build a trans-Dominion motor highway; and to establish Divorce Courts for the Province of Ontario, were defeated.

The tariff situation in the light of the United States Bill raising barriers against Canadian products chiefly affecting certain sections of the lumber industry of British Columbia and dairy farmers of Quebec and Eastern Ontario (but on the whole, far more moderate than was generally expected) was the main theme of post-prorogation speeches of Conservative and Liberal leaders at a series of meetings in Western Ontario. Mr. Bennett, Conservative Leader, while not favouring tariff reprisals, emphasised the necessity of Canada raising tariff walls against the United States to be followed by an Empire Economic Conference to promote inter-Imperial trade. Mr. Lapointe, Minister of Justice, declared that the United States would still require Canadian products, "tariff or no tariff," and the Government's tariff policy would not be dictated by Washington.

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill was given an enthusiastic ovation when he addressed meetings of Canadian Clubs and other representative bodies during his visit to Canada in August. In the same month another British statesman, the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, Lord Privy Seal, accompanied by his wife, spent several busy weeks discussing a variety of problems with Mr. Mackenzie King and other leaders in public life, particularly in connexion with trade and immigration. Mr. Thomas, who was entertained by the Governor-General on arriving in Ottawa, also addressed a number of public meetings at which he explained the view-point of the British Government on several matters of common concern, but bluntly said, in connexion with Empire trade, that "Great Britain bought twice as much from Canada as Canada bought from Great Britain, while the United States found Canada their best customer." At Toronto Mr. Thomas pointed out that his mission to Canada was an endeavour to seek the help of the Dominion in solving the British unemployment situation, but

he opposed anything which would in any way materially affect any Canadian industry.

The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, formerly Dominion Secretary of the British Government, similarly paid a holiday visit to Canada in August and September and attended, among other gatherings, the annual convention of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce at Edmonton and Calgary where he was one of the principal speakers. Accompanied by a veteran Swiss guide, Mr. Amery also made the first ascent of Mount Amery, a peak 10,940 ft. high, named in his honour, situated at the junction of the Alexandria and Saskatchewan rivers.

The question of war reparations was discussed by Mr. Peter C. Larkin, Canadian High Commissioner in London, with members of the Cabinet during his brief visit to Ottawa in September. As a result of his representations and his report on The Hague Conference, which he attended as Canada's delegate (August), it was announced that the Canadian Government had decided to return German property in Canada taken over during the war, comprising real estate, bonds, and other securities at an approximate gross value of 13,000,000 dollars.

"As a missionary of peace and better understanding," the Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, British Premier, with his daughter Miss Ishbel MacDonald, and party, arrived at Toronto on October 16, from his memorable diplomatic mission to the United States. The following day at Ottawa they were cordially welcomed by the Governor-General, supported by the Prime Minister and members of his Cabinet, while a large crowd cheered them as they passed through the ranks of a guard of Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Mr. MacDonald—who was sworn in by Lord Willingdon as a member of the Canadian Privy Council and who received several civic and University honours during his stay—attended many functions and delivered numerous speeches to crowded audiences. At Ottawa Mr. Mackenzie King declared that Canada had followed his mission with the utmost interest, sympathy, and enthusiasm. He congratulated Mr. MacDonald on a personal achievement "second to none in British political history in fostering a larger measure of confidence between the United States and Great Britain." He believed that they were only at the beginning of what he accomplished through conference and that the cause of world peace was making real, substantial strides.

Before sailing from Quebec (October 25), Mr. MacDonald addressed a meeting of the Canadian Club at Montreal, in which he emphasised the need for co-operation, energy, and enterprise, and, referring again to the main purpose of his trans-Atlantic visit, paid tribute to the leading statesmen of America and of European countries for their work in the cause of international peace.

Simultaneously with the visit of the British Prime Minister,

a conference was opened in London to consider important matters arising from the last Imperial Conference. Canada's delegates were headed by the Hon. Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice (to whom fellow-members of the Canadian Parliament of all parties had, earlier in the year, contributed towards a handsome monetary gift as an appreciation of his long and distinguished services to the country), and the proceedings of the conference (October-November) were closely watched in Canadian parliamentary and legal circles as well as by leading newspapers, which subsequently published an inspired forecast of the recommendations made. These covered: The abrogation of the Colonial Laws Validity Act whereby any Statute passed at Westminster had validity over any conflicting Dominions Statutes; complete control by each Government of their own shipping laws, their own Admiralty Courts to have complete jurisdiction over the Merchant Marine Laws passed by them, with removal of the present anomalies of the Merchant Shipping Act; each Dominion to enact laws having extra-territorial application, including, for instance, the control of aircraft while flying outside Dominion territory, and abrogation of the present technical right of Governors-General to withhold "for His Majesty's pleasure" assent to any Bill constitutionally passed by a Dominion Government.

Montreal and other Canadian financial centres were briefly but seriously affected by the New York Stock Exchange "crash" (October) although no panic conditions prevailed.

Throughout the latter months of the year, however, the railway and shipping companies and, less directly, business interests throughout the country experienced a marked adverse effect from the withholding of wheat exports as the result of the policy of the Canadian Wheat Pool in holding out for a higher price for their wheat. Enormous stocks of grain held at the elevators were the subject of criticism both in the Dominion and Great Britain, but leaders of the Pool justified their method of "orderly marketing" as a fight in the interest of Canadian farmers against the competition and restrictive tariffs on grain imports imposed by France, Germany, Italy, and other European countries, and as an effort to regularise prices for the consumer. The total wheat crop of the year was enormously reduced, the figures being 293,899,000 bushels for 1929 as compared with 566,726,000 bushels for 1928.

The new Hudson Bay terminal and port—the long-cherished hope of Western farmers as an outlet for their produce by the shortest route to Europe—although not yet completed was used for a trial shipment of wheat in September when a consignment of sample packages was shipped to England and distributed to importers and merchants.

Owing to the death of Mr. Robb, on November 11, the Cabinet was reorganised. Mr. C. A. Dunning, formerly Minister of Railways and Canals, was sworn in by the Governor-General as

Minister of Finance (November 26). Some weeks later (December 31), Mr. T. A. Crerar, formerly Leader of the Progressive Party in the Federal Parliament, was sworn in as Minister of Railways and Canals, while Mr. Robert Forke, Minister of Immigration, was appointed to the Senate. As a temporary measure Mr. Charles Stewart assumed the Immigration portfolio and also became Acting Minister of Agriculture during the serious illness of Mr. W. R. Motherwell.

In making these announcements Mr. King added that plans were being worked out for a further Cabinet readjustment.

Mr. Bennett paid two short visits to Great Britain, and on the last occasion (November) he made inquiries at first hand concerning, among other things, the English "Empire Free Trade" crusade which had created wide interest but divergent views in the Dominion.

Two Provincial General Elections were held during the year.

In Saskatchewan the Liberal Party, after governing Saskatchewan continuously since the Province was constituted in 1905 met defeat (June 7). The main issues of the campaign concerned domestic affairs of general administration, the development of the natural resources of the Province and religious education.

The result was a deadlock, the Liberals under the Premiership of Mr. J. G. Gardiner coming back with 27 seats (they held 52 before the election), the Conservatives 25, Independents 6, and Progressives 4. A movement was made in favour of a Coalition Government, but Dr. J. T. M. Anderson, Conservative Leader, petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor to dismiss the Gardiner Government. Eventually the Liberals, as the largest individual group, met the new Parliament, but were defeated on a vote of no-confidence, and a new Conservative Ministry under Dr. Anderson was sworn in on September 9.

In Ontario the Conservative Government under Mr. Howard Ferguson was returned to power at the General Election (October 30), with an increased and overwhelming majority. This result indicated the general satisfaction of the electorate of the Province with the working out of the system of Government sale of liquor—which was the dominating issue of the campaign—as compared with the Liberal and Progressive policies standing for "straight prohibition" on the one hand or a plebiscite on the wet and dry issue on the other. The result of this election (Conservatives 92 seats, Liberals 11, others 9) gave the Premier the largest majority in the history of the Province.

In Nova Scotia the system of Government control of the sale of liquor was approved by a large majority in a plebiscite taken on October 31. The total vote in favour of sale under Government control was 86,978, while the vote for the continuance of the Provincial Prohibition Act was 61,202. The result brought Nova Scotia into line with all the other Provinces, except Prince Edward Island, in their policy of handling the liquor business.

CHAPTER III.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE
—SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

SOUTH AFRICA.

THE success of the Nationalist Party at the General Election in June, was interpreted by its adherents as a clear mandate to General Hertzog to proceed with his proposed native legislation, around which so many stormy discussions had centred in the last Parliament (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 256). This question of native policy was, without doubt, the main plank in the Government Party's electioneering platform, but the trend of subsequent developments suggested that the majority secured at the polls by no means represented a majority opinion of the electorate in favour of the Premier's drastic proposals. He was assisted by other factors. In certain constituencies an anti-Smuts spirit predominated. Moreover, the Union's favourable economic situation swayed many voters who were unmoved by appeals to race or party. At the time of the contest, General Hertzog had been in office for five years, and during this time South Africa had enjoyed considerable internal prosperity and had shown marked progress in various directions. Numerous voters were, therefore, more influenced by these indications of material well-being than by the actual issues before the country. Polling took place on June 12. General Hertzog was returned to power with a majority of eight over all parties, the new House of Assembly consisting of 77 Nationalists, 61 South African Party, 5 Creswellite Labour, and 3 National Council Labour, and 1 Independent.

Although the majority against the South African Party was smaller than in the previous election, the result came as a bitter disappointment to General Smuts and his followers. In the large towns the South African Party did better than in 1924; the Cape Peninsula voted solidly in its favour, but the country constituencies, which General Smuts had hoped to convert, were unresponsive. At least eight seats in the Cape, which there was reasonable expectation of either holding or winning, went over to the Nationalists. Natal returned 16 South African Party candidates for 18 seats, but 17 Nationalists were elected for the 18 seats in the Orange Free State. General Smuts frankly admitted that he was surprised at the results of the polling. Political students attributed the defeat to the lukewarmness of influential supporters and to the absence of an inspiring policy. It was suggested that that brilliant young politician, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, who as a former Administrator of the Transvaal had shown outstanding ability in statesmanship, might have rendered the party incalculable assistance by definitely pledging his support.

Immediately after the election Mr. Hofmeyr advocated the formation of a new political party consisting of the "younger generation of both Boers and British who are determined to see South Africa reap the benefit of its many natural advantages." The proposal, however, fell through for lack of sympathy and practical interest. Mr. Hofmeyr, thus defeated in his desire to see the establishment of a Centre Party on non-racial lines, eventually emerged as an avowed supporter of the South African Party. He fought the Johannesburg North by-election in its interest and won a handsome victory over his Creswellite opponent, Mr. J. Duthie, who had the support of the Government.

The disruptive influences which, during 1928, had split the Labour Party and turned its pact with the Government into nothing more effective than an alliance in name only, came to a head in January, when the National Council Conference in Johannesburg adopted a resolution affirming complete freedom from all political partnerships which might in any way trammel the activities of its representatives. It was further agreed that no member of the Labour Party should accept a portfolio in any Ministry not consisting of a majority of endorsed Labourites (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 257). This action was followed a few weeks later by the formation of an Independent Labour Party, socialist in its objective and hostile to the section led by Colonel Creswell. The disastrous effects of the feud were reflected in the election returns. The number of Labour seats was reduced from 17 to 8, only 5 of them belonging to the party which originally subscribed to the pact with the Government.

The new Cabinet was sworn in at Pretoria on June 14, General Hertzog retaining the Premiership and assuming the portfolio of the newly-created Minister of External Affairs. The announcement that Mr. Tielman Roos had been compelled by ill-health to resign his portfolio, was received with widespread regret. He had served as Minister of Justice, as Leader of the Transvaal Nationalist Party, and as deputy Prime Minister. He was popular with all classes, irrespective of party. Mr. Oswald Pirrow, K.C., the Premier's selection for the vacant office, entered the Cabinet with an excellent reputation. Another noteworthy appointment was that of Mr. E. Janson (Speaker of the previous House of Assembly), as Minister of Native Affairs. The remaining offices were filled as follows: Interior, Public Health, and Education, Dr. D. F. Malan; Defence, Colonel F. H. P. Creswell, D.S.O.; Mines and Industries, Mr. F. W. Beyers; Finance, Mr. N. C. Havenga; Posts and Telegraphs and Public Works, Mr. H. W. Sampson; Agriculture, General J. G. C. Kemp; Railways and Harbours, Mr. C. W. Malan; Lands, Mr. P. G. W. Grobler. Ill-health also necessitated the resignation of Mr. Beyers. His portfolio was taken over by Mr. A. P. J. Fourie.

The re-constituted House met on July 19, mainly for purpose

of supply, and was prorogued about six weeks later. During the recess there was an election for the Senate, which had been dissolved by the Government in terms of the Act of 1926 amending the South Africa Act. The Senate consists of forty members, eight of whom are nominated by the Governor-General in Council (four of this number being selected mainly for their knowledge of the wishes and requirements of the non-European races), and thirty-two being elected, eight from each province.

Partly for health reasons and in order to accept the invitation of the Rhodes Trustees to deliver the Rhodes Memorial Lectures at Oxford, General Smuts sailed from Cape Town in September for England. Before returning to South Africa, he paid visits to the United States and Canada and delivered a number of addresses.

In June there were serious disturbances among the natives of the Durban area of Natal. So threatening did the outlook become that extra police, armed with machine-guns and tear-gas bombs, were called in, and hundreds of natives were arrested. Fortunately there was no bloodshed. The affair, which created excitement and alarm throughout the Union, was undoubtedly economic in origin. The natives of Natal are subject to a poll tax of 1*l.*, and for some time previously this had been collected with considerable difficulty. The authorities were forced to realise that they had to face some form of passive resistance which must eventually break into activity. There was ground for the suspicion that Communist agitators were fomenting rebellion, and the conditions were deemed of sufficient seriousness to justify thorough investigation. Accordingly Mr. Justice de Waal held an inquiry. He found that although the rioting was not directly due to Communist agents, the agitation which they had been conducting had contributed to the general unrest. He made many recommendations for the removal of native grievances. As a result of the Natal trouble the Government took legislative action to strengthen the hands of the Minister of Justice in dealing with Communist and seditious propaganda.

Both in and out of Parliament there was much opposition to the Premier's proposal to force his native Bills on the country by the sheer weight of the party machine. Mr. H. Burton, a former Minister of Finance under the regime of General Smuts, urged that such determination was fraught with the greatest possible danger. In his opinion the problem transcended the limit of party politics. He deplored depriving the Cape natives of their political rights which they had admittedly never abused for the past seventy-five years. Sir James Rose-Innes, a former Chief Justice, urged the necessity for a non-party association to defend the Cape system of franchise equality.

That General Hertzog was not uninfluenced by these and similar appeals was indicated by his conciliatory attitude at the

Bloemfontein Conference of the Nationalist Party in October. He said he deprecated hasty legislation because he intended renewing an invitation to the Opposition to join with him in tackling the question. He had every reason for believing that the invitation would be accepted. If such co-operation was forthcoming the Opposition would willingly be given a few years for consideration, provided they gave the Government proof of earnestness. If, however, an agreement was not reached within the lifetime of the present Parliament, the Nationalists would go ahead after the next General Election.

Included in the revised estimates of expenditure was a sum of about 15,000*l.* for the payment of salaries to "Envoys Extraordinary" of the Union at Washington, Rome, and The Hague, and for a commercial representative at Hamburg. These appointments gave effect to a resolution adopted at the last Imperial Conference. During the discussion in the House it was pointed out by the Premier that these officers would create relations pertaining to their positions (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 259). Mr. Dan de Villiers (who had previously served the Government as its commercial representative in Milan), was appointed to The Hague; Mr. Eric Louw (formerly trade representative in New York and afterwards High Commissioner in London, in which latter post he was succeeded by Mr. C. te Water), was sent to Washington; and Mr. B. J. Pienaar became the Union's first Envoy in Rome.

These concrete evidences of self-governing status tended to create a revival of republican ambitions in certain extremist Nationalist quarters, one result of which was a request for the appointment of a South African to the office of Governor-General when it became vacant. The Premier sternly rebuked the reactionaries, and his attitude towards their demands was widely approved. He condemned this recrudescence of republicanism and appealed for a racial co-operation. He was speaking at the Bloemfontein Conference, which had before it a resolution demanding secession from the Empire. The Premier asked if such a motion would justify the English-speaking section of the community in believing that the Dutch section was trying to widen the chasm between the races. He emphasised that the Governor-General must be outside the political arena. Where, he asked, "is there anyone in South Africa standing outside and above politics"? He explained that the Governor was the representative of the King, and there was no reason why such representative sent from England to represent His Majesty should not represent South Africa as well as any man who could be appointed in South Africa. General Hertzog concluded his condemnation of the resolutions on a strong personal note. "If I find," he said, "that in such a matter the people will not abide by the will of the Government I shall resign without hesitation. I feel

we have no right to be petty in this matter." Both motions were withdrawn without further discussion.

Following the announcement of the creation of the new Ministers plenipotentiary, it became apparent that considerable misunderstanding existed as to their powers. In order to clarify the position the Union Government established communication with London, and in reply the Secretary of State for Dominions Affairs informed Pretoria of the rules governing the appointment of Ministers by the Union. It was pointed out that these officers would only deal with matters concerning their own Governments. When matters affecting other Dominions arose, the Union Ministers must first consult the British Ambassador who would, if necessary, immediately refer the matter to the Government concerned. It was also announced that these guiding principles were fully discussed by the Union Cabinet and finally accepted.

SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE.

The contesting parties in the General Election of July were the United Nationals, supported by the English-speaking and Dutch settlers, and the Deutsche Bund, which represented the German interests. There were, however, a number of independent candidates whose sympathies were regarded as Germanic. The Nationals aimed at securing some satisfactory form of representation for the Territory in the Union Parliament, in order that they might have a voice in those matters which were definitely outside the scope of the constitution of the Mandated Territory. The Deutsche Bund opposed any such arrangement as involving incorporation in the Union. The Legislative Assembly consists of eighteen members, six of whom are appointed by the Administrator, the remaining twelve being elected at intervals not exceeding three years. The United National Party secured eight seats, the Deutsche Bund three, and the Independents one.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Sir Cecil Hunter Rodwell, the Governor, opened the first session of the second legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia, in Salisbury, the capital, on April 22. Early in the session the Government found itself in conflict with the Union authorities over the question of amendments to the Customs Agreement existing between the two countries. Certain clauses of it were deemed to press harshly on Rhodesia and to operate unfairly against traders. Moreover, public opinion had not been propitiated by the terms of the trade treaty which the Union had recently concluded with Germany, feeling in Rhodesia favouring an extension rather than a curtailment of the principle of Imperial preference. Representatives of both Governments met in Pretoria in September.

Mr. P. D. Fynn, the Southern Rhodesian Treasurer, stated the case for his Government, Mr. C. H. Dobree spoke on behalf of Northern Rhodesia, and Mr. Havenga acted for the Union Government. Notwithstanding the friendly atmosphere in which the discussions took place, it became more and more evident that these amicable endeavours to reconcile conflicting interests were doomed to failure, and after two or three days the negotiations broke down. Although the immediate prospect entailed no serious consequences—for six months' notice had to be given to end the existing Agreement—it was obvious that the eventual erection of tariff barriers between two countries whose economic interests were so closely interwoven, would be mutually prejudicious. The harmful possibilities of the prospect made themselves realised, and towards the end of the year it was announced from Salisbury that both Governments had agreed to a resumption of negotiations.

The opening of the Alfred Beit bridge across the Limpopo river, by the Earl of Athlone, Governor-General of the Union, on August 31, marked the completion of important transport facilities between the Union railway system in the north-eastern portion of the Transvaal and the south-eastern area of Southern Rhodesia. The bridge gives considerable impetus to the development of an enormous tract of country.

It was also reported during the year that the proposal for a railway line from Southern Rhodesia across the Kalihari and South-West Protectorate to Walvis Bay, on the East Coast, had advanced from the academic to the practical stage. A new survey of the proposed route revealed no insuperable engineering difficulties. The Prime Minister, in a speech at Bulawayo, described Walvis Bay as the "future port of Rhodesia." The Union Government would not help to finance the scheme, but neither would they oppose it. Such an attitude, he said, was broadminded and statesmanlike.

CHAPTER IV.

AUSTRALASIA.

AUSTRALIA.

A SPRING session of the Australian Federal Parliament, which occupied six weeks, did not foreshadow the defeat of the Government and the end of Mr. Bruce's administration, within a year of winning a hard-fought General Election. There was more than one close division, but the more important Government measures were carried, among them the confirmation of the drastic regulations imposed during the Shipping Strike of 1928, the further ratification of the financial agreement between the Commonwealth

and the Australian States, and the creation of an Economic Research Bureau, to deal with certain problems of tariffs, finance, and taxation. The Financial Agreement (Validation) Bill, which supplemented legislation set out in the ANNUAL REGISTER of 1928 (p. 303), was read a third time in the House of Representatives on March 8, and passed by thirty-six votes to thirty-one. Nevertheless, the fact that five supporters of Mr. Bruce failed to vote for this important measure, among them Mr. Hughes, the war leader, suggested that trouble was imminent. However, Mr. Bruce reconstructed his Cabinet by making Mr. Abbott, a New South Wales member, Minister for Home Affairs, and Senator Ogden of Tasmania an Assistant Minister, these gentlemen taking the places of Mr. Hill and Senator Crawford. The over-representation of Victoria in the Cabinet was thus corrected before the adjournment.

During the Parliamentary recess Mr. Bruce met the States Premiers at Canberra (May 27), when questions of transport co-ordination and industrial legislation were placed upon the agenda for discussion. It was noteworthy that at the previous conference five of the six Premiers belonged to the Labour Party; in 1929 only one State was represented by a Labour Premier. Mr. Bruce's opening speech made it plain that the outstanding problem was that of industrial arbitration, and he proposed that the existing dual control should end. In the event of the States declining to relinquish their share of authority, Mr. Bruce announced that he would ask the Federal Parliament to hand over its power in connexion with industrial arbitration to the States Parliaments. As the States had already intimated that they did not intend to surrender any of their powers in the matter, Mr. Bruce's speech was practically a final ultimatum, and, at the close of the conference, he definitely stated his intention to ask the Federal Parliament to withdraw from the arbitration field, except in the case of seamen and waterside workers, industries which were manifestly Pan-Australian in character. As Mr. Bruce said, his Ministry had come to the conclusion that the duplication of powers in the Commonwealth and the several States was not only unsatisfactory in principle, but, in practice, was responsible for serious economic waste and irritation between employers and employees, as well as imposing grave handicaps upon industry. The Prime Minister's declaration forced an issue which manifestly demanded decision by the public, and the several parties in Commonwealth and State politics debated the pros and cons until the reassembly of the Federal Parliament in August, when the Arbitration Abolition Bill was introduced by Mr. Bruce and read for a first time on August 22.

Meanwhile, a conference representing 775,000 trade unionists met in Melbourne on June 21, and registered its opposition to the repeal of the Federal Arbitration Act, on the ground that Mr. Bruce's purpose was political and had the object "of breaking

the Federal organisations," being designed "as part of a general offensive against the wages and standards of the Commonwealth workers." Mr. Hughes, who had had a great deal to do with the working of the Federal Arbitration Laws, also announced his opposition to the change, describing the proposed Bill as an utterly reactionary measure, and arguing that it would be more logical for the States to give way to the Commonwealth than for the Commonwealth to give way to the States. The matter was the more complex because Australian labour has always striven to increase Federal arbitration powers to the limit allowed by the Federal Constitution, and might, therefore, have been expected to support Mr. Bruce against the administrations of the Six States, though, of course, dissenting from the Government's surrender to the States' claims.

The Prime Minister moved the second reading of the Arbitration Abolition Bill on August 23, its purpose being to repeal the Commonwealth Conciliation Act of 1904 and its various amendments, and also to repeal the Industrial Peace Act of 1920. With regard to the maritime industry, which was expressly omitted from the operation of the measure, Mr. Bruce proposed that it should be controlled by committees representing employers and employees, and that a Maritime Industries Court should also be set up, as a court of record, and with power to deal summarily with organisations or persons committing any breach of a determination of the Court. In justifying the Bill, Mr. Bruce insisted upon the necessity for reducing the cost of production and urged that this could only be done by closer and more cordial co-operation within the several industries. Mr. Bruce added that the Government had been compelled to abandon the attempt to prevent strikes and lock-outs by the provision of legal penalties. Instead, the Bill made it possible for the two sides of industry to come closer together and, freed from trammels now existing, to utilise the methods best suited to individual industries for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Mr. W. M. Hughes, who had declared his opposition to the Bill in a speech to the Chamber of Manufacturers at Sydney on June 12, joined the Labour Party in voting against the Government Bill, as did Mr. Mann, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Walter Marks, Mr. McWilliams, and Mr. Stewart, other members of the Nationalist or Country Party sections. The second reading was carried by a majority of four votes. Mr. Hughes, however, continued his opposition during the Committee stage, and on September 10 the Government was defeated by thirty-five votes to thirty-four on a motion that the Arbitration Abolition Bill should remain in abeyance until the electorate had been consulted. The House of Representatives accepted Mr. Hughes's motion, which was also approved by Mr. Scullin on behalf of the Labour Party and the Independents who had opposed the second reading.

Somewhat earlier, on August 22, Dr. Page, the Commonwealth Treasurer, submitted the Government's Budget to the House of Representatives. The revenue for 1928-29 was 61,419,000*l.* and the expenditure 63,778,000*l.*, thus showing a deficit of 2,359,000*l.* To meet the deficit, large increases in Customs and Excise were proposed, the new duties being estimated to produce 2,750,000*l.* In general, the increases did not interfere with the protection which earlier tariffs had given to Australian industries, and the margin of British preference was either maintained or increased. These Customs duties were revised by Mr. Theodore, when he took office as Commonwealth Treasurer in Mr. Scullin's Government three months later. Dr. Page mentioned that his Budget had an historic interest, inasmuch as it embodied for the first time the financial agreement between the Commonwealth and the States, based on the consolidation of Federal and States debts, which amounted to 1,099,600,000*l.* A feature of the national debt scheme was annual payments to a sinking fund for the repayment of the debts, totalling 6,000,000*l.* a year. Incidentally, Dr. Page mentioned that, whereas the overseas trading totals showed an excess of imports in 1926-27, in 1928-29 there was an excess of exports of 1,150,000*l.* An entertainments tax of 5 per cent. upon amusement receipts was also included in Dr. Page's Budget. It was subsequently dropped by Mr. Theodore, but the proposal did Mr. Bruce's party considerable harm during the General Election.

In view of the adverse voting upon the Arbitration Abolition Bill, a General Election was inevitable, and voting took place on October 12, resulting in a decisive defeat of the Bruce Ministry. At the previous election in November, 1928, the state of the parties in the Commonwealth Parliament had been, Nationalists, twenty-nine; Country Party, thirteen; giving Mr. Bruce a voting strength of forty-two. Labour had thirty-one votes, and there were two Independents. The General Election in 1929 gave Labour a clear majority of twelve votes, the state of the parties being Labour, forty-three; Nationalist, seventeen; Country Party, eleven; Independent, four; and Country Party Progressive, one, the latter being a vote upon which Labour could rely. The loss of the election was due to the number of votes detached from the Nationalist Party, owing to dissatisfaction with the Arbitration Bill.

A Labour Cabinet was formed on October 22, with Mr. James Scullin as Prime Minister. Mr. Scullin had been Leader of the Federal Labour Party since April, 1928, when Mr. Charlton retired. Originally elected in 1910, Mr. Scullin lost his seat at the next General Election, and did not re-enter Federal politics until February, 1922, when he quickly established himself as a powerful debater. As has been said, the Treasurership was taken by Mr. Ernest Theodore, Premier of Queensland between 1919 and 1925.

Mr. Theodore was born in South Australia and had a Rumanian father. Whereas Mr. Scullin worked in a grocery shop in youth, before he became a Labour journalist, Mr. Theodore was a miner in early life. The composition of the Scullin Ministry was as follows :—

Prime Minister, External Affairs and Industry	Mr. James Henry Scullin.
Treasurer - - - - -	Mr. Ernest Granville Theodore.
Attorney-General - - - - -	Mr. Brennan.
Postmaster-General, Works and Railways -	Mr. J. A. Lyons.
Health and Repatriation - - - - -	Mr. Anstey.
Defence - - - - -	Mr. A. E. Green.
Trade and Customs - - - - -	Mr. J. E. Fenton.
Home Affairs - - - - -	Mr. Blakeley.
Markets and Transport - - - - -	Mr. Parker Moloney.
Assistant Works and Railways (Honorary) -	Senator Barnes.
Assistant Customs (Honorary) - - - - -	Mr. Forde.
Assistant Industry (Honorary) - - - - -	Mr. Beasley.

The Speakership in the House of Representatives went to Mr. Makin, Senator Daly becoming Vice-President of the Executive Council. Mr. W. M. Hughes, on November 28, announced his intention to form an "Australian Party," the nucleus consisting of Mr. Marks, Mr. Maxwell, and Senators Massy, Greene, and Duncan.

The first task of the new Government was to revise the Budget proposals of Dr. Page, and Mr. Theodore tabled a new schedule of tariffs on November 21, estimated to yield 1,200,000*l.* more revenue. The duties on alcoholic liquor, motor-bodies, and confectionery, among other things, were raised in the interests of local distillers and manufacturers, as were the duties upon cotton piece-goods and British woollens. Yet another supplementary schedule was introduced on December 11. Debate upon the schedules was postponed until after Christmas, though, for the time being, they had the force of law. Mr. Theodore stated that he had not time to frame an entirely new Budget, and had adopted the major portion of the previous Government's proposals. Dr. Page, his predecessor in office, had, according to Mr. Theodore, grossly miscalculated the probable revenues. Accordingly, Mr. Theodore proposed to raise an additional 885,000*l.* by a super-income tax of 10 per cent. upon the incomes of individuals receiving between 250*l.* and 1,500*l.* This super income-tax would be graduated until it reached 20 per cent. on incomes over 3,000*l.* a year. A super-tax of 20 per cent. on the incomes of companies was included in Mr. Theodore's Budget. The increased amusement tax proposed by Dr. Page would be abandoned. Mr. Theodore added that the revised estimates would provide for an income of 64,589,000*l.* and an expenditure of 64,574,000*l.* During the debate upon the Estimates in the House of Representatives, Mr. Gullett, formerly Minister of Customs, and Deputy Leader of the Nationalist Opposition, described the new tariff as the most calamitous

event since Federation. A tariff wall amounting to prohibition had been set up.

Other measures taken by the Labour Government included a telegram sent to Mr. MacDonald by Mr. Scullin, suggesting the suspension of assisted British migration until after the Imperial Conference, on account of the unfavourable economic position in Australia. On November 28 Mr. Theodore introduced the Commonwealth Bank Act (Amendment) Bill, providing for the concentration of the gold reserves of the Commonwealth, under the control of the Commonwealth Bank. Mr. Theodore said that the matter was urgent because an attack was being made on the gold reserve of the Commonwealth Bank. The second reading of the Bank Bill was taken on December 5. The Senate, in which there is a Nationalist majority, did not insist upon its amendments to the Bank Bill, which passed into law on December 13.

On October 31 Mr. Scullin announced his Cabinet's decision to suspend compulsory military training, which was introduced into Australia in 1921. The Defence Council considered this decision on November 12, and unanimously voted in favour of maintaining the existing army organisation as the nucleus of a Citizen Force, to be recruited voluntarily. On December 12 Mr. Albert Green, Minister for Defence, informed the House of Representatives that the existing organisation for the distribution of forces was maintained in nucleus, with revised training establishments, totalling 35,000 men. Volunteer regimental detachments were attached to each unit, and cadet corps were associated with colleges and schools, the training being sixteen days annually, of which eight days were continuous training in a camp. The naval forces of the Commonwealth comprised two cruisers, a flotilla leader, a destroyer, a submarine depot ship, two submarines, a seaplane-carrier, and a surveying ship, while the Air Force personnel was 985. The Federal Houses of Parliament adjourned on December 13.

Passing from Federal politics to the affairs of the Australian States, a dominant fact has already been mentioned—the establishment of non-Labour Governments in office in five, out of six, State capitals. Mr. Bavin, the New South Wales Premier, visited England in the early part of 1929 and Parliament did not meet until September 17. The speech of the Governor (Sir Dudley de Chair) emphasised the unsettled industrial condition, particularly in the coal trade. During the year the New South Wales Government had been endeavouring to reduce the price of coal to the consumer, in view of the fact that an official report showed that the price had risen in thirteen years from 11s. to 24s. a ton. After a State Commission reported that the owners' profits were at the rate of 2s. 1½d. a ton, proposals were made to reduce wages by 9d. to 1s. per ton, on condition that the owners should contribute 1s. per ton and the State another 2s. per ton,

by reducing freights and charges, thus enabling a reduction in the selling price of coal amounting to 4s. per ton. When the miners refused to agree to a wage reduction, Mr. Justice Beeby, of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court, on December 17 proposed that the Commonwealth Government should bear the loss of the 1s. a ton, instead of the miners. The proposal was rejected by the New South Wales Miners' Council on December 26, on the ground that such a settlement involved the principle of wage reduction. Meanwhile, there had been rioting at the mines with loss of life, especially at the Rothbury colliery, where the State Government introduced voluntary labour. The agitators even arranged for the drilling of strikers by ex-service men, and Labour Council demonstrations were held in Sydney in mid-December, at which inflammatory speeches were delivered. In spite of the fact that Mr. Scullin made an offer to the New South Wales Miners' Council in the terms of Mr. Justice Beeby's proposal, the matter was still unsettled at the end of the year.

At the end of October an award of the New South Wales Industrial Commission reduced the basic wage in the State from 85s. a week, for a man with a wife and one child, to an equivalent of 77s. 6d., that is by 7s. 6d. Opposition to the reduction was so strong that the State Government, on October 30, hurriedly introduced a Bill to render the award nugatory. 383,000 workers were affected, and it was estimated that the reduction would have meant a decrease of 12,500,000*l.* a year in wages. At the same time the New South Wales Government decided to abolish child endowment, and the Industrial Commission was instructed to fix a new basic wage, which would take into account the number of children in a family. The State Budget was introduced by the Treasurer, Mr. Stevens, on December 10, when it was stated that a rearrangement of family endowment would result in a reduction of taxation by 1,600,000*l.*

A Nationalist Government was in office in Victoria during the greater part of 1929, but three members of Sir William McPherson's Cabinet resigned on the eve of the opening of Parliament, on July 2, following differences of opinion regarding the working of the co-operative freezing works of the State. The resigning Ministers were Messrs. Menzies and Saltau, and the Secretary of the Cabinet, Mr. Kent Hughes. Their places were filled by Messrs. Brawn and Currie, both members of the Legislative Council, Mr. Knox, M.L.A., becoming Secretary to the Cabinet. The McPherson Ministry, however, met with trouble in Parliament and was defeated by four votes on October 23. A General Election was held on November 30, with the result that the Labour Party secured a majority and came into office, with the support of four Country Party Progressives and two Liberals, thus having a majority of two votes. The new Ministry included Mr. Hogan, Premier, Treasurer, and Minister of Markets; Mr. Tunnecliffe, Chief Secretary; Mr.

Bailey, Minister of Lands, and Mr. Jones, Minister of Public Works, Mines, and Immigration. The Victorian Legislative Council rejected the new Labour Government's Budget, but a compromise was reached on December 26, and Parliament adjourned until February.

In Queensland a political crisis and General Election had an opposite result. There, a Labour Government was displaced, after holding office for fourteen years, by a coalition of Nationalists and Country Party members. Mr. A. E. Moore formed a Cabinet which took office on May 22, its avowed object being "to smash down Socialist obstacles blocking the road to progress." Thus, the Labour Government had imposed a forty-four hour week in the agricultural industry, and this was promptly disavowed by their Nationalist and Country Party successors. At the same time far-reaching reforms of the land laws of the State were proposed, restoring freehold tenure for all agricultural settlement, in place of Labour legislation which made perpetual leasehold a compulsory condition of all agricultural settlement. Mr. W. A. Deacon's Lands Act Amendment Bill also provided financial backing for young graziers anxious to acquire land holdings, the principle underlying the measure being that men with practical experience should have preference over those lacking land experience. Mr. Barnes, the Queensland State Treasurer, made his Budget statement on September 25. He stated that the indebtedness of the State enterprises initiated by Labour Governments during the fourteen years in which the party had held power exceeded 5,000,000*l.*, the bulk of which must be written off, as nothing like that sum could be realised by the sale of the enterprises.

The Budget statement in South Australia was delivered by the Premier and Treasurer, Mr. Butler, on October 24, the revenue being estimated at 10,580,000*l.* and the expenditure at 11,275,000*l.* The deficit on the previous year was 930,000*l.*, the loss upon State railways being 1,153,000*l.* Mr. Butler stated that the national income of the State, which was usually about 60,000,000*l.*, had fallen by 9,000,000*l.*, owing to a decline in the value of produce. Prosperity could only return through greater production. In this connexion the South Australian Government announced a big drainage scheme on May 16, covering the south-eastern part of the State, where many thousand acres of land are available for cultivation. Mr. Butler proposed that a loan should be raised in London to assist settlers, a betterment tax being imposed in order that holders might be impelled to make the best use of their properties. The completion of the Central Australian Railway in August, linking Adelaide with Alice Springs in the Northern Territory, was a welcome step in the direction of joining the South Australian capital with Port Darwin. The line should do much to develop mineral production in South and Central Australia.

In Western Australia the outstanding event of the year was the celebration of the centenary of the annexation of the Swan River territory, which the State naturally regards as its birth. The guests included Lord Stonehaven, Governor-General of the Commonwealth, and Sir William Campion, Governor of the State.

Tasmania was the scene of terrible floods early in April, which caused serious damage and the loss of about twenty lives. Near Derby, on the north-east coast, the Cascade dam, containing 750,000,000 gallons of water, burst and the flood poured down upon the neighbouring town of Briseis, causing loss of life in the well-known Briseis mine.

The visit of the British Economic Mission, consisting of Sir Arthur Duckham, Sir Hugo Hirst, Sir Ernest Clark, and Mr. D. O. Malcolm, and their frank report to the Federal Government in January was an epoch-making event in Australian economic history. Their comments upon the tariff burden borne by Australia, and the pros and cons of loan expenditure, were much debated in the Commonwealth. The participation by the members of the Mission in the Industrial Peace Conference, which sat in Melbourne in December, 1928, and in Sydney in February, 1929, was also appreciated. It linked the Australian effort towards better industrial relations with those initiated in England by the Mond Conference.

NEW ZEALAND.

The General Election in November, 1928, which placed the United Party in power, with the veteran leader, Sir Joseph Ward, as Prime Minister, proved a dominant factor in New Zealand politics throughout 1929. Economic depression in the Dominion had persuaded the electorate that leadership, guided by a lengthy financial experience, was desirable; it was not surprising therefore that an elder statesman was recalled to the chief office. Sir Joseph's Cabinet, necessarily, largely consisted of untried men, the exceptions being Mr. Wilford, who had served in a National Cabinet during the World War, and Sir Apirana Ngata, Minister of Native Affairs. Sir Joseph Ward was not in the best of health during the year, and was an absentee from active politics for part of the Parliamentary session, but his influence upon policy and, particularly, upon New Zealand finance, was immediate and constant. In January a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. loan for 7,000,000*l.* was underwritten and floated in London at the issue price of 95*l.* This proved to be the only contribution possible towards the 70,000,000*l.* which Sir Joseph had promised to raise for development purposes within ten years. A statement made in the New Zealand House of Representatives, on August 6, showed that the terms upon which the 7,000,000*l.* loan was issued precluded further borrowing until May, 1930. Addressing the House of Representatives on July 23, Sir Joseph Ward was able to tell members

that, since the Government had taken office, 2,884 applications from settlers for loans, aggregating rather more than 3,000,000*l.*, had been granted, and that 1,979,000*l.* remained for investment. There was no reduction of lending rates upon advances, but the policy of the Government was to assist the restoration of general confidence by releasing reserves cautiously, but generously. As a result of this policy Sir Joseph avoided any joint attack from the political forces of the Reform and Labour Parties, who together could have defeated the United Party. In general, the criticisms of Mr. Coates and Mr. Downie Stewart, the Reform Party leaders, were constructive rather than destructive, and Parliament was in session for nineteen weeks without endangering Sir Joseph Ward's position. His success in regaining office after a long period, in spite of the handicap of seventy-three years and protracted ill-health, touched the public imagination, so that the fortunes of the United Party were fostered, rather than diminished, by the tests of office. A banquet given to Sir Joseph Ward by 2,000 of his constituents at Invercargill on March 21, was a personal triumph, and, throughout his tour of the Dominion in the early part of the year, crowded audiences listened to the Prime Minister's speeches. He had established a reputation as "the man who gets things done."

The Governor-General, Sir Charles Fergusson, opened Parliament on June 27, and the Speech from the Throne announced the Government's ratification of the Kellogg Pact, and the acceptance of the Geneva Protocol against gas warfare. The Government was determined to make every effort to forward the work of the League of Nations, but, until proposals for disarmament had been accepted, it felt bound to maintain defence forces. Aviation was being promoted through aero clubs, as an auxiliary form of defence. Conditions in Samoa continued to cause anxiety, but the policy of patience would be maintained, though the Government could not negotiate with any movement which was openly flouting the law. Though affirming the soundness of a policy of encouraging British migration, the Speech pointed out that assisted migration must be regulated by the economic exigencies of the Dominion. The restrictions imposed two years before would, therefore, continue. Sir Charles Fergusson added his personal regret that he was leaving New Zealand after five years of great interest and unalloyed happiness. It was later announced that Sir Charles would be succeeded in the governorship by Lord Bledisloe.

The Budget was presented to the House of Representatives on August 1, the deficit being 577,000*l.* To meet this the Finance Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, announced that the primage upon imports would be increased from 1 to 2 per cent., and a graduated super-tax would be levied on land exceeding 12,500*l.* unimproved assessable value. Later, this minimum was increased to 14,000*l.* The Minister of Finance added his opinion that the unemployment

trouble was due to neglect to foster land settlement ; Parliament would therefore be asked to authorise a loan of 5,000,000*l.* for the development of selected lands, and liberal assistance would be afforded to men willing to develop unimproved areas. The land tax would help the Government's settlement policy by assisting to break up large holdings for closer settlement. Revenue for the year amounted to 23,599,000*l.*, and expenditure totalled 24,176,000*l.* The revenue was thus 496,000*l.* more than the previous year, but 268,000*l.* less than the estimate, owing to the failure of imports to expand as had been anticipated. The loss in railway working during the year amounted to 931,000*l.*, including a subsidy of 498,000*l.* upon so-called developmental lines. Most of the loss occurred on branch lines, and the Government, therefore, proposed to write off 8,100,000*l.* of railway capital, and cease paying the subsidy upon developmental lines. These drastic proposals met with considerable criticism, the Labour Party condemning the increase in primage duty, though it favoured the Government's proposals for increased land taxation. Mr. Coates, ex-Prime Minister, and Leader of the Opposition, moved a comprehensive amendment to the Budget on August 21, which Sir Joseph Ward promptly accepted as a motion for want of confidence. Mr. Coates, in a speech justifying his amendment, urged that the increased primage duty upon imports would increase the cost of living, and proposed that, if further Customs revenue was required, it should be collected from such luxuries as motor cars of foreign origin. As for the proposed land tax increase, it amounted in some cases to confiscation, absorbing the whole annual income, without regard to whether the property was suitable for subdivision. Experience had shown that a proper classification of lands suitable for subdivision was essential before penal taxation was imposed. Replying to Mr. Coates on the following day, Sir Joseph Ward pointed out that it was essential to find 1,500,000*l.* additional revenue, including 1,250,000*l.* required to meet the deficit account, interest, and similar items. Only 1,750 farmers would be affected by the super-tax, the additional revenue anticipated being 325,000*l.*, it was therefore absurd to suggest that a huge burden was being placed upon farmers. Mr. Holland, leader of the Labour Party, declared his objection to the primage duty upon imports, but his party was not prepared to put Mr. Coates and the Reform Party in office again. The vote of no-confidence was therefore defeated by forty-eight votes to twenty-four, both the Labour Party and the Independents supporting the Government. A Customs Bill, increasing the primage duty by 1 per cent., was introduced into the House of Representatives on October 29, and was also opposed by Mr. Coates, whose amendment was again treated as a want of confidence motion by Mr. G. W. Forbes, who was acting as leader of the House in the absence of the Prime Minister. Mr. Coates's

amendment was negatived by forty-three votes to twenty-three, Labour supporting the Government, whereupon the Bill was read a second time and, subsequently, passed. On November 4 the Government was saved from defeat by the action of the Reform Party, when a threat was raised by Labour in connexion with the salaries of public servants. In this case a Labour Party motion regretted the failure of the Government to improve the salaries of public servants, and proposed an immediate increase of 5 per cent. in the maxima of the salary schedules under 295*l.*, the institution of a minimum wage for adults, and the revision of other salary schedules. The Labour Party proposed that the funds necessary to permit of the higher salaries should be raised by a super-tax upon salaries exceeding 1,000*l.* Mr. Forbes estimated that the Labour proposals would cost 500,000*l.*, and the motion was rejected by forty-nine votes to twenty, in favour of a Reform Party amendment requiring an immediate inquiry with view to assisting the lower scale workers.

More open to criticism than Sir Joseph Ward's Budget proposals were the provisions of the Government's Land Tax Amendment Bill. As Sir Joseph had said, "no thinking person would assert that there is not sufficient potential wealth in New Zealand comfortably to support a million and a half of people. The statement would be ridiculous. New Zealand has secondary industries, and they are expanding, but they cannot compete in the world's markets. The prosperity of the Dominion was therefore bound up in the products of the land, and the only real cure for her present difficulties lies in the old slogan, 'Back to the land.'" Coming to grips with the problem, it was plain to the Government that the difficulty was not the possession of unoccupied land, of which the State had some millions of acres, but the high price asked for improved land, suitable for subdivision and "breaking in." It is noteworthy that, during the year ending March, 1928, eighty-four properties, with an area of 171,000 acres, were considered for closer settlement, but only 2,233 acres were actually purchased, at a cost of 22,550*l.* Much excellent sheep country, for example, was found unsuitable for economic subdivision, owing to the cost of fencing, roading, and similar improvements. On April 11 Mr. Forbes, the Minister of Lands, stated that he had instructed the Commissioners of Crown Lands to select and survey the areas of undeveloped Crown lands suitable for subdivision, and, on May 25, it was announced that 6,428 acres had actually been purchased which could be used for dairying or mixed farming, and would provide twenty-two or twenty-three farms. The Labour Party, in its annual report, foreshadowed an even bigger scheme, when it advocated the immediate development of the pumice belt in the Auckland and Wellington districts, comprising 1,715,000 acres, more than half of which is owned by the Crown, and the rest by natives. Mr. Forbes stated that, like the Labour Party, he had

been impressed by the large areas of native and Crown lands in an undeveloped state, ready to respond to suitable handling and fertilisation, but requiring considerable financial support for roading and development. The Land and Income Tax Amendment Bill, intended to facilitate this development by imposing a super-tax on land holdings above 14,000*l.*, came up for discussion in October, and on one occasion the House of Representatives sat continuously for fifty-six hours, owing to the Reform Party's strenuous opposition to the measure. Mr. Forbes finally agreed to widen the "hardship" clause, allowing exemptions from the operation of the super-tax where special hardship was proved. Criticism of the land measures came, particularly, from the sheep-farming interests, the smaller agriculturists, who provide Sir Joseph Ward with his main support, being generally favourable to the Bill, as most of them are covered by the exemption limit. By the end of October the Government secured the passage of its taxation and land settlement measures, and the session ended early in November.

One problem of importance had to be left for future legislation, owing to the parliamentary time occupied by the other measures of the Government. This was the Transport Bill, with its contentious clauses upon the control of land transport. Mention has been made of the serious losses incurred by the State railways. On May 23, Mr. Taverner, Minister of Railways, estimated that the loss upon the New Zealand railways during 1929 would be rather less than 1,000,000*l.*, and a little more during 1930, when interest charges would be rather higher. Mr. Taverner added that the Government proposed to secure a proper adjustment between the railways and private motor transport. It cannot be denied that the competition between State railways and privately-owned motor traction raises many difficult problems. The railways represent the most substantial asset for the Dominion national debt; in the past they have been the most important factor in New Zealand's industrial progress. Though the receipts from passenger traffic are decreasing, more and ever more freight is being carried. After taking all the material factors into account, Sir Joseph Ward announced the Government's railway policy in a speech at Motueka on May 23, as the elimination of "wasteful short sections." In other words, short railways would have to give way to motors. The Government have made a selection of certain sections of railway which they propose to complete, such as seventy-six miles of the South Island Main Trunk line. This will make a complete railway transport system between all parts of the North and South Islands without change of carriage by passengers or the breaking of bulk by goods traffic. But the Government have also decided to discontinue other railway construction, and the necessity for making a definite choice between one scheme and another has necessarily aroused antagonism in

interested quarters. The business public in the Dominion are actively discussing the economics of the various railway sections with view to a proper decision when this difficult matter is again brought before Parliament.

The Speech from the Throne at the opening of the New Zealand Parliament made mention of aero clubs, which would supplement the defence force of the Dominion. Speaking at Masterton on June 14, Mr. Wilford, then Minister of Defence, pointed out that New Zealand could not afford a fully-developed air force, and could only provide for air defence by the development of civil aviation. He proceeded to outline a plan for the establishment of flying grounds, which would connect all the provinces of North Island by aeroplane routes. Mr. Wilford has since left the Ward Government, having been appointed High Commissioner for the Dominion in London.

Meanwhile, in spite of economic and financial pressure, the overseas trade of New Zealand has been expanding, and the imports of the Dominion during the twelve months ended June, 1929, were valued at 46,508,000*l.*, an advance of 3,000,000*l.* upon the 43,497,000*l.* registered during the previous financial year. The exports in the year ended June, 1929, were valued at 56,244,000*l.*, compared with 55,619,000*l.* in the twelve months ended June, 1928. The visible balance of trade in favour of the Dominion for the last financial year was, therefore, 9,736,000*l.*, the expansion of the import trade being a direct result of the steady growth of exports during the latter part of the year.

As Sir Charles Fergusson's speech at the opening of Parliament showed, the difficulties in the mandated territory of Samoa, outlined in earlier issues of the *ANNUAL REGISTER*, were not overcome in 1929. An investigation conducted by certain New Zealand civil servants reported to the Prime Minister's Department in April, their main conclusion being that the Samoan Service was by no means creditable to the New Zealand Government, as the responsible holder of the mandate. Departmental administration had fallen to men without adequate training, and the enervating climate of Samoa had also had its effect. As a consequence of this report, and after consultation with Colonel S. Allen, the Administrator of Western Samoa, the New Zealand Government decided to dispense with head taxes and to increase the export duty upon copra from 1*l.* to 30*s.* These changes were designed to make the evasion of taxation difficult, and remove the inequity of loyal Samoans being required to pay taxes which the disloyal members of the Mau could avoid. The new policy was announced by Sir Joseph Ward on May 6. On December 22 further demonstrations, which culminated in serious rioting, were organised by the Mau in connexion with the return of Mr. A. G. Smyth to the island after a banishment for two years. Mr. Smyth, with Mr. Nelson and Mr. Gurr, was one of the members of the Samoan

Legislative Council who formed the Mau, or League of Samoans, in October, 1926, which has been responsible for the long-continued disturbances.

The severest and most prolonged earthquakes which have been registered in New Zealand for twenty years were experienced on June 17. The centre of the disturbance was between Blenheim and Nelson, serious damage being done on the west coast of South Island. Indeed, some observers compared the 1929 earthquake with the disaster of 1855, during which the level of Wellington harbour was raised about five feet. The worst trouble was experienced at Murchison, where the whole landscape seemed to heave for some moments, bringing about huge landslides in which two low hills seemed to "melt away" from their foundations before the eyes of the horrified townsfolk. Six people in the district were killed by the landslides, and a landslide also wrought astonishing changes in the Matakītiki River. In place of a waterway, placidly flowing through a heavily wooded gorge, a lake was formed extending five miles upstream from the blockage, the water covering what had been four good farms. This catastrophe was similar to that which formed the famous lake Waikaremoana in North Island. Terrifying as was the tremors and severe as was the material damage, the earthquake did not cause widespread devastation and the loss of life was unexpectedly small. There were also severe floods in mid July, which caused the Taiera River to overflow and interrupt road and railway traffic. North and South Canterbury were also affected by floods which were described as "the worst for years."

CHAPTER V.

INDIA.

THE outstanding feature of India's history in 1929 was the effect of the Viceroy's announcement at the end of October that Dominion status is the goal of British policy, and of the decision of the Cabinet to hold a conference in London with representatives both of British India and the Indian States on constitutional changes after publication of the report of the Statutory (Simon) Commission on the working of the reforms, but prior to the submission of legislative proposals to Parliament.

When the year opened the Commission was in the midst of its tour in India for recording evidence, being accompanied by the Indian Central Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Sankaran Nair, and, in each province visited, by a committee elected by the local legislature. The widespread effort of political groups to bring about a general boycott of the inquiry, on grounds

indicated in the 1928 ANNUAL REGISTER, did not succeed, for, in addition to official evidence, the record taken included the views of a number of important elements in Indian life. The Commission left Bombay on April 14, and on arriving in London at the end of the month, Sir John Simon made an earnest appeal for India to be kept outside party controversy during the then impending General Election. Though this hope was not entirely fulfilled, the five House of Commons members of the Commission secured re-election.

The Indian Central Committee re-assembled in London on June 7, and for two months its nine members were the guests of H.M. Government. There were joint sittings with the Statutory Commission until the end of July to record further evidence. Thereafter the Committee deliberated, and accounts of many sharp divisions of opinion reached India. The report to the Viceroy, signed on October 18, was published on December 24. The main document covered eighty-four pages, while no less than 342 pages were occupied with memoranda and minutes of dissent by the members, singly or in groups, and a brief separate report by Mr. Kikabhai Premchand, who left London in the middle of September before discussions in the Committee were concluded. Subject to the many dissentient minutes (some of them on points of crucial importance) the report recommended that, with the exception of the charge of law and order in Bengal, each province should be made autonomous, subject to a number of safeguards; that dyarchy should be introduced in the Central Government; that the powers of control by the Secretary of State should be much curtailed, and that his Council should be abolished.

Some two months earlier (October 18), the Statutory Commission issued as an interim report a Review of the growth of education in British India by an expert Auxiliary Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Philip Hartog. The picture presented left little room for complacency, since it was shown that throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness; but various favourable considerations, such as the widespread awakening to the importance of education, were put in the forefront and a hopeful outlook was maintained.

A document which had a marked influence on events was the Report of the Indian States Committee, published on April 17. Drawing attention to the grave apprehensions of the Princes in regard to possible changes in the structure of government in British India, Sir Harcourt Butler and his two colleagues recorded a strong opinion that, in view of the relationship between the paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature. Proposals were made for machinery to remedy admitted existing difficulties "with the least possible disturbance," and it was

claimed that the door was left open for closer union for the "two Indias" on federal lines.

These conclusions made the more impression at home from the fact that at the annual session of the Chamber of Princes held at New Delhi, it had been unanimously resolved on February 13 that, in view of recent pronouncements of a section of British Indian politicians indicative of a drift toward complete independence, the Princes could not assent to any proposals having for their object the adjustment of equitable relations between the Indian States and British India unless such proposals proceeded upon the initial basis of the British connexion. Understanding and appreciation in Great Britain of the point of view of the States was much assisted by the many speeches and writings of the representative of the Chamber, Dr. Rushbrook Williams, formerly Director of Public Information to the Government of India.

A disquieting feature of the year was the activity of Communist propagandists both among artisans and the young intelligentsia, many of the latter coming under the spell of the Youth Movement. In February reports spread by agitators that Pathans were kidnapping children led to riots in Bombay, where the striking mill hands murdered a number of Pathans and provoked Mahomedan reprisals. A hundred and sixteen people were killed and over seven hundred injured. Early in May there were fresh outbreaks of communal violence, fourteen people being killed and a hundred and fifty injured. A committee of inquiry in a report published on September 15, found that the basic causes of disturbances were the speeches of extremist Labour agitators.

On March 20, at various centres throughout India, thirty-one Communist leaders were arrested and were sent to Meerut on a conspiracy charge. The hearing, delayed by hunger strikes, did not close until December 14, when judgment was deferred. In the Delhi session of the Legislative Assembly Government re-introduced the Public Safety Bill for the expulsion of immigrant Communist and other agitators. On April 2 Mr. Patel, the President, refused to allow the Bill to be further discussed on the ground that the debate would necessarily touch matters which were *sub judice* at Meerut. On April 4 Government announced that it wished the House to proceed with the debate and held that the President had exceeded his powers. On April 8, when Mr. Patel was about to give his deferred ruling, two young men in the visitors' gallery threw bombs at the Government benches and dropped revolutionary leaflets. Several members were wounded, but by great good fortune no one was killed. On April 11 the President ruled out further discussion on the Public Safety Bill.

On the following day the Viceroy, addressing both Houses, announced that as the effect of the ruling was to debar the Government from asking the Legislature to give it the additional powers of which it stood in need, the rules would be amended

to prevent a similar deadlock in future. Meanwhile the Viceroy assumed the powers provided for in the Bill by an ordinance, which was operative for the statutory period of six months. The new procedure rule, promulgated before the opening of the autumn session at Simla on September 2, made it clear that the functions of the President do not comprise a veto on legislation which the Assembly is empowered to pass.

An effort of Government to amend the Criminal Procedure Code with a view to meeting delays and deadlocks in trials caused by hunger strikes met with strong opposition, and the Bill was withdrawn to be circulated for consideration on the Home member (Sir James Crearer) undertaking to convene a conference with representatives of the provincial Governments as to concessional prison treatment for political offenders. Two members of the Punjab Legislature resigned in September in consequence of the death in prison of Jatindranath Das, one of the accused in a conspiracy case at Lahore, after sixty-one days of hunger strike.

The chief feature of the Simla session was the enactment of the Child Marriage Bill, providing for 14 to be the minimum age for marriage and 16 for consent. The measure was warmly supported by Government on the ground of the need to remedy the appalling conditions set forth in the report (dated June 20) of the Age of Consent Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Moropant Joshi. In anticipation of the Act coming into force, there was a great rush of marriages of very young persons in many parts of India in the closing months of the year.

The continued industrial unsettlement led to the appointment, before Mr. Baldwin's Government went out of office, of a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. J. H. Whitley, late Speaker of the House of Commons, on the conditions of labour in British India, with wide terms of reference. The Commission began a tour of Indian centres at Karachi in October. At the All-India Trades Union Congress at Nagpur at the beginning of December, under the chairmanship of the aggressive Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, resolutions were passed boycotting the Royal Commission and the International Labour Conference at Geneva, demanding complete independence for India, and indicating favourable consideration of proposals to affiliate with the communistic Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. Diwan Chaman Lal and Mr. N. M. Joshi (both members of the Legislative Assembly and of the Whitley Commission) led a considerable secession of genuine Labour leaders from the Congress, and it was decided to form a central organisation of unions desiring to work on purely trade union lines, to be called the All-India Trades Union Federation.

Lord Goschen, Governor of Madras, acted as Governor-General during four months absence, from April 30, of Lord and Lady Irwin on a visit to England, which was followed by most important

developments. In correspondence published on October 31, Sir John Simon intimated to the Prime Minister that, having regard to the report of the Indian States Committee (*supra*), it would be essential for the Commission to examine the methods by which the future relationship between British India and the States might be adjusted. He suggested that after issue of the report of the Commission, His Majesty's Government should confer with representatives of the two Indias (not necessarily always together), for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals the Cabinet might submit to Parliament. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, with the approval of the leaders of the Conservative and Liberal Parties, concurred in these proposals.

In a message to the Indian people published a few hours later, Lord Irwin added to the announcement of this important change of procedure that he was authorised on behalf of H.M. Government to state that in their judgment "it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion status." The use of the phrase was challenged in both Houses of Parliament, and it transpired that the Simon Commission had declined association therewith; that Mr. Baldwin, while on holiday in France, had given his assent contingently upon the Commission's approval, and that the Liberal leaders were strongly opposed. The situation was complicated by the play of sectional aims in English party politics (see English History), and strong differences of opinion were revealed in newspaper comment. There were, however, explicit official intimations, notably in a letter from the Prime Minister to Mr. Baldwin, dated November 16, that the Viceroy's interpretation of the 1917 pledge implied no change in the policy of "progressive realisation of responsible government" set out in the preamble to the Act of 1919.

In India the interpretation was received with much satisfaction by the Moderates who had repeatedly pressed for some such statement. A resolution of conditional acceptance of the proposed conference was passed at a meeting of political leaders at New Delhi on November 1 and 2, and was signed by Mr. Gandhi, the two Nehrus, and other Congress leaders, as well as by Liberal politicians like Mr. Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The announcement was cordially welcomed by the Maharajas of Patiala and Bikaner and other rulers, and unreservedly supported by many prominent men in British India.

In the closing days of the year events in India had predominant attention in the British Press. After a tour in Southern India, Lord and Lady Irwin early in the morning of December 23, were nearing New Delhi in their special train, to take up residence for the first time at the now completed Viceroy's House, when there was a bomb outrage, recalling the attempt on the life of Lord

Hardinge on his State entry into Delhi on an elephant on the same date of 1912 to mark the transfer of the capital thereto from Calcutta. A bomb, worked by means of a buried wire from a small battery, some 200 yards distant from the railway line, blew up a portion of the train. Lord Irwin and his party escaped as by a miracle, for not only was the preceding coach wrecked, but their saloon jumped the gap which had been blown in the rails.

The same afternoon Lord Irwin received by their request Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Patel, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Mr. Jinnah. Asked by the two first named on behalf of the Congress Party to give an assurance that the purpose of the Round Table Conference would be to draft a scheme of Dominion status which H.M. Government would undertake to support, the Viceroy pointed out that it was impossible to pre-judge the action of the Conference or to restrict the liberty of Parliament.

This was the prelude to the feverish proceedings of the session immediately after Christmas of the Indian National Congress at Lahore where many dramatic scenes took place. The working committee, meeting first, passed Mr. Gandhi's resolution declaring the Nehru scheme of Dominion status (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928) to have lapsed, and asking all parties in Congress to devote exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence. No good purpose would be served by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference. The resolution declared a complete boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, and called upon present members belonging thereto to tender their resignations. It authorised the All-India Congress Committee "whenever it deems fit, to launch a programme of civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary." The full session of the Congress (opened on December 29, with an inflammatory presidential address from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who described himself as a Socialist Republican) passed the resolution without dissent, after an amendment to omit the clause calling for boycott of the legislatures had been rejected by 919 votes to 796. Strong opposition was offered to the more extreme courses by the veteran Pandit M. M. Malaviya and others, and some notable secessions followed. Mr. Gandhi's great influence secured, only after long wrangling and by 942 votes against 792, a resolution congratulating the Viceroy and his party on their escape. At midnight on December 31, the president ceremoniously hoisted from a tall flagstaff the "Liberty Banner."

A spectacular feature was the march, led by Sirdar Kharak Singh, of 10,000 Akali Sikhs, an aggressive faction, into Lahore to protest against the "insult" offered the community by the Nehru plan of Dominion status. Serious conflict between the

protestants and the organised and uniformed Congress "volunteers" was prevented only by elaborate and tactful police arrangements. At secret conferences Mr. Gandhi promised Kharak Singh that no communal solution would be made in the future which did not satisfy the Sikhs. The Sirdar thereupon advised his militant followers to work for complete national independence.

Meeting at Madras on December 29, with Sir Phiroze Sethna as president, the National Liberal Federation welcomed the Viceroy's announcement and urged all parties in India to combine for the purpose of securing a constitution based on Dominion status, with such safeguards and reservations as might be necessary for the period of transition. The president said that civil disobedience would plunge the country into all the evils and horrors of open conflict with Government, which would take—and be quite justified in taking—every necessary measure to put down the movement.

In the ordinary course the third General Election under the reforms would have been held at the close of the year, but on May 23, Lord Irwin exercised his statutory powers to extend the life of the Legislative Assembly, with a view to the report of the Statutory Commission being available before the elections took place. A similar course was followed by the Governors of provinces, except in Bengal, where Sir Stanley Jackson dissolved the Legislative Council at the end of April, more than six months before the due date, as he found it impossible to obtain a Ministry which could command the confidence of the Council. After the election, Sir Stanley's efforts to form a Ministry were unavailing until the middle of December, when two Moslems and one Hindu were appointed.

An important event in the Bombay Presidency was the issue on May 8 of the report of two British members of the I.C.S. appointed to inquire into the re-settlement of land in the Bardoli district which gave rise to the "no tax" campaign of 1928. The report held the proposed increase of 22 per cent. over the old assessment to be unjustified, being based on carelessly compiled statistics, and recommended that the enhancement should be only 5·7 per cent.

Sir Frederick Stanley, brother of Lord Derby, took charge as Governor of Madras on November 12, in succession to Lord Goschen. Sir Montagu Butler, vacating the Governorship of the Central Provinces in December to take leave home, was re-appointed for a further term. Meanwhile Mr. S. B. També, Home member of the Central Provinces Government, and formerly a leading Swarajist, was appointed acting Governor. A number of districts in that Governorship as well as in the United Provinces were afflicted by agricultural scarcity, owing to heavy frost early in the year and some failure of monsoon rains. Floods on a widespread scale brought damage and suffering in parts of

Bombay, the Punjab, Madras, Burma, and Assam. In the latter province much property was lost, both in the Assam Valley and the Surma Valley, thousands of acres of tea being submerged. In the Punjab a partial bursting of the Shyok ice dam in the Kashmir Himalayas in the middle of August released the vast impounded waters which, rushing to the plains down the Indus, caused floods over large areas. Happily fears as to the safety of the Lloyd barrage under construction at Sukkur in Sind did not materialise.

Sir George Schuster's first Budget as Finance member increased the tax on motor spirit from 4 annas to 6 annas for the purpose of road development. A nominal balance on the right side was obtained only by recourse to the reserve fund, and before the end of the year there was justification for Sir George's warning as to the susceptibility of the financial situation to damage by extremist political movements. Railway development was slowed down owing to the necessity for Government to curtail its capital programme. In June, Sir George instituted an inquiry into the banking conditions of India. Ten provincial committees took local evidence, to be considered by a central committee under the chairmanship of Sir B. N. Mitra. The Bombay cotton mill industry continued to suffer severe depression, being again largely immobilised by persistent strikes. A report by Mr. G. S. Hardy, Collector of Customs, Calcutta, published at the end of November, showed that it was administratively impracticable to meet the rapidly growing and formidable competition of Japan by substituting specific import duties for the present *ad valorem* duties. Mr. H. B. Clayton, I.C.S., was chairman of a committee on the *Haj* which in a report published early in December, made unanimous proposals for the abolition of existing hardships and improvement of facilities for Indian pilgrims to Mecca and Medina.

The long-continued civil warfare in Afghanistan had to be carefully watched owing to the possibility of repercussions on the Frontier, but happily no serious trouble arose. Mention must also be made of the keen interest taken in Great Britain in the publication, after ten years of negotiation, of a definite scheme for church union in South India. The participating bodies were to be the Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist communities, and the South India United Church, formed in 1908, and comprising Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Lutherans.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

GENERAL.

1929 was the tenth year of the existence of the League of Nations. In these ten years the League has developed from a struggling experiment born in a world exhausted and embittered by the Great War, whose hopes of survival were sadly dimmed by the withdrawal of the United States, into a permanent feature of the political landscape. The League began with humanitarian and technical activities, inoffensive but not very important and almost exclusively confined to Europe. Gradually its work has become more far-reaching in scope and character. The League is to-day tackling the vital issues of the world's economic prosperity, the reduction of armaments and the organisation of peace. Its humanitarian and technical activities have not only become more important, but have long since overflowed, as it were, from Europe into other Continents and are now world-wide.

The year marked a decisive advance along the whole peace front. This was partly due to the new impulse to the movement for peace and co-operation given by the coming into force of the Kellogg Pact and the new policy of activity in international affairs of the Hoover administration. It was partly due also to the advent of a Government in Great Britain pledged to an active League policy and to the improvement in the international atmosphere caused by the adoption of the Young Plan and the evacuation of the Rhineland. Whatever the causes, the Tenth Assembly was one of the most vigorous and confident ever held and far the biggest, for it was attended by fifty-three out of the fifty-four States members of the League. The only absentee was the Argentine. The good attendance of the Latin-American States, which is in marked contrast to the state of affairs a year ago, was to some extent the result of the energy and intelligence shown by the League in the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay; by common consent the moral influence of the Council was the chief factor in bringing this dispute to a peaceful conclusion.

The United States continued to co-operate with other countries

through the League to an increasing degree. The American delegation at the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference has been active, and the Administration have made it clear that in their view the Five-Power Naval Conference is a link in the general disarmament work being carried out through the League, with which work they are and wish to remain closely associated. The United States continued to take part in most League Conferences and Committees and have now signed the various instruments that make them a party to the Statute of the Permanent Court.

Of the other non-members, the Soviet Union continued to maintain an attitude of co-operation on technical matters of particular interest to them and on disarmament, coupled with loud protestations of complete scepticism as to the utility of the League. Turkey was beginning to take part more freely in League conferences and committees. Mexico, although to a less extent, was also beginning to take an interest in League proceedings and appointed a permanent observer at Geneva. Egypt and Iraq are more or less pledged, if their negotiations with Great Britain are successful, to apply for membership within the next two or three years.

THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE.

(1) *The Renunciation of War.*—The ratification and coming into force of the Peace Pact in 1929 was followed by a British proposal at the Assembly to amend the Covenant so as to close the "gap" by which it ceased to become the duty of the League to maintain peace three months after the Council failed to make a unanimous report or recommendation on a dispute. A special Committee of eleven members is to make a report on this subject for final action by the 1930 Assembly. The discussions on this subject at the Assembly revealed two tendencies: on the one hand it was pointed out that the Covenant amended in this fashion would go further than the Peace Pact, for the latter does not forbid any State to go to war on its own view of the need of self-defence and provides no machinery for ascertaining whether or not the appeal to self-defence was legitimate nor any obligation to take any action to restore peace if it is violated, whereas the Covenant on all these points does supply the required machinery and obligations. On the other hand, it was contended that it was impossible to leave occasions for legitimate war in the Covenant when war had been renounced by the members of the League in their capacity as signatories of the Peace Pact, and that if the renunciation of war in the Covenant proved more effective, this was a clear gain and would reduce the risk of war and consequently the chance of ever having to exert force against a peace-breaker.

(2) *Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.*—A long step forward was

taken in 1929 to elaborate the machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The new British Government lost no time in announcing its intention to sign the Optional Clause conferring compulsory jurisdiction upon the Permanent Court, and under its influence the number of States that had signed or pledged themselves shortly to sign the Optional Clause rose at the Tenth Assembly from nineteen to over thirty, including all the members of the British Empire, France, Germany, and Italy (Germany became a party to the Optional Clause a year ago). The Tenth Assembly, too, saw the signature by fifty States of the Protocols providing for American accession to the Court and revising the Statute so as to profit by the experience hitherto gained in the functioning of that body and to enable it to cope with the wider tasks that lie before it. The revised Statute provides procedure for giving advisory opinions (assimilated so far as possible to that for giving judgments), raises the number of judges from eleven to fifteen, and provides that the Court is to remain in session throughout the year with the exception of the ordinary holiday period. Sir Cecil Hurst and M. Fromageot, the legal advisers of the British and French Foreign Offices, were elected as judges by the Assembly and Council in place of Judges Findlay and Weiss, deceased.

The comprehensive treaty for the peaceful settlement of all disputes by conciliation, the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court and arbitration for all disputes not settled by either of these methods, known as the General Act, came into force in the summer of 1929, a few months after it was adopted and opened to signature by the Ninth Assembly in September, 1928. By the end of the 1929 Assembly, no less than ten States, including one great Power (France) had either acceded or pledged themselves in the near future to accede to the General Act.

(3) *Keeping the Peace.*—The Tenth Assembly, again at British instigation, decided to convert the so-called Model Treaty for strengthening the means to prevent war into a General Convention open for signature. This Convention is to be drafted during the year 1930 by a Committee of eleven members, which will report to the next Assembly. The Model Treaty provides for explicit recognition of the powers of the Council when dealing with a dispute to enjoin "peace-keeping" measures on the parties, that is, to send a commission of inquiry to the spot, request the withdrawal of troops on both sides of the frontier, and a cessation of any movements of troops, measures of mobilisation or other acts calculated to exacerbate public opinion. The Model Treaty, which was proposed by the German delegation in 1928, is an illustration of the growing tendency to emphasise preventive and peace-keeping procedure under Article XI. of the Covenant in order to obviate the danger of war and render unnecessary measures of coercion to restore peace.

(4) *Restoring Peace.*—A further illustration of the same line of thought is given by the decision of the 1929 Assembly to prepare a final text of the draft Treaty for Financial Assistance in case of War or Threat of War, which is to be framed by the Arbitration and Security Committee in time for the 1930 Assembly. The guiding idea of the draft treaty is that the Council of the League should be able to dispose of a small and limited but substantial and internationally guaranteed credit which it could put at the disposal of a State which had been attacked or was in danger of attack. The advocates of this proposal consider that the use of this power by the Council would suffice to bring a would-be aggressor to his senses and restore peace before things had reached the pitch where the whole cumbrous and onerous machinery of sanctions had to come into play.

(5) *Disarmament.*—In marked contrast to the considerable progress made in organising peace was the disappointingly barren session held by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference in the spring of 1929. The question of naval armaments was referred to discussions between the Powers concerned, which in a glorified form are to take place in the Five-Power Naval Conference. Some of the outstanding disagreements on the remaining subjects, such as limitation of trained reserves, direct limitation of war material, and indirect limitation through a limiting of armaments budgets, were solved by those countries which had asked for limitation simply waiving their objections. M. Litvinoff, rudely but not unjustly, interrupted the mutual congratulations of the Powers who had made these concessions by remarking that one or two more such concessions would make an end of the work of disarmament. At the Tenth Assembly Lord Cecil made good the plea that these subjects could not be considered closed, and reserved the right of the British Government at the next session of the Preparatory Commission to re-open the question of the limitation of land effectives, either by limiting trained reserves or the period of service, or both. He also announced that the British Government proposed to press for the limitation of armaments budgets and an effective system of international supervision of the provisions of a disarmament convention. The most important subject in his mind was, however, he added, the direct limitation of war material, which he considered essential. He warned the Assembly against the danger of agreements which amounted in fact to agreements to do nothing.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

In 1929 also a number of decisions were taken affecting the constitution and working of the League. Those concerning the Court and the organisation of Peace have already been mentioned. In addition it was decided that the Council should

henceforward meet three, instead of four, times a year, that is, on the third Monday in January, the second Monday in May, and just before the Assembly, instead of as previously, in December, March, June, and just before the Assembly. This change was made provisionally and experimentally in order to enable Foreign Ministers always to attend meetings of the Council. Unfortunately and somewhat paradoxically, the first result of this change was to make the Council coincide almost exactly with the Five-Power Naval Conference, and consequently to necessitate protracted and somewhat painful negotiations ending in the putting forward of the date of the Council one week to January 13, and its consequent overlapping with the Second Hague Conference on Reparations. The Assembly also discussed various changes in its procedure in order to enable business to be transacted more expeditiously, and is to meet in future on September 10, or the nearest date not a holiday, instead of as previously on the first Monday in September. A special committee is to study during 1930 methods of securing the speedy ratification of League conventions, and another the organisation of the Secretariat and International Labour Office.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

(1) *Tariffs*.—The League's efforts to free the currents of trade from the various obstacles and barriers which obstruct them since the war proceeded apace; during 1929 the question of securing agreements to lower or abolish tariffs on a series of staple commodities, such as wood and wood pulp, semi-finished iron, leather, fresh fruits and vegetables, cement, glassware, etc., was studied. It was found that it was difficult to discuss any commodity apart from the general tariff policy of each country, and that success was more likely if a group of related commodities was studied. The group chosen was agricultural tools and implements, both because this is a large and important and fairly definite group of commodities, and because lowering duties on these commodities is of direct benefit to agriculture. At the same time, the work on securing a general percentage reduction of tariffs culminated at the Tenth Assembly in a proposal made by Mr. William Graham, the President of the Board of Trade, to hold a conference early in 1930 to determine upon a tariff truce of two or three years in order to create a good atmosphere and afford conditions under which agreements for the gradual lowering of tariffs could be prepared.

(2) *Abolishing Restrictions on Trade*.—At the very end of 1929, a determined attempt was made to bring into force the Convention abolishing most of the restrictions on import and export imposed during and since the war. By the terms of the Convention adopted in 1928, the Convention would come

into force automatically if ratified by eighteen States before September 30, 1929; if the number was less than eighteen, the States that had ratified should nevertheless meet in conference to decide whether they wished to bring the Convention into force. By the stipulated date seventeen States had ratified, and on the proposal of the Belgian delegate to the Council not only the States that had ratified but all the signatories were summoned to a conference which met in December. By December the number of eighteen had been exceeded, but many ratifications were given subject to the reservation that the Convention must also be ratified by certain specified States.

(3) *Fair Treatment for Business Men.*—A Convention was prepared during 1929, providing full equality of treatment and freedom of enterprise for business men and investors in foreign countries. The draft Convention was based on principles adopted by the most liberal countries in their internal legislation or through bilateral treaties, and was intended to make their practice the standard for the whole civilised world. Unfortunately the time allowed appeared too short, and the conference, which met in November, found itself checked by the conservatism and nationalism of a few of its members. Rather than conclude a general Convention which would fall short of the best existing practice, the conference therefore constituted its own Bureau a standing commission to keep in touch with the competent Sections of the League Secretariat, and to obtain comments from all Governments on the draft Convention and the proceedings of the conference, if possible, by the middle of 1930, so as to revise the draft Convention and hold a second conference before the end of 1930.

(4) *Double Taxation.*—A number of texts were prepared in 1929 as the basis for a multilateral draft Convention abolishing double taxation. The experts working on this matter, however, required further information and an agreed definition of what constitutes the "branches" of a business enterprise as distinguished from its headquarters, or an independent though associated firm, before they felt able to draft the final text of the Convention. On one aspect of the subject, however, and that of considerable interest to public opinion, namely, the taxation of foreign motor cars, a draft Convention was framed in 1929. This draft proposes complete exemption from taxation for three months for private cars in a foreign country.

(5) *Coal, Sugar, Agriculture.*—The inquiries into the coal and sugar industries during 1929 prepared the way for a proposal at the Assembly to hold Government conferences on these subjects in 1929, in addition to a special conference by the International Labour Organisation on wages, hours, and conditions of employment in the coal-mining industry. At the end of 1929, the Economic Committee decided upon a similar inquiry into

the conditions of agriculture and the low price of corn, for which purpose a conference of agricultural experts is to be held early in 1930.

(6) *Inquiries into the Purchasing Power of Gold* with a view to stabilising prices as well as exchanges were continued in 1929. The question of international trusts and combines was studied with a view to reconciling the interests of consumers, producers, and labour. The problem of the "Economic causes of war" was taken up energetically in 1929. Memoranda have been prepared by a distinguished French and a distinguished German savant, and are being discussed by a small committee of experts. It is intended to circulate the report and memoranda to economists, institutes of international relations and other authorities for their views, in the hope that these researches and inquiries will reveal the possibility of certain agreed principles of economic policy which, if they are embodied in international agreements, may help civilised countries to conduct their economic relations without the danger of conflicts over markets, raw materials, access to the sea, or a "place in the sun."

TRANSIT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

The Transit Organisation in 1929 got a Convention adopted, providing transit cards for emigrants which free them from the complicated and expensive formality of obtaining passports visaed by the authorities of all the countries through which they travel before reaching their port of embarkation. Draft Conventions have been prepared on navigation of inland waterways in Europe and on the buoyage and lighting of coasts all over the world. A draft Convention regulating international traffic by lorries and charabancs has also been prepared to supplement the road transport Convention for private cars. The Transit and Financial Committees co-operated in producing the draft Convention on double taxation of motor cars already mentioned. A European conference on the transport of newspapers across frontiers by rail, road, and air was held at the end of 1929.

NATIONAL MINORITIES.

On the initiative of the German and Canadian members of the Council certain changes and improvements were made in the Council's procedure for dealing with minorities questions. The Minorities Commission of the Council, instead of consisting as before of the President and two members, may be enlarged so as to include four members of the Council, and may meet between the sessions of the Council. The Commission is also to communicate its findings to all the members of the Council, and, with the consent of the Governments concerned, to publish the

results of its discussions. The Secretary-General of the League is to publish once a year in the Official Journal the number of Minority petitions received, the number declared not receivable, the number dealt with, the number of meetings and sessions of the Minorities Commission, and the number of petitions the examination of which was completed in the current year. These changes in the procedure were regarded by the States having special obligations to their minorities as representing the extreme limit of concession, but by the minorities themselves and by States with a particular interest in their welfare as only a small improvement.

MANDATES.

The bloodshed in Palestine was the outstanding feature in 1929, and led to a demand by the British Government that the Council should sanction as quickly as possible the appointment of a special Commission under Article 14 of the Mandate to determine finally the respective rights of Jews and Moslems at the Wailing Wall. The Mandates Commission is to hold a special session in March, 1930, to hear a report on the causes of the troubles in Palestine, and the measures taken to secure peace and order.

The British Government's pledge to recommend Iraq for admission to the league in 1932 raised the question of the conditions in which a mandate can be terminated.

Another important question which engaged the attention of the Commission during 1929, was the extent to which the proposed scheme for the partial unification of East Africa would be compatible with the provisions of the Tanganyika mandate.

OPIMUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

The Geneva Convention came into force in 1929, and is being ratified by an increasing number of States. In response to the growing restiveness of public opinion and to its own revelations about the enormous extent of the illicit traffic in drugs, the Opium Commission had to face a number of problems which it has hitherto been reluctant to tackle. For one thing, the Assembly decided to strengthen the Commission by including a Spanish and a Belgian representative, so as not to have it composed predominantly of countries with some form of vested interest in the growing of opium or the manufacture of drugs. There is also to be provision for the temporary representation of countries (*e.g.*, Egypt) especially affected by some phase of the drug traffic when that phase is discussed by the Commission; and at the Assembly there was a dramatic *volteface* by the countries which previously would not hear of reducing and limiting manufacture as the only way to put a stop to the evil of smuggled drugs.

A conference is to be held in 1930, prepared by the Opium Commission, in order to reduce and limit drugs to the amounts required for the scientific and medical needs of all countries. In September, 1929, the Commission of Inquiry into Opium Smoking in the Far East left Geneva. Its purpose was to ascertain how the countries which have pledged themselves gradually and effectively to suppress opium smoking are carrying out this obligation, how the contrary policy of immediate prohibition is working in the Philippines, and to what extent the smuggling of opium handicaps the countries concerned.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

RAYMOND POINCARÉ, after three years as Prime Minister, was obliged, for reasons of health, to retire in 1929; and after a short interim Ministry, headed by Aristide Briand, he was succeeded by his "political heir," André Tardieu. That is the outstanding fact of French domestic politics, but in general the year has been extremely agitated on account of the unceasing opposition of the Radicals and Socialists. The Radicals have figured in practically every Cabinet for thirty years; but they deliberately excluded themselves from the reconstructed Poincaré Ministry of November 11, 1928. The Radical Congress of Angers decided that the presence of members of the party in the Ministry, side by side with men of the Right, was incompatible with the Radical programme—though that programme is ill-defined. Albert Sarraut, Edouard Herriot, Léon Perrier and M. Queuille, who had served under M. Poincaré, were obliged to resign.

The new Radical chief, Edouard Daladier, took up an attitude of hostility towards the Government, and endeavoured to form an alliance with the Socialists. He has not, however, been fully followed, and as the year advanced his authority diminished. Many of the Radicals saw no reason for their voluntary non-participation in office, while the Socialists, led by Léon Blum, openly declared that their aim was not to form a coalition with the Radicals, but to await the moment when they, like the Labour Party in England, would be able to construct a Government of their own. Some of the Socialists, it is true—notably Paul Boncour and Pierre Renaudel—favoured the proposal to join forces with the Radicals, but they were in a minority. Thus it would appear that the policy of abstention adopted by the Radicals has turned to their detriment, and there is something

perilously approaching a split between the militant Radicals and the moderate Radicals led by Camille Chautemps.

The position of M. Poincaré was sound, for even when Radicals and Socialists, and the handful of Communists, aided by the group of fifteen or so who cast their votes with Louis Marin of the Right, united against the Government, there was a small but sufficient majority.

The most important members of the Poincaré Cabinet were M. Briand (Foreign Affairs), Paul Painlevé (War), Georges Leygues (Navy), Henri Chéron (Finances), André Maginot (Colonies), and M. Tardieu who became Minister of the Interior—a post which traditionally is held by the Radicals. The year began well; the Budget was again voted punctually; on January 11 confidence in the Government was voted by 325 against 251. An exhaustive debate (February 8) on the vexed question of Alsace further showed the strength of the Government. There had been grumbling against the manner in which this delicate matter of Alsatian grievances had been handled—with alternate repression of the Autonomists and attempts to conciliate them. The Autonomists protested that they did not wish for separation, but simply asked for a measure of home rule. The Government, while sympathising with the Alsatian desire for the retention of old customs, and resolved not to impose the whole French administration on the restored province, made it clear that Alsace must be regarded as an integral part of France.

On February 11 the Committee of Experts to consider reparations—commonly known as the Young Committee—met for the first time in the Hôtel George V. The British delegates included Sir Josiah Stamp and Lord Revelstoke; the principal Americans were Owen Young and J. P. Morgan; Dr. Schacht led the Germans; and M. Francqui the Belgians; for Italy Signor Perelli sat; and the chief French representative was Emile Moreau, Director of the Banque de France. It may be recalled that at Geneva, in September, 1928, it was decided to proceed to the “liquidation” of the war; and to this end it was agreed that there should be a new reparations settlement upon which should depend the evacuation of Rhineland. The French were inclined to stick to the Dawes Plan, but were tempted by the prospect of a “total and definitive” settlement; and, moreover, they clearly saw that if they refused they ran the risk of being isolated. For four months the Committee examined the possibilities of German payments. One of the first proposals was the establishment of an International Bank. The offers of Germany, both in annuities and in present value, were considered to be much lower than the former allies could accept. Finally, Mr. Young, acting as mediator, suggested that the German debt should be fixed at 37,000,000,000 gold marks. Dr. Schacht raised his offer from twenty-six and a half milliards to thirty-six and a half milliards.

An accord was reached on a sum which is estimated at thirty-eight milliard gold marks (present value) payable from September, 1929, to March 31, 1966, in annuities rising from 742,800,000 to 2,428,900,000 marks; and from 1966 to 1988 in annuities diminishing from 1,607,700,000 to 897,800,000 marks.

France was chiefly anxious to receive such sums as would enable her to repay her debts to Great Britain and to America. That was indeed the basis of all the calculations of the Allies—their own liabilities towards the United States. It is true that there is a margin left to France for reparations proper, but in effect Germany's payments to the Allies correspond fairly closely in annuities and in period to allied payments to the United States. The German payments fall into two categories—unconditional payments on which a moratorium cannot be granted, and which therefore the Allies can mobilise or commercialise; and conditional payments which in certain circumstances can be deferred. If the creditor countries hereafter abandon their interallied credits, Germany will be excused payments in the proportion of two-thirds for the first period of thirty-seven years, and the totality of the subsequent period. This arrangement had at least the merit of assuring (so far as treaties can assure international payments) the wherewithal to acquit France's debts.

Obviously the acceptance of the Young Plan (signed on June 7) made it incumbent on the French to ratify the accords with Great Britain and the United States in respect of their own debts. Logically there could be no escape. France could not receive German payments, frankly estimated in accordance with her own requirements, and decline to affect the money thus received to the purpose for which it was intended. The Debts Accords had long been in abeyance. Opposition to them in Parliament was particularly strong. France had always regarded its borrowings not as an ordinary commercial debt but as a proper contribution of wealthier countries to a common cause. Until the Young Plan was fashioned it would have been impossible for any Minister to have obtained Parliamentary approval for the Churchill-Caillaux Accord and for the Mellon-Bérenger Accord. But now the situation was modified. Not only did the Young Plan furnish fresh arguments to the Government—especially the argument that Germany, not France, was paying the French debts—but there was a pressing financial need for ratification. On August 1 the sum of 407,000,000 dollars was due by France to the United States—not in repayment of war borrowings, but in payment of stocks that France had purchased from the American Government after the conclusion of the war. Whatever might be said of a sentimental character against the payment of so-called political debts, there was nothing that could honestly be said against the payment of an ordinary commercial debt. Therefore France would be obliged to find the funds to meet this particular liability which was

maturing. There was, however, a way out. In the Mellon-Bérenger Accord it was agreed to incorporate the stocks debt with the general debt—provided, of course, the Debts Accord was accepted and ratified before the stocks debt fell due. Thus France had to make a choice between non-ratification and the payment of the stocks debt to America, on the one hand, and ratification and the non-payment of the stocks debt, on the other hand. Although the Accords had not been ratified France was, in fact, paying the annuities stipulated by the Accords, and it appeared to be supremely foolish to saddle itself unnecessarily with an additional burden of 407,000,000 dollars.

Nevertheless M. Poincaré had no easy task in persuading Parliament to ratify. Appearing before the united Commissions of Foreign Affairs and Finances, he made a long exposition of the whole question. There was still much hesitation. M. Poincaré then appeared before the Chamber and made a speech which occupied three sittings. It is generally agreed that never was there so thorough, so conscientious, and so convincing a discourse heard by the Chamber; and the physical strain on M. Poincaré must have been enormous. Despite this tremendous effort the ratification was voted (on July 21) by a majority of only eight—300 against 292. Then the Senate was asked for its approval. It was no more enthusiastic than the Chamber, but on July 27 it consented to ratification. The same day M. Poincaré, exhausted by his labours, which he had pursued to the end in spite of a malady which he had concealed, resigned.

In the course of the session, which was closed by a Cabinet crisis, various legislative and administrative measures had been taken. The mandate of Municipal Councillors had been extended to six years. A determined attack had been made on Communist agitation. M. Tardieu, co-operating with the Prefect of Police, M. Chiappe, broke up the manifestation of May 1. There was no fewer than 3000 "preventive" arrests. The Cabinet crisis seemed to afford the Communists an opportunity of taking their revenge. They made great preparations for an imposing manifestation on August 1—and on July 27 there was no Government. Moreover, there was the prospect of the disappearance of M. Tardieu from the Ministry of the Interior, and it was M. Tardieu who, for the first time since the days of M. Clemenceau, had dared to disregard political sympathy for so-called liberty of opinion, and to tackle seriously the Communistic menace. But the President, M. Doumergue, acted quickly. He persuaded M. Briand to form immediately a provisional Cabinet and to retain M. Tardieu in the Ministry of the Interior. M. Briand had no illusions as to the character of his Cabinet. It was the Poincaré Cabinet minus Poincaré. Obviously, deprived of its chief, and left unstrengthened either on the Right or on the Left, it could not expect to be more than a temporary Government, which should

carry on current affairs during the vacation. M. Poincaré was asked to retain the nominal title of Prime Minister, although he was to undergo two operations, but he refused this empty honour. The Radicals were invited to join the Cabinet, but this was little more than a formality. The Cabinet obtained on July 31 a substantial majority—the Radicals abstaining; and the Communist manifestations on August 1 were rendered abortive.

During the vacation The Hague Conference chiefly attracted public attention, and the personal situation of M. Briand was considerably weakened. Preparation for The Hague Conference was unquestionably inadequate. The illness of M. Poincaré and the grave preoccupations caused by Parliamentary exigencies had prevented the Government from engaging in sufficient preliminary conversations. The French representatives at The Hague were apparently surprised at the demands of Mr. Snowden. It had not been anticipated that Great Britain would protest against the reduction of the British Spa percentages, against the allocation of most of the unconditional part of the annuities to France, and against the maintenance of reparations in kind. The lively epithets of Mr. Snowden and his uncompromising manner produced a painful impression in France, which was not allayed by definite statements that the *Entente Cordiale*, a meaningless expression since the conclusion of the Locarno Pact, had no place in the policy of the Labour Party, which believed special alliances mischievous. These events in the month of August undoubtedly changed the character of Franco-British relations. The French Press was unable to understand that friendship did not mean subservience and sacrifice; and it fulminated bitterly against Mr. Snowden. In the end Mr. Snowden obtained nearly all he had asked for, and the Young Plan was saved.

M. Chéron had borne the brunt of the Snowden attack and M. Briand had remained almost silent. That was made a reproach against him. He was further reproached with having come to an understanding with Dr. Stresemann on the conditions of evacuation of Rhineland. The second zone was to be evacuated before the end of the year (and this promise was fulfilled), while the third zone was to be evacuated within eight months of the coming into force of the Young Plan, and at the latest by June 30, 1930. There was some contradiction between the period of eight months and the ultimate date. It is to be remarked, however, that at The Hague everybody hoped that the Young Plan would enter into operation by November; there was no bad faith on the part of any Government; but the problems were complex and the committees charged with the application of the Plan found that they had an arduous task. They had to draw up the statutes of the International Bank, and to settle a number of technical questions, and the year closed before a second Hague Conference could meet to register in a final protocol the arrangements which would

afterwards be submitted for the ratification of the signatory States.

At Geneva, in September, M. Briand made a speech advocating the constitution of what has been called the United States of Europe, but without defining his purpose. In France there has been much discussion on this theme. On the whole, M. Briand aroused enthusiasm and partly redeemed his failure, from a national view-point, at The Hague. But again doubts arose as to the wisdom of M. Briand's policy. First, there was the visit of Mr. MacDonald to Mr. Hoover. It was represented that a Naval Accord between Great Britain and the United States denoted a new orientation of British policy, by which France might lose. In some quarters it was even suggested that the Entente Cordiale had been sacrificed to an Anglo-American understanding. At any rate, France prepared to resist the imposition of Anglo-American naval ideas. It was made clear that France held to the submarine, and that, with the second largest colonial empire, she has need of a larger fleet than she actually possesses. With Italy she declined to consider the postulate of parity, for while Italy has chiefly Mediterranean interests, France has also extensive extra-Mediterranean interests. The latter part of the year was devoted to the elaboration of French arguments to be employed at the January Naval Conference. Some of them are that final disarmament decisions can only be taken at Geneva, that land and air forces should be considered at the same time as sea forces, that in any case more than five nations are concerned with the naval question.

The death of Dr. Stresemann, on October 3, should also be regarded as an event which greatly affected French politics, in that it broke up a partnership which had lasted since the days of Locarno and left M. Briand standing alone. Something seemed to have changed in France with the passing of Dr. Stresemann. As soon as Parliament met, towards the end of October, the effect of newspaper polemics was felt in the Chamber. The opposition to M. Briand had steadily developed, although his bitterest opponents actually complained that France had been committed too far to change her course. On October 22, when the Chamber met, the Ministry fell. It fell not on some side issue. It fell because the majority refused to give its confidence to M. Briand. The majority was, it is true, only 288 as against 277, but it was significant that such an early opportunity should have been taken to overthrow the Government. The pretext was the refusal of M. Briand to fix an immediate date for the discussion of The Hague agreements. He urged that there should be no discussion until he was able to lay a completed policy before the Chamber.

Curiously enough, M. Briand, who has been Prime Minister oftener than any other politician, never had a durable Ministry. Paradoxically, while dominating any Government of which he was a member, he was far stronger and safer when he was working

under cover of another Prime Minister. Thus he had succeeded at the Quai d'Orsay for three years under M. Poincaré, but failed as soon as he himself took command of the Government. Another paradox quickly showed itself. In all the combinations which were proposed, M. Briand, who had been personally overthrown by the Chamber, figured in the rôle of Foreign Minister. The Left was antagonistic to him on personal grounds; the Right was antagonistic to him on political grounds. Yet the Left, which voted against M. Briand, favoured his policies; and the Right, which voted for M. Briand, disliked his policies. But the Left did not want a man of the Right at the Foreign Office, and the Right was afraid of a man of the Left at the Foreign Office. It strangely came about, therefore, that M. Briand, opposed on different grounds by the Right and by the Left, was yet held indispensable at the Quai d'Orsay.

The Premiership was first offered to M. Daladier, the Chief of the Radical Party. M. Daladier endeavoured to reconstitute the old *Cartel des Gauches*. He invited the collaboration of the Socialists. The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party pronounced against participation, and M. Daladier was compelled to relinquish his task. Thereupon M. Etienne Clémentel, a Radical Senator of moderate leanings, was charged to form a Ministry of "Republican conciliation." He might have succeeded in obtaining the support of the Centre, but he felt it necessary to secure the support of M. Daladier. M. Daladier would accept no post under M. Clémentel save that of Minister of the Interior, which M. Tardieu held, and the proposed combination collapsed.

Then came the turn of M. Tardieu, who, described as the "political heir" of M. Poincaré, proceeded with remarkable directness. He offered places to Radicals, in the expectation of obtaining their refusal. The moment they refused he constituted his Government without the Radicals. On November 2 M. Tardieu became Prime Minister. Many of his Ministers were Poincaré Ministers, but Lucien Hubert replaced Louis Barthou as Minister of Justice, and André Maginot, of the Right, replaced Paul Painlevé as War Minister. M. Chéron remained in charge of Finances, and M. Leygues at the head of the Navy. M. Marraud was Minister of Public Instruction, M. Loucheur of Labour, M. Germain Martin of Posts and Telegraphs, M. Jean Hennessy of Agriculture, M. Piétri of Colonies, M. Gallet of Pensions, M. Laurent Eynac of Aviation, M. Rollin of the Merchant Marine, M. Pernot of Public Works, M. Flandin of Commerce. An unusual number of Under-Secretaries were appointed. Attached to the Presidency was Marcel Héraud; to the Interior, René Manaut; to Education, Henry Paté; to the Marine, M. Deligne; to Finance, Champetier de Ribes; to Hygiene, M. Oberkirch; to Agriculture, Robert Sérot; to Public Works, M. Mallarmé; to Technical Instruction, M. Baréty; to the Colonies, M. Delmont; to Beaux-Arts, François Poncet.

On November 8 M. Tardieu obtained a vote of confidence—332 against 253. The Ministerial declaration struck a practical note. This was confirmed by the introduction of a number of projects for the improvement of the economic equipment of the country. Unfortunately the Ministerial crisis delayed the Budget, which should have been voted before the end of the year. Its discussion began on November 12. Radicals and Socialists obstructed its passage. There were morning, afternoon, and night sittings, but little progress was made. Was France to revert to the old practice—broken only by M. Poincaré—of belated Budgets and monthly credits? M. Tardieu saw that it was impossible to obtain the vote of the Budget in time, and availing himself of the fact that the Exchequer was well furnished, he changed the date at which the financial year begins to April 1—thus bringing it into consonance with that of other countries and of international settlements.

ITALY.

The year 1929 will be noteworthy in Italian history as the year of Conciliation between Church and State.

Conciliation was almost an accomplished fact even before the existence of negotiations was really known outside the inner councils of the Vatican and of the Government. The first intimation, apart from a few vague rumours given to the general public, was an official communiqué published in special editions of the newspapers at noon on February 11, which announced that Signor Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri, the Cardinal Secretary of State, had that morning at the Lateran Palace signed “a political treaty solving and eliminating the Roman Question, a Concordat designed to regulate the position of Religion and of the Church in Italy, and a Convention settling definitely the financial relations between the Holy See and Italy as arising out of the events of 1870.” These instruments were formally ratified by the plenipotentiaries at the Vatican on June 7, while the final seal was placed on the Act of Conciliation by the visits paid by the King and Queen and other members of the Royal Family to the Pope in December, and by the Pope’s visit to his Cathedral of St. John Lateran on December 19, the fiftieth anniversary of his first mass. Pope Pius XI. was thus the first Pontiff since 1870 to set foot on Italian territory and to end the voluntary self-imprisonment inside the Vatican which the Popes had maintained as a protest against the taking of Rome and the overthrow of Papal sovereignty.

When the texts of the agreement came to be known, it was seen that the Pope’s major claim—that of political sovereignty—had been conceded. Unlike the Law of Guarantees passed by the Italian Parliament in 1870, which made the Pope merely the

usufructuary of that part of Italian territory known as the Vatican, the Lateran Treaty granted the Pope "the principle and exercise of effective and full power of sovereign jurisdiction over a determined territory to be known as the 'Vatican City'." This new political State extends slightly beyond the boundaries of the Vatican Palace, but no attempt was made to include more territory than was strictly necessary for the convenience of the Head of the Church and for constituting, in the Pope's own words, "the minimum necessary for visible temporal Power." In the view of the Church, expressed on many occasions before and since the treaty, this visible sovereignty and independence are indispensable for the proper fulfilment of the Pope's spiritual mission. For its part, the Holy See in the words of the treaty "recognises the Kingdom of Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy with Rome as the capital of the Italian State." Most of the remaining articles of the treaty represent the formal expression of the political consequences implicit in the establishment of this Vatican State. It is formally stipulated that all jurisdiction and authority within its boundaries is vested in the Holy See whilst permanent residents in the new State are to be subjects of the Pope. Certain immunities are also granted to persons other than Vatican subjects when they belong to the Papal Court or are Vatican officials or, in some cases, when they are ecclesiastical dignitaries of a certain rank.

No less important is the recognition of the right of the Holy See to accredit and receive diplomatic representatives according to the general rules of international law. Specific provision is made for the accrediting by the Government of an Italian Ambassador to the Holy See and for the appointment by the Holy See of a Nuncio to the Court of Italy.

An interesting article, the effect of which is taken to contradict the expectation that the Holy See would seek admittance into the League of Nations, declares that the Vatican will remain extraneous to the temporal competitions between other States as well as to international Congresses convened for this purpose, unless the conflicting parties make an unanimous appeal to its mission of peace. Apart from the clauses of an international character the most important provision is contained in the first article which declares that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the sole religion of the State.

The treaty was accompanied by a Concordat on which, as appeared later, the Pope had insisted as an indispensable condition of any settlement of the Roman Question. Indeed on some occasions the Pope has seemed to imply that his real object in negotiating with the Government was to obtain this Concordat which, as the Pope had more than once declared, is as inviolable as the treaty on which it depends and will stand or fall with it. The most important clauses of the Concordat deal with the re-

introduction of religious instruction into elementary and secondary schools and the recognition of marriages before a priest as having full civil validity. Further articles regulate the position of the priests in the State and lay down that the Bishops shall swear fealty to the Head of the State.

The Financial Convention, which is the third of these instruments, liquidates all the financial claims of the Holy See on the Italian Kingdom arising out of the loss of its temporal power in 1870. As a definitive settlement the Holy See accepts the sum of 750,000,000 liras in cash and 1,000,000,000 liras in Italian bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent.

The signature of these agreements initiated a new era in the relations between Church and State. Indeed the process of defining and regulating the new situation continued throughout the year and may be described as its most salient feature. It was inevitable perhaps that a certain reaction should follow the first enthusiasm which the Government and the Holy See professed for each other, and that the hopes of those Italian Catholics who believed that a complete reconciliation between their patriotic and religious loyalties had at last been reached should have been somewhat disappointed. Although not sharing the hostility of previous Governments towards the Church, Signor Mussolini is a zealous defender of State authority, and would be the last person in the world to delegate the smallest particle of it to other hands. This was made unmistakably clear by the Duce in his speeches on the Lateran Treaty delivered before the Chamber on May 13, and before the Senate a few days later. Although in the Vatican the Pope is the sole and exclusive authority, Signor Mussolini insisted that in Italy the Church is not sovereign nor even free, because in her institutions and her men the Church is subject to the general laws of the State and to the special provisions of the Concordat. Although the Vatican City and the Italian Kingdom are near in space, in other respects they are far apart. The Duce also explained how in the course of the negotiations with the Vatican he had not bartered away any of the rights of the State as was shown by his refusal to accede to the request of the Holy See for larger territory, and in particular for permission to revive the Catholic Boy Scouts. In fact, the Government's insistence on reserving to itself the education of the younger generation had led to a deadlock lasting for twelve months. The statement that education constituted the chief point of dispute between the civil and religious authorities was borne out by the Pope's spirited rejoinder in which he criticised the Government's policy of "breeding a race of conquerors" and repeated the claim that "the mission of education belongs in the first place to the Church and the Family"—a claim which was warmly rebutted by Signor Mussolini in his subsequent speech to the Senate. The conflict between the very different stand-

points of Vatican and Government has led to intermittent wordy discussions throughout the year, in which the outstanding features were the publication of a letter by the Pope on the eve of the ratification (June 5), the Pope's speech to the Congress of the "Gioventù Cattolica" (Sept. 15), the suppression of the Como branch of the "Azione Cattolica" owing to its alleged unpatriotic conduct on the anniversary of the taking of Rome (Sept. 20), and his reply to the Christmas address of the College of Cardinals. On this occasion the Pope declared that the terms of the Concordat were not being loyally carried out and that the Government's treatment of the Catholic Press was "odiously unjust." These "polemics of adjustment," as they have been described by Signor Mussolini, must not however be allowed to obscure the fact that formal and friendly relations were established between the Vatican and the Government, and that the inequitable situation in which the Holy See claimed to have been placed by the taking of Rome has, by its own admission, been brought to an end.

Another outstanding political event of the year was the opening of the first so-called "Corporative Chamber" which represents the attempt of the Fascist leaders to put into practical form their own somewhat revolutionary ideas on the subject of Parliamentary Government. The thirteen confederations of employers and employees, together with the twenty-three "bodies of national importance" designated by law, duly presented their candidates to the Grand Council, and on February 28 the Council published its official list of 400 candidates, headed by the name of Signor Mussolini. The country was asked to express its approval or disapproval of this national block, and the election therefore assumed, as was intended, the form of a popular plebiscite for or against Fascism. The results showed that 8,650,740 out of the total of 9,650,750 electors went to the poll, and that of these 8,506,576 voted for the Government, while only 136,198 voted "No."

The Catholic clergy and the Catholic Press, in the first flush of their enthusiasm for the Lateran Treaty and anxiety for its due ratification, had been Signor Mussolini's most ardent canvassers, and in some parts of Italy worshippers marched straight from the Sunday morning mass to the polling booth. The newspaper announcements that the elections had passed off "without any incident or violence" were later proved to have been somewhat too optimistic, and in the autumn four men of Slav origin were condemned at Pola to thirty years' imprisonment and their leader to a military execution under the Fascist law on public security, for having shot at Fascist electors near the Valle Padova, in the new province of Istria.

On April 20, the eve of the Birthday of Rome, the Chamber was formally opened by the King, who, in a lengthy speech from the Throne, outlined the programme of the Government and once

more repeated its intention to pursue a sincere policy of peace abroad.

Encouraged no doubt by his sweeping victory at the polls, and satisfied with the conduct of public administration by his many Under-Secretaries, Signor Mussolini unexpectedly announced on September 12 that he proposed to relinquish seven out of his nine portfolios, retaining for himself only those of the Prime Minister and of the Minister of Home Affairs. The Ministries left vacant were for the most part assigned to the acting Under-Secretaries. Thus Signor Grandi became Foreign Minister, Signor Bottai, Minister for Corporations, and Signor Balbo, Minister for Air. In a memorable speech delivered a few days later (September 14) to the National Fascist Assembly, Signor Mussolini declared that it would be an "unpardonable error" to interpret the Cabinet changes as a modification of the Government's general policy. The most important feature of this process of "systematisation" was, according to the Duce, his surrender of the "military portfolios" which he had held for four years. These he had transferred to other shoulders because the "spiritual unification" of the armed forces had now been completed. Signor Mussolini's insistence on the concentration of power in the State constitutional bodies, illustrated by his famous "Circular to the Prefects" (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, p. 149), was once more repeated. Indeed, the main burden of his message to the Fascist provincial leaders was the announcement that the future of Fascism would lie in the "conscious, definite, and solemn subordination of the party to the State." Juridical effect would be given to this policy by legislation strengthening still further the connexion between Fascist officials and the civil Constitution. In future the Secretary of the Fascist Party would be appointed by the King on the advice of the Prime Minister, and the Federal Secretaries by the Prime Minister on the advice of the Secretary of the Fascist Party. Further, the Constitution of the Fascist Grand Council, drawn up barely twelve months previously, would be changed, and made less unwieldy. The rumours that the Fascist Party was about to be abolished were, however, described by the Duce, in a phrase borrowed from Mr. Snowden, as "grotesque and ridiculous." If the Fascist Party did not exist then it would be necessary to create it, "numerous, ardent, and disciplined" and exactly in its present form. Signor Mussolini however added, returning to his favourite thesis of "constitutionalisation," that the party must take its place "within the State." Dualism in authority and hierarchy should be a thing of the past, and the party was not so much to exercise authority as to fulfil an "apostolate." The Federal secretaries were to act as "subordinate collaborators" of the Prefects, while the party was to consider itself as a "civil and voluntary force at the orders of the State."

The nature of this new reform in the Fascist Grand Council

was made public in a Party Order Sheet published on October 1, and proved to be somewhat more sweeping than was at first anticipated. Signor Mussolini had to some extent prepared the ground for a reduction in its numbers by his statement that "Fifty-two persons to-day, with a possible increase to-morrow, are too many for a body which is to discuss and decide in secret. The Council had become an assembly of bodies instead of an assembly of heads. It is unnecessary that the Government, the Party, and the Syndicates should be represented in full. A General Staff must be reduced to a minimum . . . if it is to be efficient and really secret." A later Order Sheet declared that the Grand Council was not a "representative body" but a General Staff consisting of a few men able to "interpret the necessities, the spirit, and the supreme objects" of the Fascist Revolution. These ideas, which were the logical sequel of the Duce's intention that the party and its Council should be not so much a governing body as a source of stimulus and inspiration, when translated into fact, were found to mean a Grand Council of some twenty-three instead of fifty-six members, to which the Head of the Government may always add such persons as have "deserved well of the Nation or of the cause of the Fascist Revolution." Its members continue, as before, to be divided into three categories. The first class is composed of the *quadrumviri* of the March on Rome, and hold office indefinitely, while the second consists of a large number of persons granted membership in virtue of other offices held by them. Among these are the chief Cabinet Ministers, the Presidents of the Senate and the Chamber, the President of the Academy, the Secretary and Under-Secretary of the Fascist Party, and the Presidents of the National Fascist Confederations of Industry and Agriculture. These remain members as long as they retain their particular offices, while members of the third category, admitted on account of their services to the Nation or to the Fascist Party, are appointed for three years only. They are for the most part persons who have been Secretaries of the Fascist Party or have held office in the Government since 1922. This Order Sheet was followed by a Parliamentary Bill which, after submission to the Council of Ministers and to the two Chambers, finally became law on December 9. Apart from the matter of numbers, there has been little change in the important functions attributed to the Grand Council when it was "constitutionalised" in September, 1928 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 140). The Council may give its opinion on any question, whether political, economic or social, which has been referred to the Prime Minister and must be consulted on all questions "of a constitutional character." These are defined by Art. 12 of the Law as *inter alia*, the succession to the throne, the prerogatives of the Crown and of the Prime Minister, the composition and working of the Senate and the Chamber, the syndical and cor-

porative organisation, the relations between the State and the Holy See, and "international treaties which bring about changes in the territory of the State and the colonies." Among the most important duties of the Council are the examination and preparation of the list of "deputies designate" preliminary to future Parliamentary elections, and the preparation and maintenance of a list of "persons whom, in the event of a vacancy, it considers as suitable to assume office in the Government." In the same law constitutional effect was given to the new procedure for the nomination of the Secretary and the Federal Secretaries of the Fascist Party announced by Signor Mussolini in his speech of September 14, to which reference has already been made.

These changes involved some substantial modifications in the structure of the Fascist Party, and a new Constitution, was accordingly published after a meeting of the Party Directorate on October 29. This document is of unique and striking interest, remarkable alike for its rigid preservation of the hierarchy of the party officers, the sharp demarcation of their respective functions, and the almost military provisions for the maintenance of discipline. The textual reproduction of the original preamble furnished the most convincing proof of Signor Mussolini's proclamation of the continuing importance of the party, while the Duce's determination that it shall be composed only of the "elect" of the nation was illustrated by his later announcement that entrance was barred except to young recruits entering regularly from the ranks of the "Avanguardia," and by a peremptory invitation, published at the close of the year, to all members who could not continue to submit to Fascist discipline to "hand in their resignations within a week."

Italy continued to be affected during 1929 by the universal economic crisis. That the trade outlook was brighter was however proved by the figures for exports and imports during 1929. The adverse trade balance of 7,361,395,224 liras registered during 1928 was reduced to 6,466,585,243 liras. The value of Italy's imports during the past year was 21,352,985,144 as compared with 21,920,428,556 liras during 1928. With this decrease in imports there has been a corresponding increase in exports, the figures for 1929 being 14,886,399,901 as against 14,559,033,332 liras in 1928. The Wheat Campaign resulted in another striking victory. According to the figures of the Central Institute of Statistics, Italy's wheat production during the past season reached 70,664,300 quintals as compared with 62,214,800 quintals in 1928 and 53,291,000 quintals in 1927. When distributing the prizes to the winners of the National Wheat Competition on December 8, Signor Mussolini claimed that this result had been obtained not so much by increasing the area under wheat as by adopting methods of intensive cultivation by which the pre-war average production of 10.6 quintals per hectare had been raised to

15 quintals. The Duce also predicted that, given proper weather conditions, the forthcoming year would show still higher yields.

The new Italian Academy, which is understood to be due to the personal initiative of Signor Mussolini, was formally opened on October 28. The purpose of the Academy, according to its President, Signor Tittoni, is to preserve the Italian language, and to promote Italian culture at home and abroad. The various sections of the Academy held meetings in December during which the programme of future action was discussed.

In foreign affairs interest has chiefly centred around Italy's relations with France and Yugoslavia and with the preparations for the Naval Disarmament Conference. While relations with France were slightly improved by united action at The Hague Reparations Conference and by the arrest by the French police, at the very close of the year, of some well-known anti-Fascist leaders in Paris, the conversations with M. de Beaumarchais, the French Ambassador, made little progress. The British invitation to Italy to take part in the Conference for Naval Disarmament was promptly and cordially accepted, and led to a repetition of Signor Mussolini's famous remark of the previous year with regard to naval strength that Italy was "prepared to accept any figure, however low, provided it is not exceeded by any other Power on the Continent of Europe." This insistence on naval parity with France was perhaps chiefly responsible for the failure of Italy's proposal that the two countries should come to a preliminary understanding before the general conference opened. An excellent impression was made by the news that Italy was prepared to accept the Anglo-American thesis in favour of the abolition of submarines.

As regards Yugoslavia certain incidents in Belgrade, such as the wounding of an Italian diplomatic official and the alleged insults offered to Italy by Yugoslav and French sailors at Spalato, coupled on the Italian side with the verdict in the Pola trial, led to a great deal of friction, aggravated by the tone of certain journals in both countries.

The traditional good understanding between Italy and Great Britain were still further confirmed at the meeting between Sir Austen Chamberlain and Signor Mussolini at Florence in April, of which the generous loan of Italian masterpieces from public and private collections for exhibition in London, was a particularly happy and appropriate sequel.

In the autumn there was a warm revival of friendly feeling towards Belgium consequent on the engagement of Prince Umberto, the heir to the Italian throne, to Princess Marie-José, daughter of the King of the Belgians. The announcement of the engagement and the attempt on the Prince's life at Brussels almost immediately afterwards, gave the Italian public further occasion for demonstrating their affection for their Prince and their deep-

rooted loyalty to the House of Savoy, and the year closed in an atmosphere of enthusiastic preparation for welcoming the future Queen, and for the various brilliant functions in connexion with the wedding ceremony arranged to coincide with the New Year festivities.

CHAPTER III.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

THROUGHOUT 1929 the Government was in a highly precarious position, but it was kept in existence by the needs of Germany's external relations ; the pressure from without more than counteracted the disintegrating tendency from within. At the formation of the Cabinet in the summer of 1928, an undertaking had been given that as soon as possible the Coalition would be enlarged, both in the Reich and in Prussia. In the Reich this promise was carried out in the face of many obstacles, at least formally, for the understanding between the various Government Parties never went further than was absolutely necessary. At first, indeed, the Centre, when it was unable to obtain what it demanded, had withdrawn its representative, Von Guérard, the Minister of Communications and for the Occupied Territory (February). At the same time the negotiations for a Coalition in Prussia finally broke down over the demand of the German People's Party for two portfolios in the Cabinet. But the importance of presenting a united front at the approaching Conference of Experts at Paris inspired all parties with a desire to avoid a Cabinet crisis. In April a solution was found through the Democrats resigning the Ministry of Justice, which hitherto had been held by Dr. Koch. Von Guérard again entered the Cabinet, this time as Minister of Justice, while the Ministry of Communications was taken over by Dr. Stegerwald, and that of the Occupied Territory by Dr. Wirth. All the three new Ministers belonged to the Centre. It was, of course, imperative that the Paris reparation negotiations should not be endangered by the absence of a strong and capable Government, but another reason which dictated this great concession to the Centre was the exceptional difficulty which was being experienced in getting the Budget passed. In Prussia the Government, which for years had been strongly inclined to the Left, made an agreement (Concordat) with the Papal See, in order to obtain the support of the Catholic Centre.

On October 3, at a moment when a number of domestic difficulties were assuming dangerous proportions, but not before

he had seen the successful conclusion of the first Hague Conference, the death took place of Dr. Gustav Stresemann, who since 1923 had been Foreign Minister of the Reich (see under "Obituary"). It was impossible to fill the Foreign Office with a man who could command the same respect and confidence in other countries as Stresemann had done; it was equally impossible to find a man who could hope to win from the German public the same favour and approval for his foreign policy. In accordance with a wish expressed by Dr. Stresemann, the Foreign Office was transferred to the highly esteemed Minister of Economy, Dr. Curtius, who had just won fresh laurels for himself at The Hague. The Ministry of Economy was taken over by Dr. Moldenhauer, a deputy of the Reichstag and hitherto Professor at the University of Cologne, who like Curtius belonged to the party of Stresemann, the German People's Party.

The budgetary and financial difficulties of the Government brought it to the verge of downfall just before the end of the year, and it was only saved by the forbearance exercised by the Opposition in view of the approaching Hague Conference in January, 1930. The crisis actually led to the resignation of the Minister of Finance, the Social Democrat, Dr. Hilferding. His place was taken by Dr. Moldenhauer. The Social Democrats waived their claim to the Ministry of Finance, because the Government's financial programme had been upset by sections closely connected with the German People's Party. The Ministry of Economy was entrusted to the former Minister of Food, Dr. Robert Schmidt. As a result of the various changes which it underwent in the course of the year, the Reich Cabinet was composed at the end of the year as follows: Chancellor, Herr Müller-Franken (Socialist); Foreign Affairs, Dr. Curtius (German People's Party); Interior, Herr Severing (Socialist); Finance, Dr. Moldenhauer (German People's Party); Economy, Dr. Robert Schmidt (Socialist); Justice, Herr Von Guérard (Centre); Defence, Gen. Groener (Non-Party); Labour, Herr Wissel (Socialist); Post Office, Dr. Schaetzel (Bavarian People's Party); Food and Agriculture, Herr Dietrich (Democrat); Communications, Dr. Stegerwald (Centre); Occupied Territory, Dr. Wirth (Centre). All parties still regarded the Government as merely provisional, to be tolerated only so long as external conditions necessitated. Latent conflicts, especially between the Social Democrats and the German People's Party in the sphere of social and fiscal policy, deprived the Governmental "Grand Coalition" of any prospect of permanence or fruitful activity. The creator of the idea of the "Grand Coalition" was Stresemann, and with his death the combination between the parties forming the Government lost its leader and promoter.

Owing to its lack of cohesion the Government naturally failed to achieve many of the objects which it set itself in the course of

the year. Its reform of the Unemployment Insurance system did not produce the desired result—the clearing away of the large deficit with which the Fund was faced. No solution was found for differences which arose in the long-drawn discussion over the reform of the penal code; for instance, the increased facilities for divorce demanded by the majority of the parties met with uncompromising opposition from the Centre. A new special law was introduced by the Government to take the place of the expiring law for the protection of the Republic, but it did not obtain the requisite majority in the Reichstag. The extremist Opposition parties both on the Right and on the Left sought to take advantage of the weakness of the Government for their own ends. In the course of the May celebrations, Communistic outbreaks took place which claimed about 250 victims in dead and wounded; fortunately the Government succeeded in confining the trouble to the Capital. The fighting organisation of the Communists, the “Red Front” League, was dissolved throughout the whole territory of the Reich. This step was followed in the autumn by the dissolution of the “Stahlhelm” defence organisation, belonging to the Right, in some provinces of the West. Owing to demonstrations of peasants and unemployed, and bomb attempts on Government buildings, it was found necessary to take further drastic measures for preserving order.

The unrestrained activity displayed in the course of 1929 by the extremists of the Right was prompted to a considerable extent by the intransigent attitude adopted by the German National People's Party, which, under the leadership of Geheimrat Hugenberg, made an alliance with the hitherto insignificant National Socialists (formerly “Völkische”), and so entered upon a policy of violence and terrorism. This development was largely the result of the economic conditions of the country, which drove not only masses of the younger voters but also sections of the struggling and highly taxed middle class into the arms of the obstructionist parties. In October the German Nationalists and the National Socialists presented a proposal for submission to a referendum which threw light both on their objects and their methods of propaganda. The proposal was that the Government of the Reich should be instructed to make an official protest against paragraph 231 of the Treaty of Versailles. In addition, a demand was made for the rejection of the Young Plan and the abandonment of the whole policy of reparation and understanding. It was also suggested that Ministers and officials who supported a policy favouring European understanding, the League of Nations and International Conferences should be put on trial for high treason.

Although the ultimate failure of this attempt was never for a moment in doubt, yet the mere fact of such a proposal being submitted to a referendum was bound to disturb and poison the

political atmosphere, besides causing grave economic mischief. Accordingly the Governments of the Reich and of the States along with a number of leading public men issued an appeal in which it was declared: "The whole demand for a referendum is built on a flagrant perversion of fact. It rests upon the crazy statement that German foreign policy so far has been based on an admission of Germany's war guilt, and that the German Government has only to disavow the war guilt article of the Treaty of Versailles in order to free Germany from all burdens and chains. Germany has never admitted the sole guilt proclaimed in the Treaty of Versailles. Every German Government has solemnly protested against this injustice. . . . The belief in the fairy tale of the sole guilt of Germany is disappearing more and more. . . . The German people has now to choose between reason and madness. . . ."

According to the constitution of the Reich, before a referendum can be taken it must be demanded by a tenth of those entitled to vote (about 4,200,000). The proposers of the "Freedom Law," in raising their demand for a plebiscite, obtained about 10,000 votes over the minimum necessary. This figure was much lower than the combined number of votes obtained by the German Nationalists, Völkische, and smaller fractions of the extreme Right at the last Reichstag election. To make the proposal law, half the votes of all those qualified were required (roughly 21,000,000), but the referendum yielded only 5·8 million in favour, in spite of a most widespread and determined propaganda. Thus the overwhelming majority of the German people showed that it had no mind to depart from the path of conciliation and liquidation of the war which German foreign policy had hitherto trodden.

The effects of the more pronounced attitude taken up by the Opposition showed themselves immediately, even while the referendum was going on, in the municipal and provincial elections in Prussia, and also in the elections in some of the States. The German Nationalist People's Party melted away to a great extent, a large part of its adherents going over to the National Socialists whose openly proclaimed "Fascism" is directed not against the Republic, but against Parliamentary democracy and against Marxist Socialism. On the other side, a number of deputies who disapproved of the line adopted by the party led by Hugenberg seceded from the German Nationalist Parliamentary groups, and combined with others to form a new party (Christian-Social People's Service). Owing to the impoverishment of large sections of the people, not only the National Socialists but also the Communists made headway in the elections, while the Liberal middle parties were unable to maintain their ground. Consequently one of the chief tasks of the Government was to be on the alert to put down any threat of violence by the extremists on both sides.

It was the new reparations arrangement resulting from the Paris and Hague negotiations, and known as the Young Plan, which formed the chief target for the attacks of the Opposition. But financial mismanagement in the Reich, the States, and the municipalities also contributed to create discontent with the Government. The Reich Budget for 1929 was only framed with the greatest difficulty, owing to the necessity of making reductions in every item. Even so a genuine balance was not attained ; the Government knowingly allowed revenue to be put too high and expenditure too low, and disposed of certain items which could not be met by relegating them to the extraordinary Budget. The Budget total was about 10 milliards of marks, as against 9·7 in the previous year ; 1·54 milliards of marks were assigned to external war burdens (reparations), 227,000,000 to internal war burdens (occupied territory), and about 1·6 milliards to war pensions and annuities. The Budget for 1930 was deferred until the new reparations arrangement should have definitely come into force.

In December the Chancellor made a most determined effort to combat the extravagance of Parliament and the lavishness of the officials by laying bare the calamitous condition of the public purse. It was made clear on this occasion that the reductions so far made in the Budget did not suffice by a long way to meet the need for economy. The financial years 1928 and 1929 closed with large deficits ; at the end of December, 1929, the Reich Exchequer was 1,700,000,000 marks in arrears, almost as much as the first reparation annuity under the Young Plan. For balancing this only 1,370,000,000 were available. Assuming the acceptance of the Young Plan—the unexpected postponement of which had plunged German finances into great confusion—the Reich Government drew up a programme of which the most important points were an increase in the beer and tobacco taxes, and the raising of the contributions for unemployment insurance. At the same time a progressive reduction of taxes to be spread over five years was promised ; without this it would have been impossible to obtain a majority. The Treasury deficit was to be made up by the alleviations given by the Young Plan, by a 500,000,000 credit from the Swedish concern Kreuger and Toll for the match monopoly, by the increases in the indirect taxes, and by other economies and reforms. The increased taxes were justified by the Government on the ground that in Germany with double the population of England alcohol was taxed only to the extent of 0·9 milliard of marks as against 2·6 milliards in England, while tobacco in Germany brought in 0·85 milliard against 1·2 milliards in England. The Socialists opposed these increases and also the concessions made to the insistent demands of the business world, the German People's Party opposed the increase in the contribution for unemployment insurance, and finally the Bavarian People's Party opposed the increased tax on beer. The

Government, however, succeeded in overcoming all opposition, and on December 14 obtained a vote of confidence from the Reichstag by 222 votes to 156. In spite of this, the programme of the Government was again altered in important respects a few days later. This rendered unavoidable the resignation of the Finance Minister, Dr. Hilferding, with whom retired also Dr. Popitz, a permanent official who had won a good reputation in the Ministry of Finance.

Even before the decisive financial debate the President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Schacht, who had represented the German Government as independent expert at the Paris negotiations, had sounded a note of warning, calling particular attention to the fact that the impending reparations arrangements through the Young Plan required as a preliminary that the finances of the Reich, the States, and the municipalities should be definitely put in order. Now Dr. Schacht, although in close touch with the business circles likely to benefit by the proposed tax reductions, raised his voice against them, and especially against the design of the Government to bridge over the deficit in the Treasury by means of a short-term American loan. The President of the Reichsbank helped the Government to draw up a programme on lines which hitherto had been opposed by the industrial world and, in the Reichstag, by the German People's Party, and which in many respects accorded with the views of the Socialists. Instead of tax reductions an amortisation fund was to be created for the floating debt, and all assets as they were liquidated were to be used for balancing the Budget. On Schacht's suggestion the emergency credit for the Reich was to be provided by German banks, and to be repaid from the amortisation fund in a short time. As in former years, when Dr. Schacht had opposed the borrowing policy of the municipalities, so now his attitude and his right to intervene became the subject of fierce discussion. The final result was that the views of Dr. Schacht gained the day. The Government emerged from the struggle with greatly restricted freedom of action and diminished prestige. But in view of the impending final conference at The Hague it was spared a crisis.

At the same time that Dr. Schacht's intervention took place in the finances of the Reich, the financial administration of Berlin was placed under State supervision. The financial condition of a great number of German municipalities was no better than that of the capital. The floating debts of the German towns amounted to two milliards of marks; the grants in aid required by towns with over 100,000 inhabitants increased in the period from 1927 to 1929 by 342,000,000 marks or 25 per cent., while the revenue from taxes in the same time increased only by 290,000,000 marks. One cause of the municipal indebtedness lay in the financial policy of the Reich, which during the last few years had always been

thrusting new burdens on the municipalities. Another cause was to be found in the high expenditure on social services, and in the sums needed for housing. Before the war the costs of building were borne almost entirely by private enterprise; at that time the average number built in a year was 200,000. In 1927 the number was about 284,000, in 1928, when money was much scarcer, about 306,000, and in 1929 it was estimated at 320,000. The financial programme of the Government involved a stricter control over the expenditure of the municipalities, whereas the cities were desirous of tackling the problem in their own way without interference from the State.

In the municipal field in particular the movement for administrative reform made progress in 1929. Far-reaching amalgamations, which were partly carried out under compulsion, and new divisions of districts paved the way, especially in the industrial region of the Rhine and the Ruhr, for a marked simplification of the administrative machinery. It became almost a commonplace that a reduction of expenditure could be brought about only by a better organised system of administration. Ideas also became clearer on the subject of Reich reform, the necessity for which had been for many years beyond dispute. There is a constant increase in the number of States which are unable and unwilling to keep their administration going, and yet refuse to be absorbed by Prussia.

A subject which, as its importance demanded, engaged public attention during the year equally with the reform of the administration and the Reich was the financial and fiscal situation. This was brought home to the general public by a brief fall in the German Exchange in April, which, though insignificant in itself, produced far-reaching consequences. The fall was caused in the first place by a letter of Hugenberg to some prominent Americans, in which it was asserted that the American credits granted to Germany benefited only German Socialism, but not German business. Another cause was that during the reparations negotiations at Paris certain French banks had withdrawn securities from Germany, and the Reichsbank, being caught unawares, did not immediately take the proper counter measures. In consequence it suffered losses in gold and securities, and these, together with drastic reductions in credit, led to the lack of confidence which lasted throughout the whole year, and which was accentuated by some big failures and by a downward tendency on the Stock Exchange. Symptoms of an increasing flight of capital from Germany also showed themselves, but by a united effort on the part of the German business world, a check was placed on the incipient mistrust in the German currency.

Less unity was shown in regard to certain views on the economic situation which were put forward from time to time by leading associations of manufacturers and obtained wide publicity.

In view of the state of trade and of the public finances the Reich Federation of German Industries urged that the Minister of Finance or the Reich Commissioner for Savings should be made more independent of the Cabinet and the Reichstag, and that the existing powers to contract loans should be restricted in such a way that non-recurring extraordinary revenue should in no circumstances be used for covering regular expenditure. Finally, employers of labour raised a continuous outcry against the heavy social burdens, against the weight of taxation, and against several increases of wages which had been granted by the State arbitrators without due regard to the capacity of industry to bear them. This charge was answered by the trade unions by pointing to the expansion of German trade during the past five years, which, they said, proved that higher wages and social insurance did not prevent economic progress. What neither side could deny was that the old crux of German post-war economy, the inadequate accumulation of capital, became greatly accentuated in the year 1929, and that the expansion of German trade, particularly in the years 1926 and 1927, had been due in the first instance to the influx of foreign capital. There was certainly less capital accumulation in 1929 than in 1927 and 1928, chiefly on account of the contraction of profits through lower prices and rising wages. Savings bank deposits also, although still growing, showed a smaller increase than in former years.

The extent of the chronic scarcity of capital was clearly revealed through the attempt made by the Reich Finance Minister in May to float a loan for 500,000,000 marks. In spite of a most attractive prospectus, only 180,000,000 marks were subscribed, although the books were kept open weeks after the original closing time. As in the second half of the year the tightness of money became more and more pronounced in the international money market also, the German business world was thrown on its own resources to a much greater extent than in former years. Foreign loans, which in 1928 had amounted to 1,465,000,000 marks, shrank in 1929 to about 360,000,000. The demand for capital, as was shown by the high rate of interest, was much greater than the supply. The low figure for 1929 is, however, partly explained by the rapid spread in this year of a new form of capital importation in the shape of foreign participation in German firms.

At the end of 1929 the short-term indebtedness of Germany amounted to about 7 milliards of marks, and the long-term indebtedness to about 7.25 milliards, the interest and amortisation on which constituted a heavy burden on German industry. The value of nearly all stocks fell steadily. There were about 15,000 bankruptcies and failures—about 4,000 more than in the previous year. Among these was the second largest insurance company in Germany, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Versicherungs—A. G. (Favag), the insolvency of which also affected foreign countries.

The number of insolvencies was particularly large among the medium-sized and small banking concerns.

The number of unemployed reached its peak in March with 2.6 millions (against 1.4 millions in March, 1928). In August it was 860,000, and at the end of the year had again risen to 1.7 millions, inclusive of short-time workers. It should be mentioned, however, that in the meanwhile the number of those capable of work had materially increased. Partly responsible for the high unemployment figure was the process of rationalisation, the progress of which declined somewhat during 1929. Among the great amalgamations of 1929 may be mentioned those of the Deutsche Bank with the Disconto Gesellschaft, of the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft with the General Electric of America, of the I. G. Farben with the Standard Oil, and of the Opel motor factory with General Motors. Among English firms the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. and the Combined Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd. took the lead in acquiring shares in German concerns.

In spite of all difficulties, production during 1929 exceeded that of the previous year, and the trade balance improved, there being an excess of exports over imports of about 35,000,000 marks, whereas in 1927 and 1928 imports had considerably exceeded exports. Commercial agreements were concluded with Rumania, Estonia, Persia, and Turkey, while a treaty was concluded with Switzerland regarding the making of the Rhine navigable from the Lake of Constance to Basle. Negotiations with Poland continued to meet with great difficulties, and only a number of partial arrangements materialised. An important arrangement was also concluded between the Reich Government and the Swedish concern of Kreuger and Toll, which in return for participation in the German match monopoly, accorded the Reich a loan of 125,000,000 dollars on favourable terms. Shortly before the end of the year important alterations were proposed in the tariff. These included an increase in the duty on agricultural products, in some cases to more than twice the rates in operation before the war. By this concession the Government went a long way to meet the protectionist demands of the large landed proprietors. The Reich Cabinet regarded the increases as a necessary emergency measure for equalising in some degree agrarian and industrial prices, and so enabling agriculture to obtain better production and marketing conditions. It became more and more generally recognised, however, that tariffs can provide no adequate remedy for the troubles of agriculture, and more attention began to be paid in many quarters to the improvement of agricultural products, to the organisation of marketing in new co-operative forms, and to the possibilities of agricultural enterprise financing itself. In connexion with the new tariff a Bill was passed for carrying out the recommendations of the World Economic Conference.

While economically little was done in the way of securing international agreements, in the political field great progress was made in this direction. The negotiations of the independent experts in Paris did not indeed fulfil all the expectations of Germany, but they produced the Young Plan, which transformed the German reparation obligations from a political into an economic debt. Of especial importance for a further improvement in Germany's relations to her creditors was the disappearance of the numerous control bodies and commissions and their replacement by the Bank for International Payments. The renewed recognition of the sovereignty of the German Reich which this involves is one of the most notable gains secured to Germany by the Young Plan. The average of the annual payments stipulated in this plan is 2050.6 millions, against a Dawes annuity of 2,500,000,000 marks, which was liable to further increase. In addition, while the amortisation of the Dawes bonds had to be carried out in thirty-seven years, the term allowed under the Young Plan is fifty-nine years. Of particular importance for German commerce in its still struggling condition is the graduation of payments, by which some relief is granted for the first years, and the first annuity for 1929-30 is fixed at 1796.4 million marks.

On August 31, 1929, on the termination of the fifth year of the Dawes Plan, the Reparations Agent announced that Germany had made all payments fully and punctually, and that the transfers had been carried out without a hitch. The total transfer in 1928-29 amounted to 2,453,000,000 marks. Owing to the change of Ministry in France, the death of Stresemann, and the opposition offered to the Young Plan in Germany itself, the new scheme could not take effect on September 1, as arranged by the experts in Paris. This disappointment was compensated in September by the beginning of the evacuation of the second zone of the occupied territory, and the agreement reached at The Hague for the evacuation of the third zone also by the middle of 1930. Since October negotiations have also been proceeding for the re-absorption of the Saar district in the Reich.

In his last great speech in the Reichstag on June 24, Dr. Stresemann pointed out that in 1924 the German Nationalists had accepted the Dawes Plan, that subsequently their opposition took the form of an incessant demand for a revision of the arrangement then made, and that, now that this revision of German reparation obligations had actually been carried out, the Opposition was clamouring for its rejection. Even while the Paris discussions were still in progress, the second German expert, Dr. Vögler, an industrialist, had withdrawn under pressure from the Right, and had been replaced by Dr. Kastl. The tactics of the first German expert, Dr. Schacht, were also subjected to some adverse criticism in Germany. When at The Hague the German Government, in order not to jeopardise the Young Plan as a

whole, found itself forced to make numerous concessions of a financial nature also, the opposition in Germany became much stronger in spite of the evacuation of large parts of the Rhine country. It was a significant fact that in the referendum on the general principles of German foreign policy, in the Rhineland and Westphalia only 2 to 3 per cent. of those entitled to vote cast their votes against the Young Plan, whereas in some of the Eastern districts the proportion was as high as 30 per cent. With the complete failure of the referendum campaign and the break-up of the opposition which followed, a serious obstacle was removed from the path of European reconciliation. Other indications of the same spirit were the acceptance of the Kellogg Pact in the Reichstag, the active participation of Germany in the work of the League of Nations, and finally her acceptance of the office of arbitrator in the Russo-Chinese conflict.

AUSTRIA.

The year 1929 proved the stormiest of the many uneasy years which the Republic has had to face since the Revolution of November, 1918. The struggle between the Social Democrat and the Christian-Social (Clerical) Parties, backed by their respective party armies, the Republikanischer Schutzbund and the Heimwehr, which had been growing in intensity since the Vienna riots of July 15, 1927, passed through a series of crises and took on several new forms.

Towards the close of 1928 the Chancellor, Dr. Seipel, had abandoned the cautious attitude which he had so far maintained in public of giving no direct support to the Heimwehr, and had declared quite definitely, "I stand by the Heimwehr." The consequence of this acknowledgment of an attitude which the Opposition had never doubted to be his behind the scenes was seen in increased tension between him and the Socialist Opposition from the beginning of January. There had never been any question but that the organisation, military training, and arming of the Heimwehr was contrary to Austrian law and a direct violation of the Treaty of St. Germain, but the implications of this could be largely overlooked by the Socialists as long as the Chancellor did not reveal his hand. The spectacle of the Austrian Chancellor and Prelate, Dr. Seipel, declaring himself on the side of this illegal organisation, brought home to the Opposition that a fight to the finish between Social Democrats and something approaching Fascism could not long be postponed. On February 14 Dr. Seipel, through his Minister of War, Herr Karl Vaugoin, who had always been a bitter enemy of the Socialists and made no secret of his militarist-Fascist policy, raided the Socialist Party Secretariat in the building of the Socialist Party organ the *Arbeiterzeitung*. The police

seized several hundred rifles, machine-gun parts, revolvers, field telephones, and ammunition. The Socialists declared that in view of the Fascist threats it was essential for them to be able to defend their headquarters, and that practically every newspaper office in Vienna kept a small stock of arms for self-defence. They protested vigorously that while the Government seized every Socialist rifle which could be discovered, they were allowing and even assisting the Heimwehr-Fascists to increase their armament week by week. From this seizure of February 14 dated a sharp Socialist campaign against the Minister of War. The Opposition claimed that both Socialists and Clericals had concealed large stocks of arms from the Allies at the time of the Revolution, and that the Minister of War, by seizing the arms of the Socialists, had broken the "Gentlemen's Agreement" that each Austrian faction should preserve its own stock of arms. On December 4, 1929, an unsuccessful libel action brought against the *Arbeiterzeitung* substantiated the story.

Nominally as a means of maintaining popular interest and gaining recruits, but actually to intimidate the Socialists and to threaten an eventual "March on Vienna" on the lines of Mussolini's famous "March on Rome," the Heimwehr throughout the year held military marches (at which arms were seldom openly carried) all over Austria. The Socialists, sometimes on the same day, at other times immediately before or afterwards, held counter-marches of the Republikanischer Schutzbund, so that Sundays (when the marches usually took place) became most expensive for the State, whose forces were required to keep order, and usually brought their toll of casualties and damage to property. Vienna was the scene of a critical march on February 24, when 6,000 Fascists marched through one part of the city, while on the other side of a barricade of mounted and foot police, heavily armed, some 18,000 Socialists counter-marched through other districts. On May 8 Dr. Karl Seitz, the Socialist Mayor of Vienna, in his capacity as Governor of the Federal State of Vienna, was moved by the threat of the Heimwehr to march 50,000 men through the city to issue a prohibition of any military marches by unofficial formations within the city boundaries. Strenuous efforts were made by the Heimwehr to get this order cancelled by the Government, but in view of the effect which such cancellation would have had abroad, the Government declined. Nevertheless, the Chancellor insisted that the Heimwehr march planned for May 14 must take place, as the police had been notified before the Mayor's prohibition. Some 18,000 Heimwehrmen only marched through the Inner City to the Old Imperial Palace, the Hofburg where their commander, Dr. Steidle, took the salute. This was the first and so far has been the only occasion when the Fascists marched through the heart of Vienna, though they held several uniformed parades there during the year without marching

through the streets. On the same day there was an anti-Fascist demonstration march of 30,000 Socialists in the outer suburbs.

On April 3 Dr. Seipel, the Chancellor of Austria, suddenly resigned, stating that differences had arisen between him and the Pan-German members of his Cabinet, and that he considered Austria would be more likely to secure a foreign loan without him. His party declared that the hatred stirred up against him by the Socialists, particularly as it included the Church of which he was a priest, had made his position insupportable. The Opposition at once expressed the opinion that this was a tactical move on the Chancellor's part. They believed that his policy was to stir up so much trouble for his successor through the Heimwehr that increasing disorders in the country would eventually oblige the new Chancellor to resign. Dr. Seipel would then reappear in his favourite rôle of saviour of the country and, backed by the Heimwehr, would take office either as Chancellor or President with something like dictatorial powers. That this view of Dr. Seipel's intentions was shared by members of Dr. Seipel's own party was indicated by the reluctance of suitable candidates for such a precarious Chancellorship to come forward. Party intrigues and negotiations continued for over a month, until on April 30 Dr. Ernst Streeruwitz, a former Imperial Cavalry Officer and secretary of the Association of Austrian Industrialists, agreed to form a Cabinet. His nomination was confirmed and his Cabinet elected in the National Assembly on May 5. Although he was known to the Socialists as personally a moderate man, the inclusion of their inveterate enemy, Herr Vaugoin, in the Cabinet assured it of their hostility from the start. This was strengthened by his failure to make any reference to the need for internal disarmament in his statement of policy.

The language used by the Heimwehr leaders grew more and more extreme. On April 7 Dr. Pfrimer, joint leader with Dr. Steidle of the movement, declared that the Heimwehr were ready to "march on Vienna, weapons in hand." On the same day General Kassasmas, leader of one of the Vienna Heimwehr groups, said that "200,000 Heimwehr stand with their rifles in hands, ready throughout Austria." He called the political negotiations "theatrical nonsense," said that he had preached a march on Vienna from the start, and that "Red Vienna" must be conquered by force of arms. On the same Sunday there were a whole series of minor collisions between the rival armies which were only prevented from spreading by the sharp intervention of the gendarmerie. Throughout the political crisis the Heimwehr brought pressure to bear on the Clerical politicians to prevent anything in the nature of a compromise being reached. The Socialists denounced in Parliament the activities and speeches of the Heimwehr leaders as high treason and demanded their arrest, without effect. They started a big recruiting campaign for the

Republikanischer Schutzbund on the plea that the Republic was endangered by Fascist reaction, and that it was the duty of every able-bodied Republican to prepare to defend the State. On April 15 there was a fresh series of collisions between the factions during their military parades; the police had difficulty in keeping down the number of casualties, and military were held in readiness for further intervention. Eighteen Heimwehr and three Socialists were wounded in fighting at Kapfenberg in Styria on May 1, and two days later 200 army rifles, three machine-guns, and ammunition were seized by the police at Socialist local headquarters. On April 11 fourteen combatants on both sides were wounded, and nineteen on May 1. On May 13 the organ of the Vienna Clericals, the *Weltblatt*, a strong anti-Socialist newspaper, became alarmed by Dr. Seipel's Heimwehr, and published an outspoken warning concerning the Heimwehr leaders' plans for a *coup d'état* in Austria. By this time all opposition to the Fascists in any but the Socialist Press had practically ceased, not always from conviction of the justice of their cause, but often from pusillanimity. The Heimwehr had, on the Italian Fascist model, began to threaten "compromising politicians," and it had become the act of an unusually courageous man to criticise those who claimed to possess the monopoly of a somewhat nebulous characteristic described as "Austrian Patriotism." At this moment M. Briand's Note of June 18, informing the Secretariat of the League of Nations that Austria had consistently evaded her disarmament obligations, aroused great concern in Vienna. The reactionary and the Government newspapers hastened to assure the world that the Heimwehr were a pacific but patriotic association of ex-soldiers, quite unconnected with the Government. It was unfortunate that a long series of facsimile documents published in the *Arbeiterzeitung* just previously should have shown incontestably the interest of Dr. Seipel's Government in the arming and organisation of the Heimwehr.

Meantime, the Parliamentary situation began to improve. One main cause was the apprehension entertained by the Opposition of a Heimwehr *Putsch* if they did not compromise wherever possible without sacrificing Republicanism or Democracy, and another the conciliatory attitude of the new Chancellor, Dr. Streeruwitz, who was anxious above all things to avoid a clash. The question of a revision of the Rent Act (which kept rents in Austria at a purely nominal figure—a virtual expropriation of the landlords justified by the Socialists on the grounds that inflation had enriched them by enabling mortgages to be paid off in worthless paper, while the subscriber to War Loan was rendered penniless), had blocked the path throughout Dr. Seipel's Chancellorship. Hardly was he out of office when the parties (on June 11) reached a compromise. A series of small increases of rent were agreed upon up to 1930, when the question of future

increases will have to be settled by Parliament. The Socialists were satisfied because the increases agreed to were comparatively small, the Clericals because the back of the stubborn Socialist opposition to any change had been definitely broken.

On August 2 an incident occurred which, mainly on account of the rank of the culprit, attracted attention out of proportion to its actual importance. The Socialists failed to get confiscated any of the big stocks of arms and ammunitions (which, quite illegally, the Heimwehr were importing from Germany and elsewhere with impunity) until they were able to force the reluctant police of Linz, in Upper Austria, to take action against Prince Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg. On a Socialist denunciation, nine cases described by a Vienna munition dealer as "glassware" addressed to one of the Prince's castles, Schloss Waxenberg, on the Danube, were opened and found to contain 13,500 Italian machine-gun cartridges and 4,000 rounds of Mauser rifle ammunition. Although this was a mere drop in the ocean of the big Heimwehr armament, its seizure caused quite a storm. The Prince issued a contemptuous acknowledgment of his responsibility, boasting that he had received many earlier consignments and defying the authorities. Their subsequent supine handling of the case completely justified him. Doctor Streeruwitz was clearly unable to oppose the pro-Heimwehr influences with which he was surrounded. Under the eyes of the local authorities, the Prince removed large stocks of the arms and ammunition stored for his private battalion of sharpshooters to other hiding-places. When the removal had been completed, the police searched the castle and found nothing but steel helmets and marching equipment. "Were Austria a Constitutional country," wrote a Democratic newspaper, "the Prince would have to answer for his defiance of the Peace Treaty and of Austrian law before the Courts."

On August 9 Dr. Steidle renewed his threats in Vienna, saying, "We are going to employ drastic means, and revolution seems to me no exaggerated word to employ." But more serious anxiety was caused by the activities of a professional counter-revolutionary from Germany, Major Waldemar Pabst, than by the wildest words of the official Heimwehr leaders. Major Pabst organised the Kapp *Putsch* of 1920 in Germany and fled from that country after the collapse of that counter-revolutionary effort. He was given Austrian citizenship by the Tyrolese authorities, who approved of his attitude, under the name of "Peters," and thus escaped extradition. He became the military organiser of the Heimwehr, and in the summer of 1929 he developed and urged on the other leaders' plans for a *coup d'état*.

August 13 saw more fighting, this time in the Vienna Forest. The Clerical *Reichspost*, the organ of Dr. Seipel, began in August a campaign against the Foreign Press which took notice of the

Heimwehr activities. The attack was first directed against German correspondents but subsequently concentrated on British journalists.

The greatest anxiety was aroused by the Heimwehr plans for September 29. Four big marches engaging 50,000 men were planned for four points close to Vienna, and as it was known that the Heimwehr, though not so foolish as to fix a date for a revolution in advance, had nevertheless drawn up complete plans for the seizure of power if a serious clash on that day should give them an excuse, Austrians became gravely alarmed and began withdrawing their bank deposits and purchasing foreign currency. Before this date was reached, however, fighting which took place at St. Lorenzen and Marein on August 17, caused such concern abroad that the Government, although afraid to forbid the Heimwehr plans, took elaborate and costly precautions which secured peace on September 29. At St. Lorenzen 2,000 Heimwehr tried to break up a big Socialist meeting. Some members of a force of the Republikanischer Schutzbund, 400 strong, carried concealed revolvers and opened fire on the Fascists. The latter then openly drew rifles and a machine-gun from their illegal depot and cleared the square. Some seventy men were wounded and five killed. During the night a general rising of the Heimwehr seemed imminent, but once again Austria came safely across the thin ice of her illegal armies. On August 21 a Socialist patrol killed a young Heimwehrman named Janisch at Erlaa, near Vienna. Measures were now taken to strengthen the country police and to move a permanent troop-garrison into one of the danger areas. On August 21 a haughty Heimwehr "communiqué" referring to rumours that the Government would disarm the opposing factions, declared that "the General Command of the Austrian Heimwehr will alone decide as to the armament of its members." On the same day the Heimwehr leaders assembled in Vienna for a second conference. It subsequently transpired that Major Pabst presented a concrete plan for a *coup d'état*, but how the remainder of the Heimwehr leaders received it was never fully revealed. On the same day also, Dr. Seipel's organ, the *Reichspost*, renewed its attacks on the British Press for the attention which it was directing towards the disorders and revolution peril in Austria. The Vienna Press especially resented the wise insistence of British newspapers on the inevitable danger of foreign intervention and attempts to partition Austria (that might well have provoked a European conflict) which would have followed any attempt of the Heimwehr to put their threats into execution. That the Heimwehr was in close touch with Hungarian Monarchists and Italian Fascists was quite clear, and both Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were in consequence on the alert.

Meantime, Dr. Streeruwitz's conciliatory attitude towards the Opposition had sealed his fate for the all-powerful Heimwehr,

and on September 25, Dr. Seipel, still the power behind the scenes, was able to force his resignation with the aid of the openly Fascist Governor of Styria, Dr. Rintelen. The financial crisis, the direct result of the Heimwehr propaganda of violence, had now become very grave. The biggest bank in Austria, the Bodenkreditanstalt, was threatened with having to shut its doors within a week owing to the panic among the Austrian people, who were scrambling for foreign currency. A subsequent attempt was made by the Vienna Press to blame the loss of confidence in Austria abroad for the subsequent disappearance of the bank, but it has been established that despite the withdrawal of foreign credits, the panic of the home population delivered the death-thrust to the bank.

On September 26 the Vienna Police President, Johann Schober, formed a "last hope" Cabinet at a moment when the country was in serious straits. Schober was an anti-Socialist but not a party man. Dr. Seipel had in reality little more affection for him than had the Socialists, who could not forgive him for the bloodshed when the Vienna riots of July 15, 1927, were suppressed with great severity, but every one respected his love of legality. The fear that Dr. Seipel's ultimate aim was the creation of a great Catholic block of Central European States under the Habsburgs, and involving the recovery of parts of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, strengthened the position of the new Chancellor, who was known to be determined to tolerate no violence at home and to recover the confidence of foreign countries. Dr. Seipel's hostility to Herr Schober was signalled by his statement to the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in an interview given on September 2, that "the arms of the Vienna Heimwehr are deposited with the Vienna police." This statement (which was calculated to upset the negotiations then in progress between Schober and the Socialists) was promptly repudiated by Schober. It was made the occasion for a vicious (and inspired) Press campaign initiated by Dr. Seipel's *Reichspost* and supported by the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Dötz* against the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent and other foreign journalists, which had a legal sequel when two of the offending newspapers were forced against their will to publish corrections of their slanders by order of Court.

The Heimwehr movement had been carefully guided by Dr. Seipel into a channel which could present an appearance of reasonableness to the world at large—that of a demand for the reform of the Austrian Constitution. It appeared that to devise a "formula" acceptable both to the moderate supporters of the Heimwehr and to the Socialists would be the first task of the new Chancellor, since Dr. Seipel had overthrown Dr. Streeruwitz because of his unconcealed readiness to effect a compromise which would have preserved the democratic character of the State. Before he could proceed with this task, however, he was called

upon to rescue the country from a great financial disaster. His firmness alone saved the country from a terrible financial panic. The ruined Bodenkreditanstalt was forced to merge itself on uncomfortable terms in the Credit Anstalt (belonging to the Austrian Rothschilds and their foreign backers). The Bodenkredit had for long been badly mismanaged, and the shareholders and luckless employees had to pay the penalty of this and of the Heimwehr agitation. Though loud cries were raised for the prosecution of the Directors, including Herr Sieghart, the President, no action was taken and the weakest went to the wall. But to Herr Schober's energy must be attributed the rescue of the depositors, who were all paid in full.

On October 19 the Chancellor, Herr Schober, presented his Constitutional Reform Bill to the Chamber. Although much less drastic than the Heimwehr, with their insistence on the abolition of Parliamentary Government, had demanded, it was clearly unacceptable for the Socialists. A renewed Heimwehr campaign of threats ensued, and it was asserted again and again that no alteration to the "Minimum Bill" would be tolerated. The week-end rioting between Fascists and Socialists, in which the former were usually the aggressors, continued. Herr Schober, by a series of seizures of Democratic and Socialist newspapers which spoke too alarmingly, soon taught the Press of Vienna to beware of writing anything which could lessen foreign confidence in Austria. The statement of Mr. Henderson, British Foreign Minister, on November 5, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, that "the British Government would view with alarm any unconstitutional action in Austria" was the occasion for a fresh anti-British outburst in the Austrian Press.

The Constitutional Reform Act as finally passed on December 7, by virtue of a compromise between the Chancellor and the Socialists (which the Heimwehr docilely accepted), proved to be only a mildly reactionary measure. Herr Schober's control of the highly efficient Vienna police force and the alarm of foreign countries cooled the Heimwehr's ardour for revolution. The Socialists preserved Vienna's independence as a Federal State, but had to agree to greatly increased powers for the President of the Republic. The various Monarchist proposals instigated by Dr. Siepel, such as those designed to facilitate the restoration of Habsburg property and restoring titles of nobility, had to be dropped. The average Austrian soon began to ask himself exactly what this "liberation" by the Heimwehr had brought him, since unemployment still increased and the economic situation of the country was undeniably worse as the result of the Heimwehr agitation.

The end of the year saw Schober acclaimed (as his rival Monsignor Seipel had been acclaimed a few years before) as the "saviour of his country." The need of window-dressing for the second Hague Conference produced a temporary lull in

dissension. But the real problem of internal disarmament was left untouched and December 31 found Austria's future as uncertain as before, with the rival armies still confronting one another in battle array, even though sobered by recent national disasters.

CHAPTER IV.

SOVIET RUSSIA — ESTONIA — LATVIA — LITHUANIA — POLAND —
CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RUMANIA — YUGOSLAVIA —
TURKEY—GREECE—BULGARIA.

THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS.

DURING the year the far-reaching administrative reform of the various parts of the Soviet Republics which had been commenced some time before was nearly completed. The old division into governments (*gubernia*) no longer exists. Each Republic is now divided into districts (*okrugs*) corresponding to the economic requirements of the country or to the distribution of the different nationalities living in it. To the already existing six Soviet Republics of the Union—the Great Russian, the Ukrainian, the White Russian, the Transcaucasian, the Turkmen, and the Usbekistan—there was added in 1929 the Tajikistan Republic, in Central Asia. This new State has been formed of parts of the old Bokhara territory and of the former districts of Samarkand and Fergana. The Republic was proclaimed by the extraordinary session of the Soviets of Tajikistan on October 16, in the capital Dushambe, which was soon after named Stalinabad. The formation of the Tajikistan Republic means the strengthening of the southern frontier of Soviet Central Asia. In the neighbouring kingdom of Afghanistan there is a strong Tajik element which may one day declare its readiness to join the new Soviet Republic. By establishing the Tajikistan Republic the Communist Party has apparently tried to weaken the Usbekistan Republic, the people of which are anti-bolshevist and partisans of the exiled Emir of Bokhara.

M. Stalin, the real ruler of the Union, markedly strengthened his position during the year, and continued with the utmost energy his campaign against the remnants of the Trotskyist group, and also against the Right Wing of the party. In January, 150 members of the Trotskyist group were arrested, and on February 18, Trotsky was exiled from the U.S.S.R. on account of his "anti-Soviet activities." He was taken to Constantinople, where he made unavailing requests to the Governments of France, Germany, Great Britain, and Norway to allow him to enter their respective countries. One hundred and forty-three of his adherents, among

them men like Preobrashenski, Radek, Smilga, and Serebryakov, made a declaration of "repentance." They abandoned the platform of Trotsky and accepted the policy of Stalin. The partisans of Saprnov also made their peace with the present rulers of the party. Zinoviev again began to come to the fore and was appointed director of the Western European department of the Komintern. Having thus finished with the Opposition from the Left, Stalin and his lieutenants set to work to clear away the pro-peasant tendencies of the Right Wing, which were chiefly being displayed by Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsy, Frumkin, and to a certain extent also by Kalinin. The last-mentioned, however, was clever enough to dissociate himself from his friends and to support the policy of Stalin. In consequence he was allowed to retain his position as President of the Union for the eleventh year. The other leaders of the Right Wing for a time persisted in their efforts, but without success. They had even eventually to undergo "punishment." Frumkin was removed from his post of Vice-Commissary of Finance. Tomsy lost his posts of Head of the Central Organisation of the Trade Unions and member of the Committee of Labour and Defence. Bukharin had to give up his post of Chief Editor of the *Pravda*, nor is he any more President of the Komintern. He was appointed to the minor post of director of the department of technical education. Later in the year Bukharin was excluded from the Politburo (the political Bureau of the Communist Party), and was thus deprived of any influence on the Soviet machinery. Even Rykov lost some of his influence. He had hitherto held, together with the post of President of the Council of Commissaries of the U.S.S.R., that of President of the Council of Commissaries of the Great Russian Soviet Republic. He retained the latter post, but was warned by the Central Committee of the Party against his "right" ideology. He was succeeded as President of the Council of Commissaries of the Great Russian Republic by M. Syrtzow, a Siberian, a comparatively young man, a trained Party Secretary and staunch partisan of Stalin. The latter is systematically removing the older men from governmental and party positions and replacing them by young party men. Thus M. Tchitcherin, who spent the whole year in Germany, practically ceased to act as Foreign Secretary, and on November 11 the Politburo accepted his resignation. Even before that he had been excluded from the Politburo. M. Lunacharski, also one of the collaborators of Lenin, was removed from his post of Commissary of Education and replaced by M. Bubnov, the former Head of the Political Department of the Red Army.

Towards the end of the year the representatives of the Right tendency made another effort to win over public opinion, an outspoken criticism of the policy of Stalin being published by the Professors Slyepkof and Aichenwald. The party at once took

action. In the *Pravda* of November 15, an ultimatum was published summoning Bukharin and the other leaders of the Right opposition to declare their adhesion to the party programme and to abstain from any agitation against it, as otherwise they would be excluded from the party like Trotsky and his followers. On November 25 Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomsy capitulated, and others soon followed. Stalin announced in the *Isvestiya* that the socialisation of agriculture would be continued at all costs, and with the help of modern implements, in the first place tractors. A new Commissariat of the Union, that of Agriculture, was created towards the end of the year in order to carry out the schemes of agricultural socialisation. M. Yakovlev was appointed Commissary of Agriculture.

The food situation became bad early in the year. On March 15 bread ration cards were introduced in Moscow. The cards were issued only to workers, and entitled the holder to a ration of 520 grammes at a reduced rate. Others had to buy in the open market at higher prices. Great hostility was shown by the Government to the kulaki (well-to-do peasants) during the year. Several thousands of German peasants who had lived for generations in Siberia decided to emigrate from the Union on account of religious oppression and forcible socialisation.

At the sixteenth Conference of the Party held on April 25-29, the policy of Stalin, the so-called "Generalynaya linia" (general line), was approved, after negotiations in which the opponents of this policy strongly defended their point of view. It aims at the socialisation of agriculture and at forcing the pace of industrialisation (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 159). The conference also adopted the economic five years' plan (*Piatilyetka*) of the Soviet Union, which aims at bringing about a great intensification of production by 1933. The fourteenth Congress of the Soviets of the Great Russian Republic held on May 14-18, declared itself in favour of a policy of peace and of the programme of Stalin. On May 20-28 the Congress of the Soviets of the Union met after an interval of two years. One of its acts was to approve the economic five years' plan.

The year witnessed a revival of the terror of the G.P.U. (the State Secret Police). On May 22 three railway specialists—Meck, Velitchko, and Paltshinski—were shot. In October a counter-revolutionary plot in the Army was detected and several generals were shot. In October also, two monarchist conspiracies were discovered in the north of the Caucasus. The one group which called itself the sect of the Imyaslavzy was headed by two former officers and a former abbess, Mavra Makarovskaja, who had been in relations with the family of the Tsar. The other group was headed by a lawyer named Savitzky, along with some ex-officers and peasants (kulaki). Altogether forty people were shot in connexion with these two plots.

Another marked feature of the Communist Party's policy during the year was the extension of the anti-religious propaganda. A special congress was held on June 14, in connexion with a carnival held to turn religion into ridicule. Bukharin reported that the Pan-Russian Union of Atheists numbered 70,000 members. Yaroslavski, a specialist in anti-religious propaganda, complained that the struggle against religion was still being carried on without sufficient vigour, that there were still many religious groups in the factories and many teachers attached to their religion, and that the Union of Atheists numbered amongst its members only 20 per cent. of women. Many churches, mosques, and synagogues were turned during the year into clubs, cinemas, and Party and Governmental offices.

In his report to the Z.I.K. (Central Executive Committee), in the session of December 10, 1928, M. Litvinoff stated that the relations of the U.S.S.R. with Germany, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and Lithuania were friendly, that there was no friction with Italy and Japan, but that relations with Poland, England, France, and China were not harmonious. As regards the United States, Litvinoff said, "we have to record with great gratification the uninterrupted and rapid development of the economic relations with this country." He further pointed out that the United States had never been on the side of the Governments that had plotted against the Soviets. On the contrary, the help of the United States during the famine should be acknowledged with gratitude. The economic relations with the United States would, however, have far more favourable results if normal political relations could be established. Litvinoff emphasised the fact that the U.S.S.R. had been the first Government to ratify the Kellogg Pact.

On December 29, 1928, the Foreign Commissary proposed to the Polish Government the conclusion of an Eastern Peace Pact between all Powers interested in peace in Eastern Europe. He recalled the proposal of a pact of non-aggression made to the Polish Government on August 24, 1926, which was then rejected by Poland. Now, it was explained in the Note of the Foreign Commissary, as Poland and the U.S.S.R. had both ratified the Kellogg Pact, there should be no obstacle to the conclusion of an Eastern Peace Pact. A similar proposal was made to Lithuania. After negotiations with the other Baltic States and with Rumania, such a Pact was signed in Moscow on February 9, 1929, between the U.S.S.R., Poland, Rumania, Estonia, and Latvia. The signing of the Protocol took place with a good deal of pomp, and speeches were made by Litvinoff and the Polish Ambassador in Moscow, M. Patek, by the latter in the name of the other States. The Moscow Press hailed this event as a triumph of Soviet diplomacy. The Pact came into force on April 2, when the ratification documents of the Polish and Rumanian Governments were handed over

in Moscow by the Polish representative. Persia joined on April 4 and Lithuania on April 5.

On January 23 the Z.I.K. ratified the commercial and friendly treaty concluded in August, 1928, between the U.S.S.R. and Yemen. The treaty is of no great significance and only deserves notice as one of the efforts of the U.S.S.R. to gain ground against Great Britain in the East. On May 17 a Commercial Treaty was concluded with Estonia, and on June 12 with Greece. Important contracts were made with the General Electric Company and with the Ford Motor Corporation. The contract between the Russian Oil Syndicate and the Anglo-American Oil Company was ratified by the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the British company.

With the accession of the Labour Government in Great Britain diplomatic negotiations were resumed by the U.S.S.R. with that country. An understanding was reached between Mr. Henderson and the Soviet Ambassador in Paris, M. Dovgalevsky, that both Governments should appoint representatives and that the questions at issue should be negotiated thereafter. M. Sokolnikov, a former Commissary of Finance, was appointed Soviet representative in London (*vide* English History).

Relations with China had already become strained in 1928. At the beginning of 1929 domestic visitations and arrests were made, on the order of Chang Hsue Liang, the ruler of Mukden, in several Soviet Consulates in Manchuria, and this led to an open conflict. The real object of the Chinese action was to expel the Union from the Eastern Chinese Railway, the suppression of bolshevik propaganda being merely a pretext. The arrest of the Soviet Consul-General in Kharbin in May, was followed by the arrest of twelve Russian officials of the railway in July. The other officials were expelled and the whole railway taken over by the Chinese. War for a time was imminent. Meanwhile international diplomacy intervened actively, drawing attention to the fact that both the Chinese Government and the Government of the U.S.S.R. had signed the Kellogg Pact. The result was that although the Soviet Government had concentrated military forces on the Manchurian frontier, war was avoided, and by the end of the year the conflict was settled. The delegates of the Soviet Government and of the Manchurian Government agreed that the *status quo ante* should be re-established on the Eastern Chinese Railway. The Soviet forces were to retire from the frontier, and the consulates and trade delegations were to be re-established. The posts of Soviet Director and Sub-Director of the Railway were filled by new men (*vide* China).

ESTONIA.

The Coalition Government under Mr. A. Rei, which had succeeded the Ministry of Mr. Toennisson in November, 1928, remained in office during the early part of 1929. On May 9-11 a General Election was held, as a result of which the Socialists, Agrarians, Germans, and Popular Party each gained one seat, and the Coalition lost three seats. The Government thereupon resigned, and was succeeded by a non-Socialist Ministry with Mr. O. Strandman as Prime Minister and Head of the State; Mr. J. Lattik again became Minister of Foreign Affairs. The new Ministry received a vote of confidence from the Diet on July 9.

The second Baltic Economic Conference was held in Tallinn (Reval) on December 7 and 8, and was attended by seventy-six Estonian, thirty-nine Latvian, and five Lithuanian delegates representing economic organisations. This year again no progress was made by the Commission which had been appointed in 1927 to draw up a scheme for a Customs Union between Estonia and Latvia. Estonia was one of the States which signed the Litvinoff Protocol in Moscow on February 10, and on May 18, after protracted negotiations, she concluded a Commercial Treaty with the Soviet Government.

At the end of June the King of Sweden paid an official visit to Tallinn in return for the visit paid to Stockholm by Mr. Toennisson, the Head of the Estonian State, in the previous year. In January the President of the German Reichstag had also gone on to Tallinn after his visit to Riga.

LATVIA.

The bourgeois Coalition Government formed early in 1928 continued to hold office throughout 1929 with Mr. Celmins as Prime Minister, having towards the end of 1928 received a vote of confidence from the newly elected Diet. In the autumn the Diet approved a Bill submitted by popular initiative withdrawing from former members of the Baltic *Landeswehr* the right to participate in the allotment of parcellated lands. This step was justified on the ground that such lands were only granted to ex-soldiers as a reward for service in the War of Liberation, in which the *Landeswehr* had not taken part. The German minority, however, regarded it as an act of injustice, and in consequence withdrew its representative, Herr Berent, the Minister of Justice, from the Cabinet. At about the same time Mr. Osols, the Minister of War, was forced to resign, having failed to obtain approval for his schemes of Army reform. Mr. Pabhers was appointed Minister of Justice and General Wahzeets Minister of War. In October an attempt to reform the Latvian health insurance societies brought

the Government into conflict with the Socialists, who called a one-day general strike on October 18 in protest. The strike was a failure, there being a complete stoppage of work only on the tramways in Riga.

On February 10 the Latvian Minister in Moscow signed the Litvinoff Protocol. Communist activity in Latvia continued, however, to cause friction between the two Governments. At the end of February the Soviet Government protested because the Latvian authorities had searched the premises of the *Sortorgflot* (Soviet Merchant Fleet) in Riga and arrested an employee who was storing revolutionary literature there. At the same time also twelve other persons were arrested in different parts of Latvia on the charge of belonging to a Soviet organisation for espionage.

In January Herr Loebe, the President of the German Reichstag, paid a visit to Riga, where he was the guest for three days of Dr. Paul Kalnins, the President of the Latvian Diet. At the end of May Mr. Zemgals, the Latvian President, paid an official visit to the King of Sweden, which the latter returned at the end of June.

LITHUANIA.

During the early part of the year discontent with the dictatorship of Mr. Valdemaras led to sporadic disorders and acts of terrorism, all of which, however, were quickly suppressed and visited with stern reprisals. During April and May the trial of fifty-eight participants in the abortive *Tauroggen Putsch* was held at Shavli; four prisoners were sentenced to penal servitude for life and twenty-nine to various shorter terms; the rest were acquitted. On May 7, while the trial was going on, a bomb was thrown at Mr. Valdemaras while riding in a street in Kovno. He himself escaped injury, but some of his attendants were seriously hurt and his adjutant was killed.

The enemies of Mr. Valdemaras in the Government, the chief of whom were the President, Mr. Smetona, and the Minister of the Interior, Colonel Mutseikis, took advantage of his absence in the autumn to attend the Assembly of the League of Nations to organise a movement for his overthrow. Although he hurried home to Kovno, he was unable to counteract the plot, and found himself forced to resign. His place as Prime Minister was taken by Mr. Tubelis, a relative of the President. The new Government took steps to repress the activities of the "Iron Wolf," a secret military organisation which had supported Mr. Valdemaras, and the alleged plottings of the ex-Dictator himself. The University of Kovno also refused to reinstate him as Professor.

In the early summer experts appointed by the Transit Commission of the League of Nations visited Lithuania to see if there was any prospect of getting the Polish-Lithuanian frontier opened

to postal, railway, or river traffic. They found Lithuania obdurate. In October Mr. Zaunius, who succeeded Mr. Valdemaras as Foreign Minister, stated that the recovery of Vilna was still the aim which inspired all Lithuanian foreign policy. Lithuania had shown her antipathy to Poland earlier in the year by refusing to sign the Litvinoff Protocol at the same time as that country along with the other Baltic States on February 10, and waiting till April 5.

POLAND.

Throughout 1929 Marshal Pilsudski continued to exercise a dictatorship under the forms of Parliamentary Government, he himself holding the post of Minister of War in the Cabinet. On February 6 the Government *bloc* in the Sejm submitted the draft of a new Constitution which would still have left the President with very wide and Parliament with very restricted powers. The Socialists and Radical Peasants presented an alternative draft of a much more democratic character. These two drafts were referred to the Constitutional Committee of the House. Proposals made by other parties did not obtain sufficient signatures to justify them in going before the Committee.

In February the Sejm decided to impeach M. Czechowicz, the Minister of Finance, on the charge of introducing unauthorised expenditure into the 1927-28 Budget. M. Czechowicz thereupon resigned, against the wishes of Marshal Pilsudski, who would have preferred that a measure of dispensation should be passed in his favour. In April M. Bartel, the Premier, resigned, being no longer able to work with the Sejm. The Ministry which succeeded him was dominated by a group of soldier-politicians known as the "Colonels," who sought to establish a "Government of the strong hand." One of their nominees, M. Switalski, went from the Ministry of Education to the Presidency of the Council, and another, M. Matuszewski, from the Budapest Legation to the Finance Ministry, while the Ministries of Social Welfare and Posts and Telegraphs were also filled from the ranks of the "Colonels." Marshal Pilsudski seized the occasion to publish in the Governmental Press a tirade against the Opposition couched in his usual language of abuse.

The trial of M. Czechowicz opened before the Tribunal of State on June 26. The members of the Tribunal, being unable to agree, evaded the obligation of giving a verdict by ruling that judgment must be postponed till the Sejm had given its opinion on the merits of M. Czechowicz's appropriations as such, apart from the question of their legality. In September the Government tried to arrange a conference with the party leaders, but the Opposition rejected the overture, intensified its attacks in the Press, and announced that it would introduce a collective vote of no-confidence at the opening meeting of the Sejm.

On the opening day of the session, October 31, members on arriving at the Chamber found the entrance hall occupied by 100 armed officers. These were called upon to leave by M. Daszynski, the Marshal of the Sejm, but they refused, saying that they had come as a guard of honour for Marshal Pilsudski. M. Daszynski thereupon declined to take the Chair, and a violent altercation took place between him and Marshal Pilsudski, who had now appeared on the scene. Both Marshals appealed to the President, M. Moszkiski, who eventually on November 5 declared the session postponed for thirty days. In the interval passions cooled off, and the Sejm was opened peacefully on December 5, Marshal Pilsudski not being present.

A motion of no-confidence in the Government was immediately brought forward by the Opposition Parties of the Centre and Left, which had formed a kind of coalition under the name of "Centrolew." The division was taken on the next day, and amid great uproar the motion was declared carried by 246 votes to 120. On the following day the Government resigned. The President, after taking the unusual course of conferring with the party leaders, called upon Professor Bartel once more to form a Cabinet. By his efforts, on December 29 a new Cabinet had been formed from which about half of the "Colonel" element had been eliminated.

On October 31 a reciprocal agreement between Poland and Germany was signed at Warsaw, cancelling all outstanding financial claims which had arisen out of the war and the subsequent transferences of territory. The Polish Government also promised to carry out no further liquidations of German property under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. The agreement entailed the withdrawal of no fewer than 30,000 unsettled claims, involving an aggregate sum of 60,000,000*l.* Arrangements were also made to liquidate the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal in Paris. Negotiations for a Commercial Treaty between the two countries, which had already been in progress for five years, were still continuing at the end of the year, but a settlement was held up by the desire of Germany to impose restrictions on the import of Polish pigs.

There was little change during 1929 in Poland's relations with other countries. The resumption of direct negotiations with Lithuania in November, 1928, produced very meagre results in 1929, and had not led so far to the opening of the Polish-Lithuanian frontier to traffic. In October the British Legation in Warsaw and the Polish Legation in London were raised to the rank of Embassies, as was also a little later the American Legation in Warsaw. On presenting his credentials to the President on November 5, Sir William Erskine said that it was a source of pride and joy to him to be the first British Ambassador accredited to Poland since the time of King Jan Sobieski, two and a half

centuries before, and described the promotion of the two Legations as a testimony to the remarkable progress made by Poland since the war. A similar testimony was afforded by the great success of the Polish National Exhibition held at Poznan from May 15 to September 30, which attracted a number of distinguished visitors from abroad.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Throughout 1929 M. Svehla's Cabinet, which had been formed in the autumn of 1926, continued in office. At the outset its composition was the same as in 1928. M. Svehla was Prime Minister only in name, for ever since 1927 illness had prevented him from exercising the functions of his office. The Cabinet was *de facto* presided over by his Deputy, Monsignor Sramek, Minister of Social Welfare and leader of the People's Party, which, after the Agrarians, constituted the strongest element in the Government Coalition. The Government was based on a Coalition of bourgeois parties, both Czechoslovak and German, the leaders of which were represented in it proportionately to the number of their seats in Parliament. The Opposition consisted of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, together with those whose attitude towards the Government was purely negative (Communists and German Nationalists).

The cohesion of the Government Coalition was adversely affected by the results of the elections for Provincial Diets and local bodies, which were held in December, 1928. These showed a marked change of public opinion against the Government majority and in favour of the Socialist Party. The Government, it is true, did not need to pay any great attention to these results, as the Provincial Diets are of no political significance. Nevertheless, the defeat of the Government Parties tended to disturb the whole Coalition, made up as it was of a group of parties whose interests were considerably divergent. It became more and more difficult for the Coalition to agree on the matters which were to form the subject of debate in Parliament. This difficulty was partly due to the absence of M. Svehla, who had an unequalled faculty for arranging compromises. In consequence, during this period all legislative work came to a standstill owing to disagreements within the Coalition. Of the laws which were passed, the only one which was of any importance was the Bill assuring pensions to private employees.

Of the changes in the Cabinet, the most important was the appointment of Frantisek Udrzal as Prime Minister on February 1, 1929. This brought to an end the long provisional period during which a deputy acted for M. Svehla on account of his serious illness. The new head of the Government, who had been Minister of National Defence for several years, was one of

the leaders of the Agrarian Party, the strongest political party in the Coalition. At first, M. Udrzal continued to hold office as Minister of National Defence besides acting as Prime Minister. Further changes included the appointment of Dr. Stefanek as Minister of Education in place of Dr. Hodza, who retired for reasons of health. Dr. Stefanek, like his predecessor, was an Agrarian deputy from Slovakia. The Minister of Unification, who was a member of Hlinka's party, was replaced by another member of that party. Neither of these two changes affected the political situation, although the retirement of Dr. Hodza meant that a prominent member of the Agrarian Party, whose political ambitions went beyond the Ministry of Education, was withdrawing for a time from active public life. Finally, in the autumn (September 18), the Prime Minister gave up his office in the Ministry of National Defence, in order that he might devote his whole time to the management of the Cabinet, and the post of Defence Minister was given to Dr. Viskovsky, a prominent Agrarian politician and former President of the Government Land Office. The retirement of two Ministers of Hlinka's party on October 8 had a distinct political ground, being due to the circumstance that their party, hitherto an ingredient of the Government Coalition, had espoused the cause of their Deputy, Dr. Tuka, who was now sentenced for high treason, and had supported his candidature at the Parliamentary elections.

The Tuka case had been causing much excitement in Czechoslovakia for a long time. Dr. Tuka, a former Professor at the Hungarian University at Pozsony (now Bratislava), who regarded himself as a Hungarian even after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, entered the service of the Slovak People's Party, and, partly by his work on the staff of the chief newspaper of the party, and partly by his activities as an organiser, gained the complete confidence of Hlinka and exerted a marked influence on the party as a whole. It was not long before he was publicly accused by Slovak politicians of carrying on propaganda for the Hungarian Government; it was alleged that his struggle on behalf of Slovak autonomy was nothing but a pretext for work in favour of the Hungarian Irredentist movement. His accusers further alleged that his ultimate aim was to instigate the People's Party to some action going beyond constitutional opposition, to which Hungary could point as indicating the discontent of the Slovaks with the Czechoslovak Republic. Tuka was unable to clear himself of these suspicions satisfactorily. By his election to Parliament, however, in 1925 he secured immunity, and great difficulties had to be surmounted before he could be placed on trial. He was found guilty of criminal relationships with a number of foreign organisations directed against the Republic, and on October 5 was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment.

By this time political interest was entirely absorbed in the

electoral struggle. The divergencies within the Coalition, particularly between the Agrarians and the People's Party, made co-operation impossible, and a General Election thus became inevitable. The result of the elections, which were held on October 27, was to bring about considerable readjustments in the relations of political parties, as far, of course, as great changes are at all possible with a system of proportional representation. The chief result of the elections was that the Bourgeois Parties, who had hitherto formed the Government Coalition, lost their majority, while the Socialists gained considerably, and the Communists suffered marked losses. The Agrarians still remained the largest single party and in fact slightly added to their numbers (46 deputies, 24 senators), the next strongest party being the Czechoslovak Social Democrats, who gained ten seats (39 deputies, 20 senators). Next came the Czechoslovak National Socialists with 32 deputies and 16 senators. The German Social Democrats also increased their numbers (21 deputies, 11 senators). After the elections these three Socialist parties acted in unison during the formation of the Government, and the Socialist block thus created represented the most powerful parliamentary group, numbering 92 deputies and 47 senators, besides four representatives of the Poles and Jews, who were co-opted. The Communists, whose party had been passing through a critical period which threatened its very existence, lost eleven seats, and now, with 30 deputies and 15 senators, occupied the fourth place, instead of the second. Marked losses were incurred also by the Clerical Parties, the Czechoslovak People's Party being left with 25 deputies in place of 31 deputies and 13 senators, and the Slovak People's Party with 19 deputies in place of 23 deputies and 9 senators. The German Christian Socialists also came back with reduced numbers, *viz.* 14 deputies and 8 senators. The defeat of the Clerical Parties was all the more noteworthy because it seemed as if the situation before the elections was very favourable to them. Thus, in July the Czechoslovak Catholic Gymnastic Associations ("The Eagles") had held a highly successful display, while a month before the elections the thousandth anniversary of the death of Prince Václav (Wenceslaus), the ruler and martyr through whom the Czech nation and State became attached to western Christianity, was celebrated by all, irrespective of politics or creed. Nevertheless, the results of the elections showed that the public was well able to distinguish between national tradition and clerical policy.

The remaining parties maintained their position on the whole, with the exception of the German Nationalists, whose numbers declined (seven seats in place of ten, and no senators). The growth of an activist tendency among the Germans clearly showed itself during the negotiations for the formation of a Government, in which practically all parties were anxious to have a share.

It proved a very difficult process, but after six weeks of continual efforts, the Prime Minister succeeded in forming, on December 7, a Grand Coalition, which possessed more than a two-thirds majority (210 representatives in the Chamber of Deputies and 107 in the Senate)—a larger majority than any Government had yet attained. The basis of the new Coalition was formed by the parties of the former Bourgeois Coalition without Hlinka's followers, who had been compromised by their attitude towards the Tuka trial, and without the German Christian Socialists. On the other hand, all three Socialist Parties were now contained in it. The Clericals were thus represented in the Government Coalition only by the Czechoslovak People's Party, while the German members of the Government included the German Agrarian League, which had been associated in the elections with a Bourgeois Liberal group (*Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft*), as well as the German Social Democrats, who now for the first time took an active share in the Government. The Germans thus continued to be a permanent factor in the Government. They were now joined by representatives of Labour, with whom no Government in the Czechoslovak Republic can easily dispense.

Parties in the Cabinet were represented in proportion to the strength of the political clubs of which the Coalition is formed. The largest number of Ministerial posts was obtained by the Czechoslovak Agrarians, to whom belonged, besides the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Slavík; of Agriculture, M. Bradac; and of National Defence, Dr. Víkovský. Next came the Czechoslovak Social Democrats with three (Education, Dr. Derer; Justice, Dr. Meissner; Supplies, M. Bechyne, who also acts as the Prime Minister's Deputy), and the Czechoslovak National Socialists with two (Foreign Affairs, Dr. Beneš; Posts and Telegraphs, Dr. Franke). The German Social Democrats secured one Minister (Social Welfare, Dr. Czech); the Czechoslovak People's Party two (Public Works, M. Dostálék; Unification, Monsignor Sramek). One Ministerial post was obtained by each of the following parties: National Democrats (Commerce, Dr. Matousek), Czechoslovak Traders' Party (Railways, M. Mlcoch), and German Agrarians (Public Health, Dr. Spina). The important duties of Minister of Finance were again entrusted to Dr. Engliš, who had already proved his worth in this capacity, and who, although not a parliamentary deputy, became a member of the Government as an independent expert.

The Cabinet was presented to the National Assembly on December 13, by the Prime Minister, who in a well-balanced speech described it in general terms mainly as a working Cabinet, which, without making any great promises as regards the future, proposed to deal first and foremost with the urgent tasks arising from the agricultural crisis and the general economic situation.

The Budget for 1930 was submitted by Dr. Engliš early in

the new year. It was the sixth Czechoslovak Budget with a credit balance, the expenditure being 9,367,000,000 crowns and the revenue 9,420,000,000 crowns. This Budget too showed the same features as all preceding ones since 1926: a credit balance without new debts, a gradual settlement of old debts, and a stationary expenditure with a rising revenue. In this way Dr. Englis sought to produce the essential conditions for successful competition on the part of Czechoslovakia in the world markets.

In trade, after more than two years of business prosperity, which reached its culminating point in the spring of 1929, there was something of a set-back. The increasing prosperity led to a growth in the total turn-over of foreign trade, but as the growth of imports was more rapid and extensive than that of the exports, the trade balance continued to be on the debit side until the autumn of 1929 (for the first time since the establishment of the Republic); it ended, however, with a small surplus (497,000,000 crowns). The number of unemployed in 1929 was about the same as in 1928. In the spring there were about 45,000, but in the summer, as in the preceding year, this was reduced to 33,000, while in the autumn there was a further increase to 35,000.

A Bill introduced for putting the Czechoslovak crown on a gold basis (1 crown to equal 44.58 milligrammes of gold) was sanctioned by the new Parliament.

Czechoslovak foreign policy, directed as before by Dr. Benes, followed the same lines as in previous years. During 1929 there were no undertakings of any great moment. The only country with which Czechoslovakia continued to be on unsettled terms was Hungary; at one time, owing to certain action on the part of Hungarian authorities, transport was temporarily suspended at Hidasnemeti (see under Hungary). Membership of the Little Entente continued to be the corner-stone of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, and at the Little Entente Conference in Belgrade in the spring the Treaties of Alliance between the Little Entente States were prolonged and a tripartite Arbitration Treaty was signed between them.

HUNGARY.

The economic condition of Hungary deteriorated still further during 1929. The trade balance, it is true, showed a somewhat smaller deficit than that of the preceding year. But, according to the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Baron Madarassy, this was due not to any improvement in trade—the exports having actually decreased—but to the general impoverishment of the people, which prevented them from importing. The depression this year spread to agriculture, which, while still unable to export on account of the protectionist policy of the surrounding coun-

tries, was brought to a comparative standstill by the diminished purchasing capacity of the home market; 344,000 agricultural labourers remained without work during harvest time—an event without precedent in Hungarian history. The number of industrial unemployed increased in Budapest by 31 per cent., and the number of bankruptcies by 50·8 per cent. It was estimated that the number of unemployed with their families reached the stupendous total of one and a half million in a population of about eight and a half million.

In order to diminish expenditure, the Government was anxious to cut down the number of civil servants, which was greatly in excess of the country's needs: according to a statement (March 1) of the Chamber of Commerce, the cost of administration and collection of taxes had reached 19·8 per cent. of their total yield, whereas the corresponding figure in Germany was 5·4 per cent. A proposal was made to reduce the establishment by 10 per cent., but it met with such resistance that the idea had to be abandoned. The new Budget, introduced on May 7, provided for an increase in taxation of 1,432,000,000 pengös over that of the preceding year. This increase, however, was unevenly distributed; the Agrarian leaders, in view of the depression prevailing in their industry, managed to secure a reduction of 15 per cent. in the taxation of agricultural property—a piece of favouritism against which other interests indignantly protested.

The whole financial policy of the Government was severely criticised not only by the Democratic and Socialist Opposition, but also by a number of Conservatives including M. Teleszky, a former Minister of Finance, M. Popovitch, President of the Bank of Hungary, and Counts Hadik, Somsich, and Apponyi. All agreed that the State was spending too lavishly, and that its interference with private enterprise paralysed commerce and industry and even agriculture, no less than its system of taxation. The "small owners" of Bethlen's own party were dissatisfied because the promised reduction of taxation on land and house property took place only on paper. Finally, the Government was reproached with the fact that the investments made by it since 1927 to the amount of 800-1,000 million pengös were hardly productive; according to the financial expert, A. Eber, only 15-20 per cent. of them could be so described.

Among the economic measures taken by the Government during the year may be mentioned the utilisation for public purposes of the confiscated property of Count Karolyi, and the ratification of a series of Commercial Treaties with foreign countries (some of which were concluded years ago), *viz.*, with Japan (Jan. 27), Yugoslavia (Nov. 9), France (Dec. 21), Turkey (Jan. 5). Tariff arrangements and Commercial Treaties were also made or renewed with Estonia, Lithuania, Spain, Italy, and Portugal. Urgency loans were granted to districts where the

frost had made havoc with harvest and vintage, and also to help the small trader. Practically the only other law of an economic nature—beside the Budget voted on June 13—was that on the creation of societies with limited liability (Oct. 23).

On March 4 the new Minister of Justice, T. Zsitvay, introduced a Bill making sweeping reforms in county and municipal administration. Although it was generally agreed that the antiquated and costly methods of municipal government needed reform, there was a strong resistance against the excessive centralisation contemplated by the governmental project, even amongst the members of the Governmental Party. Count Apponyi especially criticised the new policy on the ground that no provision was made for general suffrage and secret ballot and other democratic safeguards, and that no curb was provided for the excesses of bureaucracy. Similar criticism was levelled against the project for the general political and financial reform of the administration of Budapest, by which it was to be deprived of most of its autonomy. Count Bethlen maintained that this was necessary on account of the part Budapest had played in the revolutionary movements. But even Conservative and Fascist and Nationalist deputies voted against what the Liberals called a tyrannical concentration of power in the hands of the Government. Yet, although rejected three times in the Commissions, this project was finally adopted with the rest (Dec. 3).

Similar in spirit, according to the Liberals and Democrats, was the reform of the military penal code, introduced by M. Gömbös, the former Fascist leader, almost immediately after his nomination to the post of Minister of War or Public Defence (Oct. 30). This code, including bastinado amongst its Draconian punishments, and the right for officers to use their swords against unarmed civilians when offended, as well as the reintroduction of duels, forbidden under the late King Charles, was passed on November 15.

Vehement attacks were made by the Opposition in and out of Parliament on the strengthening of Count Bethlen's power involved in these laws, but they all proved sterile. A demonstration of the unemployed (Jan. 27) was quickly broken up by simple police measures, and the political and Press campaign against a project of an amendment of the Press law, which was also violently attacked by the legitimist leader, Count Andrassy (Feb. 16), as well as by the Liberals, soon worked itself out. The anti-Semitic demonstrations of the University students (Oct. 9) produced the usual assurances of energetic counter measures, which were quickly relegated into oblivion on the part of the Government. One of the most energetic of Count Bethlen's opponents, Count G. Andrassy, having died (June 11), the activities of the legitimist-monarchist party did not this year go beyond the usual loyalist speeches at the occasion of their annual banquet (Nov. 20). The appeals of the other legitimist leader, Count

Apponyi (March 13), for a fuller measure of democracy in these hours of crisis were met as before with polite silence, for although venerated by the whole country, the aged statesman carried no weight with the Government.

Count Bethlen proved to be more sensitive to the similar admonitions of Lord Rothermere, who in his campaign for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon declared that a democratic evolution was necessary for Hungary. The acerbity of his reply no doubt contributed a good deal to a certain loss of popularity on the part of the noble Lord in extreme Nationalist circles of Hungary.

The point of view of the Premier was still more clearly expressed in one of his speeches (Oct. 1), in which he condemned the democratic movement as a "dangerous fire" and discredited the activity of those who preached democracy under the cover of a revisionist policy as a base political manoeuvre. On the other hand, in his statement on January 15, Count Bethlen declared the programme of Cavour to be his political ideal, and in an interview given to the Viennese Press (April 2), he protested against the charge of being reactionary, while his Christmas message contained an eloquent condemnation of dictatorship. The Opposition, however, remained sceptical. Conscious of its lack of power to change the general principles of the Government, it frequently sought to embarrass the Government by means of interpellations, such as those of the former Premier and Fascist-Nationalist leader, M. Friedrich, the Liberal M. Rassay, the Conservative Agrarian M. Gaál, the Christian Nationalist M. Wolff, and the Democrats MM. Bròdy and Pakots. Among the subjects raised in these questionings were the dissipations of the Government at Lillafüred (May 1), the use of secret funds, and the inordinate subventions granted to the Governmental Press (June 27, Dec. 5, Dec. 11), and the electoral and other abuses of power. This guerilla warfare gave some trouble to the Government, but with his usual clever tactics and a series of small concessions, Count Bethlen always managed to keep the upper hand. Thus the threatened split in his own party and the opposition of the Christian Nationalists was averted by the reduction of the taxation of landed property, and even the Socialists were somewhat appeased by the repatriation of their exiled leaders, MM. Garami and Buchinger (Oct. 12). Bishop Balthazár, however, when he failed to gain acceptance for his famous twelve points containing his ultimatum on economic and political reforms, tendered his resignation from the Governmental Party (Oct. 19).

Recognising that the deplorable economic condition of the country was partly due to its unsatisfactory relations with certain other Powers, Count Bethlen's diplomatic agents strove hard during this year to rectify the errors of past years. Thus, while friendship with Italy remained the keynote of Count Bethlen's

foreign policy, a marked *rapprochement* to France gradually took place, so that the Premier could assure the Commission for Foreign Affairs (June 20-28), that friendly relations with France would be henceforth the pivot of Hungarian foreign policy. In spite, however, of the assurances given by MM. Poincaré and Berthelot on the occasion of Count Bethlen's visit to Paris (June 13), that those feelings were reciprocated, the Liberals still maintained that it was only through the establishment of normal relations with the Little Entente that such sentiments could be translated into action. Unfortunately, however, the obstinacy and irritability of these Powers as well as certain ill-timed irredentist declarations on the part of Count Bethlen again created a series of misunderstandings hostile to the peaceful solution of the problems pending between these countries.

The negotiations with the Rumanians which were proceeding fairly well in Vienna (April 12 and May 23), were suddenly broken off (June 22), owing to the demand of Rumania that the question of the expropriation of Hungarian landowners in Rumania should be linked with the question of "Oriental reparations"—a proposal which Hungary could not accept. However, in compliance with a request of the League of Nations, Hungary agreed (Sept. 19) to resume direct negotiations under the presidency of Mr. Henderson, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Great Britain. A violent Press campaign was opened by the Little Entente under the leadership of Czechoslovakia on account of the revisionist speech of Bethlen, but it was closed by a diplomatic *démarche* (June 11). Hardly was this incident over when the arrest of a Czechoslovakian citizen, alleged to have been a spy, on Hungarian territory at Hidasnemeti (July 2), again strained relations to such an extent that Czechoslovakia stopped its railway traffic with Hungary. An exchange of Notes (July 8) leading to a withdrawal of all charges by the Czech Government ended the incident.

These continual bickerings with the Little Entente were to some extent counterbalanced by a series of pacifist declarations of Count Bethlen and his adhesion to the Kellogg Pact (June 20). Moreover, treaties of friendship and arbitration were signed with Turkey (Jan. 5), and Spain (June 10), where Bethlen went personally to give more solemnity to the act. The visit of M. Zaleski, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, to Budapest (May 22), was invested with a certain importance on account of his promise to act as intermediary for the assuring of friendly relations between Hungary, France, and the Little Entente.

The manifestations of friendship between Hungary and Italy, which had now become an annual affair, this year took the form of visits from Italy's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Signor Grandi (May 3), and its Minister of Education, Signor Juliano Balbino (Nov. 26). Both were enthusiastically greeted in the House of

Commons. The former had, however, to endure interruptions from the Socialists, while an anti-Semitic demonstration of Hungarian Fascists marked the visit of Signor Balbino. Of more immediate importance was the visit of the Italian delegates, MM. Brocchi and Buti, who came to Budapest (Dec. 13), to treat with the Hungarian Government on the question of the "Oriental Reparations" and the support Italy would grant to Hungary at The Hague Conference.

In the desperate economic condition of the country these reparations had become the nightmare of the whole population ever since the Paris Conference of the Reparations Commission (Sept. 16), and public opinion, otherwise so apathetic, demanded this time energetic action on the part of the Government. The Hungarian delegation sent to Paris (Oct. 28) made little impression on the Great Powers, and still less on the Little Entente, its failure being largely due to the hostile atmosphere created by the Press campaign of the latter. By this time public opinion in Hungary had become so thoroughly roused that it was able even to shake the Parliament out of its usual indifference, with the result that Count Bethlen was forced to seek a vote of confidence for his reparations policy. The issue was still undecided when the year closed.

RUMANIA.

The Government of Dr. Maniu, despite the intrigues of its Liberal opponents and several crises, the most serious of which centred around the election of the new Regent, put in a solid year's work at reforming the financial, administrative, and political systems of the country and ended the year with its prestige unimpaired. The quarrel with Hungary over the question of the optants was the main concern of foreign policy; it was conducted with lessening acerbity, but the end of the year still left this troublesome problem unsettled. On February 3 great satisfaction was caused by the announcement that the protracted loan negotiations had been brought to a successful conclusion in Paris by M. Popovici, the Minister of Finance. The final total of the loan (which was to support the stabilised currency and to renew rolling stock and expand the railways) was not fixed. It was arranged that 14,400,000*l.* in Dollar bonds at 7 per cent. should be floated in London, Paris, and Washington, while a further 6,000,000*l.* should be secured on the Rumanian match monopoly which was granted to the Swedish Trust. The French quota—4,500,000*l.*—was floated on February 11. This was a tangible sign of the confidence of foreign countries that Dr. Maniu was doing substantial work to repair the ravages done to the national economy by the wasteful and corrupt regime of the Bratianus. Few European countries were in more desperate need of money than

Rumania, as there was an actual shortage of notes and severe restriction of credit in order to avoid inflation. Professor Charles Rist, Assistant Governor of the Bank of France, who had put through this loan, was appointed adviser to the National Bank of Rumania for three years.

Rumania suffered greatly from cold during February, fifty people having been frozen to death over one week-end alone. The Danube was frozen over to a depth of six feet, and heavy motor traffic was able to cross the river for several weeks. Railway communication was interrupted in many parts of the country.

During April M. Mironescu, the Foreign Minister, visited London where he saw Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Baldwin. He explained at some length the policy of Dr. Maniu's Government, contradicting some of the dangerous fictions concerning its attitude towards foreign capital which had been circulated by the disgruntled Liberals. The campaign for economy in the public services was carried on vigorously throughout the year. On May 15 it was decided to abolish three Ministries—those of Health, Arts, and Public Work. All Under-Secretaryships, it was decided, should also be abolished. In June seven Ministers Plenipotentiary and sixteen Councillors and Secretaries were recalled, and all representation allowances for the diplomatic service reduced by one-half except in the case of Paris and London.

On July 8 Colonel Auguste Stoica, together with two other Army Officers and a number of arsenal workers, were arrested on a charge of conspiracy to overthrow the State and set up a Fascist regime. Forty persons were brought to trial in August, and on September 22 twenty-six were acquitted and the remainder sentenced to very short terms of imprisonment. On June 11 Rumania joined in a *démarche* of the Little Entente in Budapest to protest against a speech made by Count Bethlen, the Prime Minister of Hungary, on May 26. The occasion was the unveiling of a memorial to Hungarian soldiers, and was attended by the Ministers of the Little Entente countries who believed that the ceremony would be non-political. Count Bethlen, however, took the opportunity to urge the successors of the fallen Hungarians to fight for the restoration of Hungary's pre-war frontier. M. Mironescu read this Note, together with Count Bethlen's conciliatory reply, in the Chamber on June 26, and stated that he regarded the incident as closed. During July a fresh attempt was made to settle the vexed question of the optants at a conference which took place in Vienna and lasted for several weeks. There were several adjournments to enable the Rumanian delegates to confer with their respective Governments, but it proved impossible to reach an agreement. Hungary proposed that certain questions should be referred to the League of Nations, and on July 25 the Rumanian Government announced that it had declined the proposal because the League itself had urged the

parties to conclude a direct agreement. On August 18 a Hungarian Note was received regretting that after four conferences and many indirect attempts to reach a settlement, negotiations had completely broken down.

Early in October anxiety was caused by the illness of M. Buzdugan, one of the three Regents ; he died on October 7. The country was immediately faced with a serious constitutional crisis, owing to the desire of Queen Marie to be appointed herself to the Regency Council. Queen Marie returned post-haste to Bucharest, but M. Maniu took firm action by announcing that the Government had taken over the functions of the Regency Council pending the election of a successor to M. Buzdugan. For this action the Premier was sharply criticised by the Liberals and by General Averescu's Party who maintained that by the assumption of the Royal Prerogative, while two Regents were still alive, he had practically carried out a *coup d'état*. Dr. Maniu was unperturbed, and proceeded to the election on October 9 of the brother-in-law of M. Popovici, his Minister of Finance, M. Constantin Sarazeanu, to the vacant seat on the Regency Council. Before the election the Liberals and General Averescu's Party withdrew from Parliament as a protest. There was a sequel to the Regency crisis when the Liberal newspaper *Universul* published on October 16 an alleged outburst of Queen Marie against Dr. Maniu's "high-handed" action at the time. *Universul* declared that Queen Marie was indignant that the Government had not offered her the chance of being elected to the Regency Council except on the alleged condition that Prince Nicholas and the Patriarch should resign so that their seats could be filled by supporters of Dr. Maniu. Three days later a belated statement was obtained from Queen Marie to the effect that she had never authorised the publication of an interview. Great feeling was aroused in political circles by this incident, and a coolness between the Queen and Dr. Maniu ensued. The discontent of the "Tsaranist" wing of the National Peasant Party, however, obliged M. Maniu to sacrifice M. Popovici, who resigned.

Of the many reforms which the Government was engaged upon during the year, the most important were embodied in the administrative Reform Bill which was passed by the Chamber in July. Its main objects were to abolish the centralistic system of the Liberals in favour of local autonomy. A new mining law gave more opportunity to foreign capital, and the customs tariff was reduced in accordance with the recommendations of the Geneva Economic Conference in 1927. M. Madgearu, the Rumanian Minister of Commerce, visited London during October and was warmly congratulated by Mr. Snowden on the success of his Government. Important connexions with Great Britain were established during the year, such as the contract for the British Royal Mint to strike the new coins for the country and the placing

of the contract with a British firm to reconstruct the high-road between Bucharest and Transylvania. The Budget estimates for 1930 gave an interesting picture of the general reform work in Rumania. Revenue was estimated at 46,000,000*l.* Some 2,500,000*l.* had to be provided to pay deficits left over by the Liberals.

There was considerable labour trouble during the year, due to a slight extent to Communist agitation, but more to the brutality of the police and the gendarmerie. The reform of these services is one of the tasks which M. Maniu has undertaken but not yet completed. On April 7 there was a sharp encounter between police and Communists, who tried to give a public funeral to the body of a Communist who had died after a collision with the police. Both Communists and police used firearms; five police and three Communists were wounded and 200 Communists arrested. On August 6 there was a shocking incident in the valley of the Jiu, near Sibiu, when troops with apparently insufficient excuse fired into a crowd of 3,000 strikers, killing sixteen and wounding sixty. This affair had many repercussions on the Government's position, and eventually on October 28, it was decided at the Cabinet Council to dismiss all gendarmerie and police who were connected with the affair and to punish those who could be proved guilty.

On October 5 there was an attempt to kill M. Vajda-Voiwode, the Minister of Interior, as he was leaving his Ministry, which fortunately left him unharmed. But the sequel did a great deal, on account of the publicity which it received in the Jewish Press in Europe, to call attention to the brutal methods of the Rumanian police. An influential Jew named Saul Simon was arrested, strung up by the heels and lashed on the soles of his feet and on the back. So badly was he injured that he had to be taken to hospital.

The case was a useful reminder to the Government of Dr. Maniu, which was a little inclined to rest on its laurels, that in the work of clearing the Augean stables of Rumania, it could not allow itself a breathing space. In the result the Secretary-General and the Prefect of Police in Bucharest were suspended.

YUGOSLAVIA.

Very early in 1929 King Alexander resorted to stern measures in the hope of curing the political decline which was rapidly breaking up the newly formed State of Yugoslavia. The Serbian Coalition Government of Father Koroshetz had tendered its resignation to the King on December 30, but His Majesty gave no indication whether he was willing for the resignation to take effect. The Croats, whose boycott of the Belgrade Parliament after the assassination of their leaders on the floor of the House

in June, 1928, was at the root of this new crisis, immediately made their attitude clear. They refused to discuss the proposed revision of the Constitution or to re-enter the Skupshtina until their demands for the reorganisation of Yugoslavia on federal lines (put forward on August 1, 1928, in Zagreb) were accepted in principle. On the resignation of the Cabinet, the leaders of the Peasant Democratic Coalition, Dr. Vladko Matchek, M. Svetozar Pribitchevitch, and Dr. Ante Trumbitch, let it be known in Belgrade that they were willing to go there to have audience of the King if he should summon them personally, but that they would not meet the Serbian political leaders until the murder of Raditch and his colleagues had been purged. On January 3 Dr. Matchek and M. Pribitchevitch appeared in Belgrade for the first time since the shooting in the Skupshtina. On January 4 Dr. Matchek had a long audience of the King, when he was invited to give his prescription for the cure of Yugoslavia. The Croat leader was true to the programme of his Party and, as he subsequently stated in print, told the King that nothing short of complete legislative and administrative autonomy on the lines of that possessed by the German States before the war or by the separate States of the United States of America to-day would satisfy Croatia. M. Pribitchevitch, who was received later, spoke still more sharply, and was rebuked by the King for the threatening tone which he adopted. The terms demanded caused great excitement in Belgrade. The following morning Dr. Matchek was called back from the train for another audience, when the King asked him whether his programme was the last word of Croatia. Dr. Matchek replied that it was, and without any intimation to him of his plans, King Alexander, taking advantage of the absence of newspapers over the Orthodox Christmas, proceeded to put into execution a scheme which he is supposed to have been holding in readiness for some six months.

Excited crowds standing outside the Palace in Belgrade watching the coming and going of Serbian leaders and politicians, had the first hint of what was in store when they saw General Pera Zhivkovitch, the commander of the King's Bodyguard. His name had frequently been mentioned as that of a possible head of a temporary military government. At 8 p.m. all doubts were resolved by a proclamation posted at the gates of the Palace stating that the King had been forced to realise that there was no hope of finding a Parliamentary solution for the troubles of the country which would guarantee the unity of the State. During the night of January 5-6 a proclamation was posted in the streets of Belgrade signed by the King stating that "the hour has come when there can no longer be any intermediary between the King and his people. Parliamentary life has always been my ideal, but blind political passions have made it an obstacle. The confidence of the nation in the Skupshtina had been under-

mined. . . . I have therefore determined that the Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, of June 28, 1921, is no longer in force. All laws of the country will remain in force unless suppressed by my decree. New laws will be promulgated in the same manner."

On January 6 it was announced that General Pera Zhivkovitch had formed a Cabinet. Its members were mostly specialists, and although Serbians predominated there were several Croats among them. It was immediately remarked, however, that while most of the Serbian members were politicians, the Croats were persons eminent in various walks of life, but without political experience.

How completely the Croats as well as the Serbs who were not in the secret were taken by surprise by King Alexander's establishment of a dictatorship was shown by their complete misapprehension of what had happened. On January 6, on his arrival in Zagreb, Dr. Matchek even declared that he thanked God that the King had suspended the hated Vidovdan Constitution of 1921. The Croat politicians' approval lasted exactly forty-eight hours, when the editorial offices of the *Hrvat*, the organ of the Federalist Party, and the houses of Dr. Pernar (one of the Croat deputies who was wounded by Punisha Ratchitch in Parliament in June), and of the Federalist deputy Dr. Pavelitch were searched by the police on January 8. On the same day Dr. Matchek recanted his premature approval of the Dictatorship. At the same time two very severe decrees, one for the defence of the Realm and the other for the control of the Press, were promulgated. Not only was death made a penalty for taking part in or communicating with any person or organisation working to overthrow the new regime; a penalty of twenty years' imprisonment was fixed for having cognisance of and failing to reveal to the authorities the existence of any such organisation. Provision was at once made for the suppression of existing political parties by a clause providing that any party of a "racial" character might be dissolved. The Press Law destroyed at one blow the liberty of the Press, and since its publication, the outside world had been able to obtain very little reliable information concerning events in Yugoslavia as the Press is no longer a barometer of public opinion.

The first question which everybody asked themselves was whether the King had really appointed General Zhivkovitch of his own free will and was likely to retain the reins of power and himself dictate, or whether his hand had been so forced by General Zhivkovitch that the latter was destined for the rôle of a Mussolini. The official version given out was that General Zhivkovitch would be nothing but the instrument of the royal will, and the course of events during the year has shown this to be generally accurate. What had happened was that the King, brought up in a military atmosphere and disgusted with the shame-

less corruption of many Yugoslav politicians, had turned to his old military friends to help him to mould the country by force on the lines which he himself desired. There was little enthusiasm anywhere for the professional politicians of Serbia, who had had things pretty much their own way since the Revolution, save among those professional politicians. But at Zagreb it was soon remarked that the Dictatorship, which was supposed to be supra-national, bore the stamp of a Pan-Serbian regime. King Alexander was personally popular—perhaps the only Serbian of whom this could be said—in Croatia, but still he was a Serb, and some very definite evidence was required of his Dictatorship that it would not pursue Pan-Serbian aims. That evidence, in the opinion of the politically-minded Croats, was not then and has not since been forthcoming. Within a few weeks the Croats realised that the death-blow had been struck at their hopes of autonomy. King Alexander has made no secret of his contempt for the process of slowly building up one nation from the various Slav and other races under his sceptre by Federalist methods, and has made clear his belief that unity can only be imposed through orders from above, as it is imposed on the units under his command by a General.

Although the unification of Yugoslavia by this method has been the principal task undertaken by the Dictatorship, it had several other important objectives which to a considerable extent have been achieved. The scandalous bargaining of political groups and the dilatoriness of Parliament had left the country for ten years with seven divergent legal codes inherited from the former rulers of its various territories. These resulted in such absurdities that it was possible for a couple who had been married in Zemun (practically a suburb of Belgrade) to cross the Danube into Belgrade proper to find themselves unmarried in the eyes of the law and of the police. The Ministry of Justice set to work under the Dictatorship to clear up these muddles unhampered by Parliament. The activity of Ministers, spurred on by the King and his Premier, was such that in the first week of its existence the Dictatorship had put through twenty new laws.

Political corruption was another of the evils which the Dictatorship was determined to uproot. It was hoped that striking progress in the political unification of the country, together with the achievement of the other two objectives, would enable a fourth, the securing of a big Foreign loan, to be reached at an early date, and a representative of a big London banking consortium actually left London for Belgrade on the day when the Dictatorship was proclaimed. Yugoslavia, however, was not able to satisfy international finance to such an extent that it could obtain a loan during 1929 on terms which would have been satisfactory to itself. The Dictatorship had in any case to face the hostility of most Serbian politicians and to some extent of the

Serbian population, deprived by the Press Law and censorship of all chance of political discussion. All political parties had been prohibited by January 24, which added to the enmity. As has been stated, political opinion in Croatia was hostile from the third day of its existence. Business and financial circles were at first unanimously pleased at the prospect of the "talking shop" in Belgrade being shut up and the corruption and Byzantinism which hampered business being rooted out. This enthusiasm naturally faded a good deal in the course of the year, but in such circles there is still gratitude felt for what has been achieved in this direction. Nevertheless, the failure to obtain the anticipated loan, re-enforcing the inevitable hostility to the Dictatorship, might have proved a very serious matter had not an unexceptionally favourable harvest satisfied the most important element in the country, namely, the peasantry.

On January 27 feeling was aroused in Belgrade by Signor Mussolini's refusal to renew the Treaty of Friendship between Italy and Yugoslavia, signed in Rome five years previously, which expired on that day. The Italian view as given unofficially was that to conclude a Treaty of Friendship between two countries whose relations were notoriously so difficult would be dangerous hypocrisy. The Yugoslavs felt that Italy was angry to find her Balkan rival trying a dose of her own dictatorial medicine, and was anxious to do more to complete the so-called "encirclement of Yugoslavia" before offering her a new treaty on much less favourable terms. The attitude of the Dictatorship towards Italy has, however, been absolutely correct, and in the view of a big section of the population, over conciliatory, considering the invariable stiffness of Italy.

A new penal code was established by the King on January 27. On February 14 municipal bodies went the way of Parliament, and both mayors and municipal parish councillors were nominated by Belgrade throughout the Kingdom to replace the elected persons who were dismissed to private life. On April 1 the number of Ministries was reduced from seventeen to twelve as part of the campaign for economy, and on April 12 thirty-seven Yugoslav Generals were placed on half pay. This was declared to be another move in the same campaign, but there were not wanting voices which asserted that General Zhivkovitch was taking the opportunity to get rid of a number of personal rivals in this way.

On October 3 King Alexander made the most decisive announcement as to the character of the State which he was trying to create, by abolishing the official title of "The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes" in favour of the new title "The Kingdom of Yugoslavia." The decree sought to wipe out of existence the races—and the very names—Serb, Croat, and Slovene—in favour of that of the new race of "Yugoslavs." At the same

time the historic frontiers of the various units of the State were swept away. These units were replaced by nine Banats, which completely submerged the individualities of the old States. The Governors of the new Banats were appointed by the Crown. Another important decree (among the 190 odd promulgated during the year) dissolved on December 4 the national Sokols, the associations which under the guise of gymnastic training had played so large a part in spreading Pan-Slav propaganda under the Habsburgs. For the individual Sokol of the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes was substituted a single Yugoslav Sokol with nominated leaders. The Croat Sokol decided on December 15 not to join the new organisation, and instructed its branches to dissolve themselves immediately. This was an even more bitter blow to Croat hopes than appeared on the surface, for after the prohibition of the Croat Peasant Party, Dr. Matchek, the leader, had been able to keep the Croatian spirit alive only through the Sokol organisation. The refusal to join was made the occasion for an anti-Serbian demonstration in Zagreb.

Parallel with the passive resistance of the Croat politicians there developed during the year an extremist movement, partly organised by emigrés who, owing to their loyalty to the Habsburgs had gone to Budapest or Vienna at the Revolution, and partly by refugees who fled the country after the Dictatorship had been instituted. The terrorist action of these extremists started early in the year with the assassination on March 22 of M. Toni Schlegel, a prominent Croat politician and editor-proprietor of the Zagreb *Novosti*, who was shot while entering his house by two men who escaped in the darkness. The news of his assassination caused a very unpleasant sensation to the members of the Government, for Schlegel, a former supporter of the Croat Peasant Party, had become a confidant of the King and a supporter of the Dictatorship. He had just been selected to fill an important office in Belgrade, and the murder was an unexpected indication that some Croats were prepared to adopt the same tactics as the assassins of Stephen Raditch. Early in April Dr. Ante Pavelitch, a former Federalist Deputy, fled the country, and after a short stay in Vienna went to Sofia, where he was given a tremendous reception by Macedonian emigrants from Serbia. His speech calling for Croats and Macedonians to make a common front against the Serbs was nearly made a matter for diplomatic intervention. On April 24 a charge of high treason was brought against Dr. Pavelic and his secretary, and they were both condemned to death *in contumaciam*. On May 5 the Croat blacksmith Shunitch was found guilty of having murdered M. Ristovitch, the editor of the Pan-Serb newspaper *Jedinstvo*, which had incited the Serbs to the murder of Croat deputies. He was sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude. M. Svetozar Pribitchevitch, one of the triumvirate leaders of the Peasant-Democrat

coalition, went to Belgrade on May 17, and on May 19 he was arrested and interned at a desolate mountain village in Serbia called Brus. He was subsequently allowed to come to Belgrade for an operation.

On May 27 the trial of the assassin of Stephen Raditch and his colleagues began in Belgrade. The murderer, Punisha Ratchitch, was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment with hard labour, but the two Serbian Deputies Jovanovitch and Popovitch, charged as his accomplices, were acquitted. The conduct of the case made a very bad impression in Croatia. The Croat witnesses refused to attend the trial on the ground that no justice for the murdered man was to be expected in Belgrade, and the thirty lawyers defending Ratchitch and his two friends, defended rather the murder than the murderer, and so increased the bitter feeling in Croatia.

Throughout the year there were many arrests made in Croatia, some of which recalled the *lettre de cachet*, for the prisoners simply disappeared, the newspapers were forbidden to refer to the arrests, and in some cases information was withheld from the families for several days. Many of those arrested were described in subsequent *communiqués* as "Communists," but it is believed that most of them were Croat Nationalist Extremists. There were several bomb explosions in Zagreb, one taking place at Zagreb on August 6, when the gendarmerie barracks were damaged. Three men were shot by the police in a house near Zagreb in which they had taken refuge from pursuit as political desperadoes. On August 25 the Croat emigration abroad was reinforced by M. Krunjevitch and M. Koshutich, the son-in-law of Raditch who both escaped from Zagreb. A chauffeur named Babitch and another person who were suspected of being the murderers of Toni Schlegel succeeded in killing two police officers and wounding two others who sought to arrest them. The murderers subsequently escaped to Fiume, where the Italians declined to arrest them on the grounds that they had only committed "political" offences. This naturally aroused great anti-Italian feeling in Belgrade. The eleventh anniversary celebration of the Union of the Yugoslavs was marred by the explosion in Zagreb of a bomb which had been timed to burst at the moment when an organised demonstration in favour of the Union should have passed it. Fortunately nobody was injured. Similar terrorist action interfered with the loyal celebration of King Alexander's birthday on December 17. The Zagreb clergyman Dr. Rittig, who agreed to head a deputation of Croats to demonstrate their loyalty to the new regime, was attacked and beaten in the streets of Zagreb. Two infernal machines were discovered on the line over which the train conveying the loyal deputation was to pass. Another infernal machine was discovered in Zagreb Cathedral. Over two hundred

arrests were made and Dr. Matchek was placed under house arrest.

The year ended badly for the Croats with the arrest between December 27 and 31 of Dr. Vladko Matchek, Professor Jacob Jelatitch, the former Austro-Hungarian Colonel Wilko Begitch, and eight others, on charges of being concerned in the Croat Nationalist outrages and in a further plot to explode a bomb at the Royal Birthday Celebration Ball in a Zagreb hotel. The police declared that the principal conspirators stated that money had reached them from conspirators abroad through Dr. Matchek himself. The Croats in general, while accepting the existence of a dastardly plot which most of them deplored, refused to believe that Dr. Matchek had been privy to it and suggested that *agents provocateurs* had been employed in order to remove him from public life.

A third son was born to the King and Queen at Veldes on June 26 and christened Andreas.

In foreign affairs the strong hand of the Dictatorship prevented such anti-Italian demonstrations as had frequently occurred in past years, especially in coastal towns. There were notable exceptions, when a Slovene student named Gorton was executed by the Italians for having been concerned in a shooting incident, when one man was killed. The Italian Government made a verbal protest which was backed up on October 21 by a written note. In spite of the comparative absence of hostile demonstrations, it cannot be said that there was any improvement in the feeling between the two people. Relations with Albania remained cold, and there was no alteration in the usual stiffness between Belgrade and Budapest. Italy's unexpected adoption of a friendly attitude towards Austria in the course of the last month of the year aroused suspicion in Belgrade that this country was to be added as a new link in the Italian "encirclement chain" around Yugoslavia. Relations with Bulgaria, which were persistently bad, are dealt with under "Bulgaria."

TURKEY.

Little change was brought to the general situation in Turkey by 1929. The pace of the Ghazi Pasha's "Westernising" reforms began to slacken as his programme neared completion. The chief complications were connected with the Soviet, and with the arrival of the ex-Russian Communist Dictator, Leon Trotsky, in Turkey.

On January 1 the law came into force obliging every one between 16 and 40 to go to school to be taught the new Latin alphabet. From the same date Latin characters alone were allowed in official correspondence. The enforced use of the Latin alphabet caused many periodicals to cease publication and gradually the daily newspapers became anxious for their future. An article in the *Milliet* of April 18 suggested Government control of the

whole Press as a remedy. On June 1 it was made compulsory to use the new characters in all law reports, balance sheets, and acts of marriage. The use of Arabic shorthand was forbidden. A new penal code modelled on that of Germany came into force on August 20. On September 4 imprisonment for debt was abolished. Early in November the Press dropped hints that a new Constitution modelled on that of the United States was under consideration, but nothing was said officially.

On January 22, 2,500 Turkish artisans were rendered homeless by the destruction of over 400 houses through a fire which broke out in Tatavla, a suburb of Constantinople. M. Castelnau, a Frenchman in charge of the French Water Company, was arrested because of the failure of the water supply.

On February 12 Leon Trotsky arrived at Constantinople as an exile. His presence was the source of some embarrassment to the Turkish Government. After vainly trying to obtain permission to go to Germany, he settled down in a house in Pera with his wife and son and devoted himself to writing. Two months later he removed to the island of Prinkipo.

On March 4 the Prime Minister, General Ismet Pasha, informed the National Assembly that it had been decided to allow the Security Act to lapse because of the increasing security of the country. Some 15,000 persons benefited under the Amnesty Bill passed on May 13, but those imprisoned for offences against the Security Act were excluded from its scope.

A visit by thirty-five Italian seaplanes to the Black Sea in June was held by the Straits Commission to be an infringement of the Treaty of Lausanne, and it was decided on June 19 to call the attention of the League of Nations to the matter.

At the beginning of July negotiations about the exchange of populations were resumed with Greece. The latter country was accused of deliberate procrastination, and on July 21 the negotiations were broken off.

The internal situation remained quiet. Batches of Communists were arrested on several occasions, and given heavy sentences. On August 7 the Ghazi Pasha made a brief speech to the Court of Appeal threatening "destruction" to those who spread subversive Communist propaganda.

On March 6 a new Treaty of Neutrality and Arbitration with Bulgaria was signed. On April 1 the Litvinoff Protocol to the Peace Pact was ratified. On June 23 an agreement with France was signed, regulating the Syrian frontier. A temporary Anglo-Turkish Trade Agreement was signed on July 2. M. Karakhan, the Soviet Assistant Commissary for Foreign Affairs, visited Turkey between December 12 and December 20. As a result, a Turko-Russian Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality was signed on December 17 at Angora. The treaty was possibly a sequel to the visit (the first since the Armistice) of the British Mediterranean

Fleet to Constantinople on October 12, for it engaged each country not to enter into any political arrangements with countries "contiguous by land or sea" with either without informing the other. The phrase used would cover Great Britain.

The Œcumenical Patriarch, Basil III. Georgiades, died on September 28. On October 7 Photios Maniatis, Metropolitan of Derkos, was elected to fill his place.

GREECE.

Greece was fortunate enough to experience in 1929 a year almost devoid of incident.

In January Signor Grandi, the Italian Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, visited Athens (following on the visit to Angora), and had a series of cordial interviews with Ministers. The long-outstanding differences with Yugoslavia concerning the Salonica Free Zone and kindred questions were settled by the signature on March 18 of six protocols with Yugoslavia at Geneva. The treaty of 1913, giving Yugoslav transit trade special facilities in Salonica, was thus put into effect. Yugoslavia yielded in the matter of her claim to control the Guevgheli railway, and sold for a sum of 160,000*l.* rights in this railway acquired by her nationals in 1925.

On May 16 the ex-Dictator, General Pangalos, and two of his Ministers were arrested. The Chamber decided on June 15 to impeach the General and four of his former colleagues before the Senate, less on account of his actions during the Dictatorship, but because of the shooting on the eve of the elections of August 18, 1928, for which General Pangalos was held responsible. The General was released a few weeks later, however, and no definite steps have yet been taken regarding the impeachment. On June 3 Admiral Konduriotis was formally elected President of the Republic, receiving 259 out of 309 votes. On December 3 he resigned on account of ill-health and advancing age, and a week later M. Zaimis was elected to succeed him. Elections to the Senate in April fully confirmed the sweeping success of M. Venizelos at the more important elections to the Boulé the preceding summer.

On June 7 M. Venizelos reconstructed the Government by forming his sixth Cabinet. The inclusion therein of General Gonatas (the ex-Premier), and M. Karapanagiotis, who played a prominent part in the deposing of King Constantine and the shooting of M. Gounaris and his colleagues in 1922, led to the Popular Party of M. Tsaldaris withdrawing from both Chamber and Senate on June 10, as a sign of protest. The municipal elections in September indicated a distinct falling-off in M. Venizelos's popularity. In Athens, Salonica, and elsewhere anti-Venizelists and even Royalists were chosen as mayors. The financial

difficulties of the Government made it impossible to accord the tax-relief which had been anticipated, and popular enthusiasm for M. Venizelos began to wane in consequence. The resignation of the Presidency by Admiral Konduriotis obliged the Cabinet also to resign in December. A fresh Government took the oath on December 16. The opportunity was taken to appoint M. Gonatas to a Governorship on his resignation of his Cabinet post, but M. Karapanagiotis was retained and promoted from Under-Secretary to Minister of Communications. The disappearance of M. Gonatas allowed the Popular Party to vote with the other parties for M. Zaimis, and facilitated a *rapprochement* between M. Venizelos and M. Tsaldaris.

BULGARIA.

No big events occurred to mark any radical change in the internal or external situation in Bulgaria during 1929. This year, like its predecessors, saw a continuance of the strife between the two Macedonian factions, a series of disagreeable frontier incidents with Yugoslavia and the usual exchange of diplomatic representations in consequence. The question of Bulgarian reparations was to the fore in the latter part of the year and caused great popular excitement.

On January 14 General Wolkoff, the former Minister of War, went to Rome as Bulgarian Minister. The appointment caused some concern in Yugoslavia where it was feared that the intransigent ex-Minister of War would succeed in inducing Italy to appear even more prominently as Bulgaria's protector than she had done in the past. Assurances were given by M. Buroff, the Foreign Minister, to Great Britain and France that the appointment implied no change of policy. The establishment of the Yugoslav Dictatorship in January was viewed with great disfavour in Sofia, which was modified, however, when M. Neshitch, the Yugoslav Minister, notified M. Buroff on February 6 that the Yugoslav Government had decided to re-open the Serbo-Bulgarian frontier which had been closed since General Kovatchevitch was shot by Bulgarians at Stip in October, 1927. On the same day it was decided that a mixed commission should meet in Pirot at an early date to settle frontier questions, and that representatives of both countries should meet in Sofia to try to arrange a treaty which should restore friendly relations. In the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Sobranje, M. Buroff stated on February 22 that relations with Yugoslavia were improving and that negotiations for a Commercial Treaty would begin in March. The Pirot Conference lasted from February 26 until March 17. Agreement was reached on the subject of properties divided by the frontier line, but it was found impossible to regulate the ownership of these on a national basis.

An attempt was subsequently made to regulate by direct negotiation the questions left outstanding at Pirot, but without success. The Yugoslavs desired to liquidate the properties owned by persons living across the frontier, but as this would have meant the transfer of Bulgarian properties, while Yugoslav nationals would have been practically unaffected, the Bulgarian Government found itself unable to agree. Neither could it accept the Yugoslav proposal to create a neutral zone on either side of the frontier 10 kilometres in depth. On July 11 M. Neshitch, the Yugoslav Minister, returned from Belgrade to Sofia and informed M. Liaptcheff that his Government could not ratify the Pirot Protocol, expressing the hope that when general relations improved, a fresh agreement might be reached. Negotiations were resumed in Pirot on September 23, but the proceedings were marred by a fresh series of frontier incidents. On October 2 ratified copies of the Pirot Protocol were exchanged and the conference broke up.

On March 11 a Treaty of Arbitration and Neutrality was concluded between Bulgaria and Turkey. It was based on the Turco-Bulgarian Treaty of Friendship of October 28, 1925. The satisfaction which it caused in Sofia was quickly modified when a pact was concluded between Yugoslavia and Greece on March 30, which Bulgaria considered to be a fresh Yugoslav move to encircle her. The irritation with Greece was increased by the speech which M. Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister, made on April 3, insisting on Bulgaria's ability to pay reparations.

On April 6 there was a Cabinet crisis which led to the resignation of M. Nadjaroff, who objected to the acceptance of the League of Nations' Financial Committee's stipulation that the Director-General of the railways should not be dismissed for five years. M. Liaptcheff arranged a compromise which was approved by the League, suspending for the moment the guarantee of employment to the Director-General. M. Nadjaroff accepted this and withdrew his resignation. His action had been directed against M. Moloff, the Finance Minister, who he considered had humiliated the country by accepting the stipulation at Geneva. On April 9 a Press campaign began in Sofia against M. Charron on account of his claim to influence the placing of contracts for railway material.

The question of Minorities aroused excitement throughout the year. The decisions of the March Council of the League caused disappointment, but the Government set to work and drew up an exhaustive memorandum on the subject which was dispatched on April 11 to the Committee of Three, appointed by the League of Nations to submit the report on the subject at the June Assembly. The memorandum contested point by point the corresponding Yugoslav document.

Among the many difficulties which arose with Yugoslavia

during the year, one of the most serious was caused by the reception of Dr. Ante Pavelic (see under Yugoslavia) in Sofia in April. M. Neshitch, the Yugoslav Minister, made a formal but friendly protest to M. Buroff on April 22, and the latter expressed his regret. On May 23 a statement was issued by the police reporting the shooting of three Agraro-Communist emigrés who had raided across the frontier from Yugoslav territory and were shot dead on Yugoslav soil. On June 22 two men and a woman were shot dead by Yugoslav soldiers in the Trn district. Between June 12 and June 17 three raids by Bulgarian Agraro-Communists from Yugoslavia were complained of, while at the same time the Yugoslavs carried out wholesale arrests of villagers on their side of the frontier. On June 5 and June 10 complaints were made that Yugoslav military aeroplanes had flown over Bulgarian territory. There was frequent shooting across the frontier in which the frontier guards of both countries were involved, and many Macedonian refugees fled from Yugoslavia to Bulgaria complaining of the devastation of their villages by the Serbs. On June 7 a squadron of Italian seaplanes escorted by four destroyers was officially received at Varna by the Minister of Railways. This visit, coinciding with Signor Balbo's, the Italian Air Minister's reference to the possibility of Bulgaria and Italy finding themselves allied, caused as much satisfaction in Sofia as irritation in Belgrade. Towards the end of the month the excitement in both capitals rose to fever heat, the Belgrade Press declaring that the offensive action all came from the Bulgarian side of the frontier. At this unfortunate moment, the Sobranje granted an amnesty and permission to return to the country to M. Radoslavoff, who was responsible as Prime Minister in 1914 for Bulgaria's decision to enter the war against Serbia. On July 25 M. Neshitch presented a Note asking Bulgaria to explain how they reconciled the amnesty to M. Radoslavoff with the Treaty of Neuilly. Bulgaria took up the attitude that this was a purely domestic question, and on July 24 presented a Note to this effect in Belgrade which caused little satisfaction. A second Yugoslav Note was presented on July 29, which was replied to in more conciliatory terms by Bulgaria on August 9. On August 25 a friendly Note was presented by Yugoslavia in Sofia, accepting the Bulgarian explanation, and stating that the earlier Notes were inspired solely by the desire to clear up misunderstandings. More restrained feeling in Sofia and Belgrade was largely due to the action of the Powers; the British Minister in Sofia called on M. Liaptcheff on July 4 (as did the British and French Chargés d'Affaires on July 7), to recommend moderation. M. Buroff saw M. Briand in Paris in July, and was advised by him to adopt a more conciliatory tone towards Yugoslavia.

On September 4 Yugoslav frontier guards under an officer crossed the frontier and fired on the Bulgarian post near Trn,

wounding one soldier. But this was the last serious incident during the year. A conference between Yugoslav and Bulgarian delegates assembled in Sofia on November 14 to regulate the liquidation of frontier property. This was still sitting at the end of the year, but the improvement in relations between the two countries was marked in December by an official call paid by M. Liaptcheff to the Yugoslav Legation to express the good wishes of the country on the occasion of King Alexander's birthday.

At the beginning of November the scheme of Reparation payments for Bulgaria was received from the Committee on Eastern European Reparations in Paris. M. Liaptcheff immediately instructed the Bulgarian delegation in Paris to state categorically that it was unacceptable as it meant complete ruin to the country. The scheme contemplated the payment of 670,000,000 gold francs in thirty-six annuities, beginning at 5,000,000 francs. As the result of British intervention—so it was stated in Sofia—the total debt was reduced to 450 gold francs. The Bulgarian delegation declared that it was unable to accept the scale of payments suggested and made counter-proposals which in turn were rejected by the Committee. Bulgaria then decided to raise the question at The Hague Conference in January, and hostile demonstrations took place in Sofia outside the Legations of the former Allied Powers. M. Buroff and M. Moloff went to London in December, where they discussed the situation with Mr. Henderson and Mr. Snowden. On December 5 the Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy were received by King Boris on their own request and again urged Bulgaria to modify her attitude.

The feud between the Protogeroff and Mihailoff sections of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation continued throughout the year. On April 20 there was shooting outside a café in Sofia, and on April 30 a Mihailoffist named Josdanoff was shot dead in a baker's shop by Protogeroffists, whose bullets also wounded the baker and killed his daughter. Two Protogeroffists were murdered on June 26, and on August 14 bombs were thrown at Petritch station because of the stationmaster's refusal to hand over suspicious parcels to Macedonian Revolutionaries. On September 19 Bajdaroff, the colleague of the late General Protogeroff, was shot dead at Varna. His body-guard was also killed and three men wounded by Mihailoffists. Colonel Velcheff, one of the leaders of the military league, accused officers employed in the Ministry of War of being concerned in threats, sent him by Mihailoff, to take his life. On October 28 Petroff, a prominent Protogeroffist, was shot dead in his rooms by Mihailoffists. In none of these cases were the murderers arrested.

On March 26 the police announced the arrest of Stoyanoff, together with a number of other Communists who had secreted

a store of arms for revolutionary purposes. Four more Communists, headed by Valkoff, who, like Stoyanoff, had been sent to Bulgaria from Moscow for the purpose of stirring up the Communist feeling in Bulgaria, were arrested a month later. On July 27 the police arrested thirty-three Communists who were endeavouring to organise disturbances (which never came off) on August 1.

There were many reports during the year that King Boris would become engaged to Princess Giovanna of Italy, but no definite announcement was ever made.

CHAPTER V.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM
— NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN — PORTUGAL —
DENMARK — SWEDEN — NORWAY — FINLAND.

BELGIUM.

BELGIUM's foreign relations were troubled at the beginning of the year by the publication in the Dutch paper *Het Utrechtsche Dagsblad* of the text of an alleged secret Franco-Belgian military accord. The matter was taken up by the Press of all countries, and on February 26 M. Hymans, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, was questioned on the subject in the Chamber. He denied formally the existence of such a treaty, and said that the document in question was an audacious forgery, the publication of which formed part of a deliberate campaign against Belgium. A few days later the forger was actually arrested at Brussels.

The elections which took place on May 26 resulted in a setback for the Socialists and the Catholics. The Frontists, *i.e.*, the Flemish Nationalists, and the Liberals each gained five seats in the Chamber. The "Provincial" (Senatorial) elections, held on June 9, confirmed these results. The Liberals, who had increased their poll by 100,000 votes in May, now gained 56,000. From that time the Socialists showed themselves somewhat reserved on the linguistic question, so as to leave the door open for an understanding with the Liberals, who were trying to safeguard the French-speaking minorities in Flemish districts. The only result was an agreement to act together in opposition to the Government on certain points of provincial policy.

On the day after the elections, the Government, having obtained the approval of the electorate for its policy of moderation, decided to remain in office. The Premier, however, M. Henri Jaspar, did not convoke Parliament till November, thus depriving the country of legislative power for the space of five months. In

September, in the course of a luncheon at the Cercle Gaulois at Brussels, the Premier, speaking to a toast, declared that he had a solution for the linguistic problem. The Frontists immediately called on him to summon the Chambers in order to announce his plan. His failure to do so led to some trouble in the Cabinet. On October 18 the Minister of the Interior, M. Carnoy, resigned. To avoid a dissolution, the Cabinet was reconstituted. The Minister of Agriculture, M. Baels, took over the Ministry of the Interior, resigning the Department of Public Works to M. Van Carneghem. The Premier, being fully occupied with his labours at The Hague, gave up the Ministry of the Colonies to M. Tschoffen. Finally, in order to satisfy the Liberals, who demanded a larger share in the Government, a new Ministry, that of Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones, was created, and its direction confided to M. Forthomme. The Cabinet was thus enlarged from ten to twelve members—four Catholics, five Liberals, and three Christian Democrats.

On November 12 the Government met the Chamber and presented a solution of the language question which was unacceptable to the Liberals. A crisis resulted, and on the 25th the Cabinet resigned. After in vain consulting the other party leaders, the King on the 29th called upon M. Jaspar to reconstruct the Ministry. The latter requested time for reflection. In the interval, on December 1, the National Council of the Liberal Party met to decide its attitude on the language question. It passed a vote of confidence in the Liberal leaders empowering them to negotiate with M. Jaspar the formation of a new Cabinet. On the strength of this support, M. Jaspar returned to power with his former colleagues, and on December 4 the King signed two royal decrees declining to accept the resignation of M. Jaspar and his Cabinet. This was the end of the crisis which had for months been in the air and which the Press had long been declaring to be inevitable.

On December 10 the Government announced its programme to the Chamber. It promised reductions in taxation to the amount of more than 2,000,000,000 francs, a simplified method of collection, a reduction of death duties and of the taxes on labour, and a reduced rate of succession duties. M. Jaspar declared that an effort would be made to solve the language problem as a whole. In matters of administration all governmental inquiries would be carried on in the language employed by the public authorities, or by the individuals raising the questions. In regard to the Courts of Justice, a Bill would be brought in for instituting a civil and commercial procedure in Flemish, which would thus permit the Flemings to be tried in their own language. In respect of education, the obligatory courses would be given in Flemish at the University of Ghent, and a Commission would be appointed to frame proposals for elementary and middle schools. After a

searching discussion of the Ministerial declaration, interrupted by some violent scenes, the Government obtained a vote of confidence by a majority of 28.

The public finances were brought into a very satisfactory condition in the course of the year. The floating debt was almost wiped off, and on December 10 Treasury Bonds to the value of 482,000,000 francs were repaid.

On March 13 the Chamber, by a unanimous vote, confirmed a resolution of the Senate approving the Kellogg Pact. On April 26 the Chamber, after a short discussion, passed a Bill declaring Belgium's adherence without reservation to the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes communicated to all States by the League of Nations.

In the course of the year the Government negotiated with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg a series of agreements on railways, alcoholic liquors, and financial relations, thus ending certain difficulties which had arisen in the working of the Economic Union. It also negotiated Treaties of Arbitration or Friendship with the United States, Greece, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and Treaties of Commerce with Persia and Switzerland. Negotiations were continued with the Netherlands with a view to revising the treaties of 1839. It was at the instigation of Belgium that an international conference was arranged to meet at Geneva in 1930 for the purpose of concluding a "tariff truce."

On October 10 M. Doumergue, the President of the French Republic, paid a visit to King Albert, and was welcomed by the public with great enthusiasm. At The Hague Conference, Belgium was represented by M. Jaspar, who presided, and by the Ministers Hymans, Houtart, and Francqui. To satisfy Mr. Snowden Belgium gave up a part of her annuities, accepted the Young Plan in place of the Dawes Plan, promised to effect no further liquidation of German property sequestered in virtue of the Treaty of Versailles, and undertook to evacuate the Belgian troops from the Rhineland between September and December. In return she received a special annuity in compensation for the marks issued during the war in the occupied part of Belgium.

The Amnesty Bill, quashing all sentences for treason during the war, was passed on January 16 by the Senate by 72 votes to 1, with 48 abstentions. The release on February 3 of M. Borms, who had been convicted of conspiring with the Germans to bring about the division of Belgium into Flanders and Wallonia, was made the occasion of a great Flamissant demonstration at Antwerp.

A Catholic proposal to give women the franchise in the Provincial elections was defeated on March 27 in the Chamber by 77 votes to 63, with 6 abstentions.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The year 1929 did not witness any improvement in the political malady from which the Kingdom has been suffering for several years, *viz.*, its impotence, owing to party dissensions, to secure a strong Parliamentary Government. The elections, by which in July the Second Chamber was renewed entirely and the First Chamber to the extent of one-half, did not alter the balance of parties in such a way as to provide a basis for a working majority. The fissiparous effects of the system of proportional representation were illustrated by the fact that not less than thirty-eight parties and groups contested for seats in the Second Chamber. Of these twenty-six had no success, so that over 115,000 valid votes, *i.e.*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total, were wasted. The twelve parties actually represented in the Chamber were divided on so many points that the formation of a working majority, and of a strong Cabinet depending on it, was impossible. The Right indeed only lost one seat, and was still in the majority, having secured fifty-seven of the hundred seats, but of these four were held by dissenting Protestant groups, who refused to co-operate with the Roman Catholics. The latter, being the most numerous and most closely united party, reaped the greatest advantage from such co-operation, and there was consequently a rising opposition in Protestant circles against it. The age-long antipathy between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism appears to gather force as time goes on. Early in the year it was manifested by the refusal of part of the Roman Catholics to participate in the celebration of the 350th anniversary of the Union of Utrecht, which marked the foundation of an independent but Calvinistic Dutch State.

Actually, the direction of national policy continued to be in the hands of the Roman Catholics, either jointly with the Protestant parties, for carrying on what is called a "Christian" policy, or together with the Radicals and Socialists for a policy of social reforms. The Roman Catholic State Party, which includes both Conservative and Democratic elements, appeared to value unity above anything else, and on that account to prefer a more or less restricted co-operation with the Anti-Revolutionaries and Christian-Historicals. By a radical revision of its organisation, and by allowing more influence to the democratic elements, it succeeded at the elections, especially in the southern provinces, in recovering ground which in 1925 it had lost to the Socialists on the one hand, and to the Roman Catholic People's Party on the other. The latter lost a third of its votes and with them its only seat in the Second Chamber.

The elections produced very few alterations. On the Right a certain headway was made by the Roman Catholics, the Christian-Historicals, and the dissenting Protestant groups; the

dissenting Political Calvinistic Party even increased its seats from two to three at the expense of the Anti-Revolutionaries from whom they had separated. On the Left, Liberal Democrats (Radicals) and Socialists advanced to about an equal extent, though neither party increased its representation. A Communist group which is not recognised by Moscow gained one seat. The Liberal "Vrijheidsbond" (Liberty League), which is becoming more and more the party of the large employers, suffered not only a proportionate but also an absolute decline of votes and lost one seat. The final result of the elections for the Second Chamber was as follows: Roman Catholics 30 (in 1925 with the R.C. People's Party 31), Anti-Revolutionaries 12 (13), Christian-Historicals 11 (11), Political Calvinistic Party 3 (2), dissenting Christian-Historicals 1 (1), Liberals 8 (9), Radicals 7 (7), Socialists 24 (24), Moscow Communists 1 (1), Communists not recognised by Moscow 1 (0), Country Party 1 (1), Independent 1 (1).

The partial renewal of the First Chamber contributed just as little to give a clear indication of the policy to be pursued.

The extra-parliamentary de Geer Cabinet, which had always looked upon itself as a stop-gap only holding office until a Government should be formed with a parliamentary majority behind it, had already, two days before the elections, on July 1, placed its resignation in the hands of the Queen. In the first instance, on July 12, Jonkheer Ruys de Beerenbrouck, who had been Prime Minister of the Christian Coalition of 1918-25, and was now President of the Second Chamber and Chairman of the Roman Catholic State Party, was charged with the formation of a parliamentary Cabinet supported by the Right. His attempt did not succeed. As was shown by the correspondence published later, the Christian-Historicals were indeed ready to co-operate in forming a parliamentary Cabinet of the Right, but they declined to be bound beforehand by a Government programme laid before them by the prospective Prime Minister (though not published), because according to their view the Government alone ought to take the responsibility for its programme. The Anti-Revolutionaries and the Roman Catholics did not share this view, but were not prepared to bind themselves unless the Christian-Historicals entered into a similar obligation. The idea of a minority Cabinet which would rest upon the support of the Roman Catholics and Anti-Revolutionaries (holding together forty-two out of the hundred seats) was accepted by the former as the only possible way to form a parliamentary Cabinet under the existing circumstances, but rejected by the latter.

Jonkheer Ruys de Beerenbrouck was therefore obliged to relinquish his attempt. He was then charged by the Crown with the formation of an extra-parliamentary Cabinet, in which he succeeded within a few days, on August 7. He took over from the de Geer Cabinet the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jonkheer

Dr. F. Beelaerts van Blokland (C.H.), for Finance, Jonkheer Dr. D. de Geer (C.H.), and for Justice, Dr. J. Donner (A.R.) The Prime Minister himself took the Home Office, the other offices being divided as follows: Education, Arts, and Sciences, Dr. J. Terpstra (A.R.); Defence, Dr. L. N. Deckers (R.C.); Public Works, Dr. P. J. Reymer (R.C.); Labour, Commerce, and Industry, Dr. T. J. Verschuur (R.C.); Colonies, S. de Graaff (A.R.). Unlike the preceding Cabinet, in which two Liberals had had seats, the new Government consisted exclusively of the Right coalition parties, in proportion in fact to the strength of those parties.

To all outward appearance, the new Cabinet, both from its leadership and from the allotment of its offices, was not so much an "extra-parliamentary Cabinet" as one of the coalition of the Right, in which, however, the Christian-Historicals were taking part without first accepting a Government programme. The non-committal speech from the Throne at the opening of the States General in September did not make the position clearer, but the fact that at the election of a President of the Second Chamber the Socialists supported the Roman Catholic candidate, Dr. Van Schaik, against the candidate of the Protestant parties, Dr. Heemskerck, ex-Prime Minister, appeared to point to a disruption of the coalition. The written and verbal discussions regarding the Budget, however, proved conclusively that under the flag of an "extra-parliamentary Cabinet" in reality a coalition Cabinet had taken office, with a programme based on the common principles of the parties of the Right, though special demands which were not approved of by all the governing parties were not to be granted.

Although the correspondence received by the Prime Minister contained some sharp criticism of the Cabinet and of some of its members, especially of the Minister for the Colonies, who after his former period of office had left the Second Chamber as a *persona non grata*, still the Cabinet came away from its first meeting with the Second Chamber, in which the Budget was discussed, in a stronger position. The real strength of the Government, for that matter, lay in the fact that it could not be easily replaced. Its dominant figure was not the Prime Minister, but rather Jonkheer de Geer, the Finance Minister, who, as before, kept a tight hold on the financial reins, and advanced steadily towards the end which he had in view, of strengthening the public finance and reducing taxation. He was largely helped in this respect by the improved economic situation of the country, the increase of revenue every year belying his somewhat over-cautious forecasts, as may be seen from the following figures: 1923: estimated deficit Ordinary Budget 52·7 million guilders, real deficit 2·7 millions; 1924: estimated deficit 98·3 millions, surplus 27 millions; 1925: estimated deficit 15·2 millions, surplus 44·3 millions; 1926: estimated surplus 9·2 millions, real surplus 66·4 millions; 1927: estimated surplus 12 millions, real surplus

75·2 millions ; 1928 : estimated surplus 3·4 millions, real surplus 53·3 millions. With regard to 1929 the actual revenue exceeded the estimates by 40 millions and that of the preceding year by 20 millions. The whole of the services for 1923-28 showed, instead of the estimated total deficit of 603·7 million guilders, a total actual deficit of only 23·8 millions. The 1929 estimates showed a surplus of 9·14 millions on the Ordinary Service, and a deficit of 69 millions on the Capital Service. Under these circumstances a fresh reduction of taxation proved possible, the excise duty on sugar being reduced by 9·5 millions, and the supplementary tax on income (which had been introduced originally for covering war expenditure) by 10·5 millions. The Second Chamber approved of these reductions.

In the sphere of legislation mention should be made of the passing of a Bill for regulating the legal position of officials, and of a Health Insurance Act. The important Bill to revise the legal provisions for lease contracts had not yet reached the Statute Book when the year closed. A Bill which was introduced by some members of the Second Chamber for granting a Government subvention to the beet sugar industry was passed by the Second Chamber with a small majority, but rejected by the First Chamber.

In foreign affairs the year 1929 was somewhat eventful for Holland. In the early spring great excitement and indignation were aroused by the publication of an alleged secret treaty between France and Belgium by which, it was said, Dutch neutrality, in case of a war with Germany, with the co-operation of Great Britain, was directly menaced. The Government considered themselves obliged to ask for information both in Brussels and Paris and in London, but it transpired later that they were dealing with a forgery probably perpetrated by extremist Flemish elements with a view to still further embroiling the already somewhat strained relations between Holland and Belgium. After such an incident it was not to be expected that the year would bring a solution of the problem of the waterways which since 1919 has been a source of tension between the two countries.

A fresh discussion in writing, opened by a Memorandum of the Belgian Government in June, 1928, did not lead to agreement. The correspondence, which was published on June 15, in a White Book, showed that neither party would abandon its own point of view. Belgium insists on a canal which would directly connect the docks of the port of Antwerp with the Moerdyk. Holland wishes to meet Belgium as far as possible, but within the limits of the obligations agreed upon when the two countries were separated. For the rest, the Netherlands Government tried to show its friendly disposition to Belgium by declaring its readiness to take part in the exhibitions which are to be held in Belgium in 1930 to celebrate the separation of 1830.

A good deal of commotion was also caused by a raid carried out on June 5 by Venezuelan insurgents against the small garrison and the civil government of the island of Curaçao. the insurgents seizing arms, and forcing an American vessel to take them to Venezuela. The Governor and the military commander were carried away by them as hostages, but released shortly afterwards. The incident did not lead to any diplomatic entanglements with Venezuela, but did lead to the strengthening of the naval and military forces in the Dutch Antilles and to a reform of the administration there.

During 1929 Holland again took an active part in international work. In August she willingly acted as hostess to the conference which drew up the Young Plan. Her adherence to the Kellogg Pact was ratified by the States General. With Turkey and Austria provisional trade agreements were concluded. The Union of South Africa accredited an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Netherlands Government, the Consulate-General at Pretoria being promoted to a Legation in response.

The Lord Mayor of London in July paid a state visit to Amsterdam and was cordially welcomed.

SWITZERLAND.

In its December session the *Bundesversammlung* (i.e., the two Chambers in joint session) had to fill two vacancies in the Federal Council (*Bundesrat*). Federal Councillor Haab (Zürich), who had been President of the Federation in 1929, had announced his resignation on account of advancing age, and Federal Councillor Scheurer (Berne) had died suddenly. Both Councillors had belonged to the Liberal Party. In their places were elected the Zürich Liberal National Councillor Dr. Meyer, editor of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, and the Bernese peasant leader and National Councillor Minger, the President of the Peasant, Artisan, and Middle Class Party, which through him obtained for the first time a seat in the Federal Council. Both elections denoted a movement to the Right in the Federal Council.

At the end of the year the Federal Council was composed as follows: Political Department (Foreign Affairs), Motta (Ticino, Catholic-Conservative); Justice and Police, Häberlin (Thurgau, Liberal); Interior, Meyer (Zürich, Liberal); Defence, Minger (Berne, Peasant and Middle-Class Party); Finance and Customs, Musy (Freiburg, Catholic-Conservative); National Economy, Schulthess (Aargau, Liberal); Post and Railways, Pilet-Golaz (Vaud, Liberal). M. Musy became Federal President for 1930 and M. Häberlin Vice-President.

In internal affairs the most important event of the year was the abandonment by the Social Democrats of their determination

not to enter the Federal Government. They put up Dr. Klöti, a National Councillor and Mayor of Zürich, as their candidate for the post of Federal Councillor. He was not successful, in spite of the fact that the Social Democrats are the second largest party in the National Council. The decision to seek entrance into the Federal Government and to abandon the purely negative attitude, was a sign that, after a long struggle, the more moderate section, consisting chiefly of the trade unionists, had gained the day over the more extreme leaders.

Another attempt was made this year to solve the problem of the corn supply, which, since the rejection of the proposal for a corn monopoly (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 233, and 1927, p. 211), had continued to give trouble. On March 3 a constitutional clause was carried by plebiscite for regulating the corn supply on a non-monopolistic basis. By this law the import of foreign corn was again left to private enterprise. In order, however, to protect corn-growing in Switzerland, the Federation buys home-grown corn destined for the market at a price above the world-market price, and pays a premium on corn meant for the farmer's own use. The expenditure thus incurred is met by an increase in the statistical fees of the whole of the import.

The proposal to insert a clause in the Constitution empowering the Cantons and municipalities to forbid the preparation and sale of brandy in their areas (local option) was rejected on a plebiscite on May 12 by 467,724 votes to 226,794. Only in the Canton of Basel-Stadt was there a majority of any size for the proposal. Parliament adopted a new constitutional clause on the control of spirituous liquors, which is to be the subject of a plebiscite on April 6, 1930. By this proposal all spirituous liquors, including those made from fruit, which hitherto were excepted, are to be subjected to Federal legislation. This shall aim generally at diminishing the consumption of alcohol, and so procuring additional revenue for both the Federation and the Cantons. This revenue is to be used for financing the Old Age and Dependents Insurance introduced by the Constitution (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1925, p. 221).

Having already withdrawn from the Latin Currency Union, Switzerland this year went over to a full gold currency. Gold coinage, however, is only to come into circulation when the other important countries have introduced it. The Swiss franc remained stable during the year, and was expected to benefit by the decision of the Second Hague Conference to establish the Bank for International Payments at Basle.

The value of imports in 1929 was 2783·8 million Swiss francs, and the value of exports 2164·5 million. It was estimated that the balance of payments was in favour of Switzerland to the extent of 300,000,000 Swiss francs.

The efforts to secure the abolition of compulsory military

service, which are supported by some Protestant clergymen, produced this year a strong counter movement. The Evangelical Church Synod of the Canton of Berne and later that of the Canton of Zürich declared emphatically that the defence of the Fatherland was a duty not to be shirked.

Palm Sunday was fixed by the Communists this year as the day for a "Red Meeting" in Basle. The Federal Council forbade the meeting, and placed troops at the disposal of the authorities of Basle. The frontier was closed against foreign Communists, and Swiss Communists were arrested on their journey to Basle and taken back to their starting-points. Owing to these precautions, no untoward incidents happened in Basle, but in Zürich on the same day clashes occurred between the police and the Communists. The Government also took precautions on the approach of August 1, on which Communist demonstrations were to take place in Switzerland as in most other countries, and the day passed without the slightest disturbance.

As a result of the stimulus given to the women's rights movement by the success of the Swiss Exhibition for Women's Work (Saffa) in Berne in 1928, 247,506 signatures were collected for a petition that women should be given the right of voting and election in Federal affairs. The petition was handed in on June 6. The majority of the male population is still decidedly hostile to the grant of women's rights, and women themselves took the initiative in forming a league to combat the movement.

The adhesion of Switzerland to the Kellogg Pact was ratified by both Chambers. The public took little interest in the matter, Switzerland being already pledged to a policy of neutrality. Some apprehension, however, was caused by a report that France intended at the London Naval Conference to propose the insertion of sanctions in the Kellogg Pact.

When at the League of Nations Assembly England and Belgium proposed a general agreement for the reduction of tariffs, Switzerland, through its representative, Dr. Stucki, declared that it was completely in sympathy with the idea, as it was a firm believer in the economic inter-dependence of nations. It was no less than England and Belgium strongly in favour of international collaboration and the removal of all trade barriers between peoples, but it saw a great practical obstacle to the conclusion of such a multilateral agreement. So long as the most-favoured-nation clause was found without qualification in commercial treaties, those countries which did not join the multilateral agreement would automatically enjoy all the advantages which the contracting States conceded to one another, without undertaking any reciprocal obligations. This would be a motive to Protectionist States not to come into the agreement. The unqualified most-favoured-nation clause would be fatal to the multilateral agreement. In the Commercial Treaties which Switzerland in 1929

concluded with France and Belgium (and which were first ratified by Switzerland) this idea was acted upon for the first time in the history of trade agreements. The most-favoured-nation principle is to be applied only to concessions which are made to other States in bilateral treaties, not to those which are made in multi-lateral treaties.

In the summer of this year the Permanent Court of Justice at The Hague commenced the hearing of the dispute between France and Switzerland regarding the free customs zones at Geneva. The dispute had been referred to The Hague Court by an arbitration agreement made on October 30, 1924, which only came into force when finally accepted by the French Senate on March 29, 1928 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1924, p. 232 ; 1925, p. 219 ; 1926, p. 230 ; 1927, p. 214 ; 1928, p. 200). The Court had first to decide whether Art. 435, par. 2, of the Treaty of Versailles had annulled the provisions of the treaties of 1815 and 1816 regarding the customs and business regulations in the Geneva zones between Switzerland and France, or aimed at annulling them. Switzerland was represented by Professor Logoz, of Geneva, and France by Maître Paul Boncour. With three Judges dissenting, the Court declared that "while on the one side it had arrived at the conclusion that the provisions of the years 1815 and 1816 had not been annulled by the Treaty of Versailles, on the other side it did not feel bound to say that it was the object of Art. 435, par. 2, of the treaty to annul them, but that on the contrary it was able to say that this was not the object of these provisions." . . . "Switzerland possesses treaty rights to the 'small Sardinian zone' in virtue of the Treaty of Turin of 1816, and to the 'zone of Gex' in virtue of the Treaty of Vienna of 1815."

At the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva in September, the French Foreign Minister, M. Briand, referring to the verdict of The Hague Court, said that it was not a defeat but a victory for a great State when it complied with an arbitral award which was unfavourable to it. The verdict in fact had supported the Swiss contention, and implicitly condemned the abolition of the free zones which had in practice resulted from the advancing, under Poincaré's instructions, of the French customs officers to the political frontier of the Canton of Geneva (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, pp. 237, 238), a step which had been characterised at the time by the Swiss Government as a breach of international law. But France still kept her customs frontier at the political frontier.

According to the terms of the agreement made by France and Switzerland in 1924, The Hague Court, after giving its juridical interpretation of Art. 435, par. 2, of the Treaty of Versailles, was to fix a date by which the two parties were to come to an understanding regarding the future regime in the free zones. The

agreement further laid down that if by that time an arrangement had not been made by the two parties, the Court itself should determine the regime to be instituted. The negotiations on the subject between France and Switzerland began on December 9, in Berne. The French delegation insisted that the French Customs frontier at Geneva should be finally made identical with the political frontier. The Swiss delegation, on the other hand, relying on the interpretation of the Hague Court, persisted in its desire to retain the free zones. As these standpoints seemed irreconcilable, negotiations were broken off on the second day. In the Swiss view the negotiations had definitely broken down, so that The Hague Court would be called upon to determine the regime of the zones after May 1, 1930. France desired a resumption of the negotiations, but up to the end of the year Switzerland had not acceded to the request.

Swiss relations with Italy continued to be disturbed by the presence in Switzerland of Fascist organisations, and by the supervision exercised over Italian refugees by secret Italian agents. Two of these, Rizzoli and Torre, were expelled by the Federal Council. The Council had forbidden the wearing of the "black shirt," but allowed that of the Fascist emblem. In the border Canton of Ticino and also in the towns of Zurich and Basle, some petty squabbles and conflicts took place between unruly elements among the enemies of the Fascists and the Fascists wearing their emblem. This led to attacks on Switzerland in the Fascist Press, and to representations by the Italian Envoy in Berne.

Great irritation was caused in Switzerland in June by a speech made by the Italian Envoy, Count Pignatti Morani di Custoza, at the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Switzerland, situated in Geneva. The Count sharply criticised the Swiss Cantonal authorities on account of their alleged tolerance towards the enemies of Fascism, spoke of a cloud coming over the relations of the two countries, and threatened that if a change was not made these relations would grow worse. The Swiss Press made energetic protests against this speech, but the Federal Council took no steps to let it be known in Rome that Count Pignatti was not *persona grata*. In December Count Pignatti was appointed Ambassador in Buenos Aires, but he remained in Berne till the end of the year.

In the summer the strategic motor road from Domodossola through the valleys of Antigorio and Formazzo to the pass of San Giacomo was completed by Italian sappers (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1926, p. 231). The San Giacomo pass forms the boundary between Switzerland and Italy, and is 6,720 feet above sea level. The construction of the road had aroused great apprehensions in Switzerland, as it leads into the heart of the St. Gothard, the great central barrier of Switzerland. When

the road was finished, the Federal Council was invited by Italy to continue it from the top of the pass to Airolo, but it declined. Towards the end of the year the question was raised whether it would not be better for the protection of the country to build a motor road from Airolo to the top of the pass, in place of the present bridle path, and to protect it by a fortified outpost, as 15 cm. guns which were unexpectedly placed on the top were able to command the southern exit of the St. Gothard tunnel (12 km. distant) and were so in a position seriously to interfere with the transport of Swiss troops to Ticino.

The Federal shooting competition which is held every five years took place this year in July at Bellinzona, the capital of the Canton of Ticino. The choice of Bellinzona for this purpose, which had been decided on long before, gave the inhabitants of Ticino a welcome opportunity of showing how little they thought of the various approaches made by Italy and its assumption of the rôle of protector of Italian culture in Ticino, and to express clearly their unshakable determination to remain Swiss. Federal President Haab in his speech at the shooting festival declared in firm though courteous language that Switzerland desired to live in peace and friendship with all her neighbours, and that she regarded the protection of Italian culture in the Canton of Ticino as her most honourable task, but that it was a task which she alone was called upon to fulfil. She could tolerate no interference from without.

After nearly ten years of negotiation and wrangling, a solution of the Rhine navigation question was at last reached in 1929. The final settlement represents a compromise between the States interested in the navigation of the Rhine on the one hand and France on the other. On March 28 an agreement was signed between Switzerland and Germany for the regulation of the Rhine between Strassburg and Istein (15 km. below Basle), where at present large boats cannot pass when the river is low. By this agreement both States undertake to begin at once the work of regulation in accordance with the scheme approved by the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation on April 29, 1925, and to continue it without interruption. The cost is estimated at 50 million Reichsmarks, of which Switzerland takes upon itself 60 per cent. and Germany 40 per cent. Both Governments declare their readiness to take in hand the creation of a passage for large vessels from Basle to Lake Constance, so soon as economic conditions shall appear to render such an undertaking feasible.

On the Istein-Strassburg stretch the Rhine is to receive a regulated fairway of not less than 75 metres in width and 2 metres in depth. In accordance with the request of the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation, the work is to be carried out in stages. The whole work is to take eleven to thirteen years. The regulation will be carried out by the Badische Wasser-und Strassenbau Direction in Carlsruhe.

To the above-mentioned agreement there was subjoined on December 18 a protocol containing an agreement between Switzerland, Germany, and France on the administrative and technical co-operation of these three States in the regulation of the Rhine between Strassburg and Istein. By this France undertakes, after a probationary period of three years, to contribute an annual average sum of 10,000 French francs towards maintenance costs on her own bank for each stretch of the work. After the transference of the last regulated section, France will take upon herself the whole of the maintenance costs in her own territory.

Previously to this, France had offered the most strenuous opposition to the regulation of the Rhine in the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation, and was at first supported by the delegates of Great Britain, Belgium, and Italy. The reason for France's opposition was that she wished to divert the Rhine traffic between Basle and Strassburg through her own projected side canal, the Grand Canal d'Alsace. Against this proposal Switzerland had both political and technical objections. If left unregulated, the Rhine would constantly become more choked up, and less serviceable for navigation. The construction of the Grand Canal d'Alsace would take decades, during which Basle would remain cut off from the sea. France eventually gave her consent to the regulation of the Rhine in order to obtain the unanimous approval of the Central Commission for the construction of the side canal, but she managed to get a condition attached that the work should be carried out in stages, and so spread over a longer period.

The agreement contained no provision for the regulation of the current at Istein, so that when the river is low the Rhine boats will have to use the French canal of the Kemscher Elektrizitätswerke (about 5 kilometres long) now under construction. Owing to the interposition of this small stretch of French canal, Switzerland has not even yet completely obtained direct river communication with the sea. However, France has given far-reaching guarantees for the free use of the canal.

SPAIN.

The year opened auspiciously with an increase in revenue of 300,000,000 pesetas, leaving a net surplus on the Budget for 1928 of about 180,000,000 pesetas, equivalent at the time to a little over 6,000,000*l.* With this unprecedented surplus, due almost entirely to a more efficient system of tax collection, the Government was able to grant some small, but very popular, increase of pensions and pay to officials, and could even tackle the more serious problem of providing for the extinction of the extraordinary Budget covering the vast scheme of public works, the execution of which was in full swing. The Petroleum Monopoly, a pet scheme of the Dictator's and of his Finance Minister, Señor Calvo

Sotelo, also showed a large revenue for the State at the end of its first year of working, in January, 1929. The prestige of the country abroad and of the Government at home promised to be enhanced by the impending inauguration of the two great Exhibitions at Barcelona and Seville.

The very success of the Government may have stirred its opponents to action. Political malcontents both within and without Spain availed themselves of the spirit of disaffection latent among the Officers of the Corps of Artillery to produce, earlier in the year than usual, the revolt that has been almost an annual feature of Spanish politics since the *coup d'état* of 1923. On January 29 the 1st Regiment of Light Artillery mutinied at Ciudad Real. Widespread action was intended, as was shown by a partial rising of the Artillery at Valencia, where the former Conservative Premier, Señor Sanchez Guerra, landed the same night on his return from voluntary exile in France. He had come to take command of the movement, which was to be made simultaneously by units stationed all over the country, but the delay of two days in his arrival proved fatal to the rising. The mutiny lacked support among the rank and file of the Army, and was promptly suppressed.

The affair, in which not a drop of blood was shed, had nevertheless untoward consequences. The rate of exchange took a definite turn for the worse, and the very apathy of the public to political questions led the Government to accentuate its dictatorial policy. Citizens were to be forced into submission, and the daily Press, in addition to being more strictly muzzled, was called upon to reserve part of its columns to Government *communiqués*. Owing to continued disaffection the whole Corps of Artillery Officers was disbanded on February 20, and the Artillery Academy at Segovia closed on February 27. The sharper attitude adopted by the Dictator led to more serious trouble among the students. Liberal opinion in the Universities had long felt aggrieved at the continuous encroachment by the authorities on academic liberty, and the open support given to denominational institutions. Feeling ran high, particularly among the students of Madrid, and culminated on March 7 in open rioting in the streets, which lasted for several days. Though the fighting was attended by few serious casualties, the effect was disastrous in more ways than one. The peseta fell a further two points and the slump occurred just when the Government had decided to abandon its costly policy of pegging the exchange, thus giving free reign to foreign speculation. The closing of Madrid University on March 17 was accompanied by the closing of Technical High Schools and Colleges, all of whose students and many of the professors had also come out on strike. Their example was followed by that of other Universities throughout the country. Thus things came to a deadlock and a definite split was produced between the Government and

wide sections of the educated classes. A manifesto of adhesion to the Dictatorship, published on March 20, though signed by a large number of business men, was, like the demonstration in favour of the Dictator, at which some 100,000 persons paraded on April 14 before the Ministry of War and left "cards of homage," discounted by public opinion as being more likely to be engineered by the Government than really spontaneous.

General Primo de Rivera found relief from this awkward situation in the successful inauguration of the two great Exhibitions. The Ibero-American Exhibition at Seville was opened on May 10 by King Alfonso, attended by the Royal Family, the Government, and the Diplomatic Corps. Seville was a fitting centre for this great event by reason of its historic associations as the ancient port of trade with America, the home of the Archives of the Indies and the Columbine Library. The Exhibition, in which Spain, Portugal, and the Americas vied with one another in displaying objects mainly of artistic and cultural interest (though industry too had its share), was worthy of its setting in the beautiful and ancient city, and the festivity of the occasion was enhanced by the customary gaieties of May-time in Andalusia. On May 17, the King's birthday, the grand International Exhibition at Barcelona was opened with even greater pomp. Set picturesquely on a mountain overlooking the sea, the Exhibition aptly represented the wonderful advance that has been made by this most modern of Mediterranean cities. Here, as in Seville, the outstanding feature was the great display of Art, whilst the illuminations, particularly the effect of the luminous fountains, surpassed anything hitherto achieved. Though neither Exhibition proved a financial success, this result was not unexpected, and both undoubtedly gave prestige to the Government and the country. The Dictator could now afford to adopt a more conciliatory policy, and on May 24 the Universities and High Schools were re-opened and a period of political peace ensued.

From June 6 to June 16 the Council of the League of Nations held its fifty-fifth meeting in the Senate House at Madrid. At the close of the sessions many members and Press delegates to the meeting availed themselves of the opportunity to visit the Exhibitions and other sights at the invitation of the Government, who hoped thereby to have truer impressions of Spain spread abroad. During the last week of June great national anxiety was felt for the fate of Major Franco and his fellow airmen, who had come to grief in their attempted flight across the Atlantic. The news of their rescue off the Azores by H.M.S. Eagle, coming a week after they had been lost and when all hope had been abandoned, sent the whole nation delirious with joy, and rescuers and rescued were given a rousing reception on their arrival in Madrid on July 4.

On the eve of the summer recess the Government laid before

the National Consultative Assembly its draft of a new Constitution, the intention being that the Assembly and the nation should have three months' time to study and comment upon the scheme set out in a lengthy document. For this purpose the censorship was partly raised, and a number of ex-Prime Ministers and representatives of professional and labour organisations were invited to join the Assembly. Both the Labour Party and the former statesmen refused, however, to collaborate with the Dictator, who met with sharp opposition also on the part of the Madrid Lawyers constituting the Academy of Jurisprudence. This body chose three pronounced enemies of General Primo de Rivera as their representatives, among them Señor Sanchez Guerra, who was still awaiting trial at Valencia. This trial, which took place by court martial on October 25, was the outstanding political event of the last quarter of the year. Contrary to the Dictator's wishes, the six General Officers sitting as Judges acquitted the ex-Premier and his son of the charge of high treason, and the verdict served to show that military, as well as civil, opinion was falling away from the head of the Government. Drastic reorganisation of the Academy of Jurisprudence, coupled with the announcement of other sterner measures of repression and of the re-trial of Señor Sanchez Guerra, betrayed nervousness rather than strength on the part of the authorities. Discussion of the unfortunate draft Constitution was shelved *sine die*, and attention was devoted to economic and financial questions.

In spite of repeated announcements of a large revenue surplus, the exchange continued to fall. On October 13 all attempt at Government control was finally abandoned and the peseta immediately dropped to 34·85 to the £. By the end of the year it had reached 36·25; this, in spite of the successful flotation in the last days of December of an internal gold loan of 500,000,000 pesetas for the purpose of liquidating foreign credits, and in spite of the fact that 1929 produced excellent crops of all kinds of agricultural produce.

On July 20 there was opened for traffic the second railway line across the Pyrenees, from Puigcerdá to Ax-les-Thermes, thus connecting Barcelona with Toulouse by a much shorter route than the former one along the coast. The steep gradients of this line, the construction of which is a feat of engineering, will be overcome by electric traction.

PORTUGAL.

Not since the establishment of the Republic has Portugal enjoyed so long a period of rest as during 1929, and full advantage was taken of this to improve the economic condition of the country.

It is true that during 1929 several arrests for political reasons were made, followed by deportation, but they were few and of

little account. On the other hand, many who had been banished for conspiring against the Dictatorship have been allowed to return unconditionally, thus showing not only a justifiable tolerance but a self-confidence greater than at any time since the *coup d'état* of May 28, 1926.

The only political event of any importance that has occurred was a change of Ministry early in the year. The Prime Minister, Colonel Vicente de Freitas (since made General), placed the collective resignation of the Cabinet in the hands of President Carmona, because of disagreement between himself and the Minister of Finance, Dr. Oliveira Salazar, over the religious question. General Ivens Ferraz was called and accepted the task of forming a new Government in which Dr. Salazar's name was included.

The work of the Finance Minister raised the country to a state of credit and solvency which she has not known for very many years. By dint of the strictest economy in all the Departments of State, by a more rigorous collection of taxes, and, be it said also, by the self-sacrifice of the Officers of the Army and Navy in accepting lower salaries, or submitting to heavier taxation, the 1928-29 Budget surplus amounted to the equivalent of nearly three million pounds sterling. The estimate was 16,000*l.* This surplus is being and will be applied to the mending of the roads—already much improved throughout the country; to the extension and improvement of the seaports; to the encouragement of agriculture, especially the growing of wheat, and the stabilisation of the Exchange.

The last portion of the Benguela Railway, as far as the Belgian Congo frontier, was opened for traffic during the summer, and its inauguration was attended by Prince Arthur of Connaught from the Union of South Africa, and by the Portuguese Minister of the Colonies, Snr. Bacelar Bebiano.

In August the Generals Ivens Ferraz and Primo de Rivera met, by previous arrangement, at Santa Luzia in the North of Portugal, afterwards proceeding to Mondariz and Santiago de Campostella, in Spain. They there discussed measures for bringing the two countries into closer relationship, and for putting into practice various old projects to the mutual advantage of both. A visit of President Carmona to Spain was also arranged, and this took place shortly afterwards, when the President and his suite were received with every mark of honour by Alfonso XIII.

In October the concession granted to the Nyassa Company in Mozambique territory expired and the Portuguese Government refused to renew the concession, with the result that the Company, whose capital is in great part English, is claiming 500,000*l.* indemnity.

During 1929 an Arbitration Treaty was signed with the United States, and Treaties of Commerce with Estonia and Poland.

DENMARK.

Economically, 1929 was a good year for Denmark. The harvest was again excellent, and the fall in the world price of grain was advantageous to the production of the animal food-stuffs in which the country specialises. The high prices realised for these enabled the farmers finally to recover from the agricultural crisis of 1926 and 1927. The prosperity of agriculture reacted favourably on conditions in trade and industry, which showed a decided improvement. This was reflected in a considerable decrease in the number of unemployed workers and a favourable trade balance. Imports, it is true, at 1695 million kroner were 85 million kroner more than exports, valued at 1610 millions, but this excess was more than counterbalanced by the so-called "invisible exports" which are not comprised in the trade statistics.

Politically, the year was signalised by a change of Ministry. For two sessions the Madsen-Mygdal Government of the Moderate Left (the Farmers' Party), formed in December, 1926, had been consistently supported by the Conservative Party. At the beginning of 1929, however, it failed to secure Conservative acceptance for its policy of national defence, which aimed at reducing the military expenditure to a figure justified by the re-established gold value of the national currency, while at the same time making the means of defence more effective through an improved organisation. After a number of narrow escapes, it was finally defeated in a division on the Budget in the Lower House. In consequence it appealed to the country, and on April 24 a General Election to the Lower House was held with the following result: the Social Democrat Party obtained 61 seats (+ 8); the Radical Liberals, 16 seats (0); the Moderate Liberals, 44 seats (- 3); the Conservatives, 24 seats (- 6); the Union of Right (Henry George), 3 seats (+ 1); and the Sleswig Party, 1 seat (0).

In view of the changed situation, which gave the first two parties a majority of about 100,000 in the 1,400,000 votes polled, the Madsen-Mygdal Cabinet resigned, and Mr. Th. Stauning, the leader of the Social Democrats, was entrusted with the forming of a new Government. When faced by a similar task in 1924 he had formed a purely Social Democratic Cabinet, but this time he somewhat unexpectedly elected to construct a Government on the basis of a coalition between the Social Democratic and the Radical Left parties, the leader of which, Dr. P. Munch, took the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Two more portfolios—the Ministry of Justice and the Home Office—were entrusted to members of the Radical Left, whilst the other six were taken over by Social Democrats. The Government formally took office on April 30.

Parliament did not meet till October, and the Government

used the interval to prepare a number of Bills, the most important of which were those that aimed at creating a new system of national defence. It was sought by these to give effect to the compromise which, under the former Stauning Cabinet, had been arrived at between the two parties now forming the Government, through a modification of the original Social Democratic Government proposal. Starting from the view that Denmark is unable to maintain an Army and a Navy that would be of real importance in a war, the new system made no pretence of dealing with problems of a really military character, and confined itself to providing for the patrolling of the frontier and the coasts that would be required of her in the event of a war between bigger Powers, and to meeting the obligations that rest upon Denmark as a member of the League of Nations. Thus the proposals, while not aiming at complete disarmament, certainly involved a radical reduction of the present military establishment, the Army being transformed into a militarily organised corps of guards to watch the frontier and the coasts, and the Navy being composed of small inspection ships, torpedo boats, submarines, and mine-layers, adapted to the character of the Danish waters. In such a scheme compulsory military service is not required. Instead, steps are to be taken to enrol adequate numbers by voluntary enlistment for military training.

These proposals were presented to the Lower House at the very beginning of the session and were there referred to a committee, which at the close of the year had not yet completed its deliberations. In the meantime, they had given rise to a lively discussion in the Press. One proposal of the Opposition was that, in view of the common interests of the Scandinavian countries affected by the military problem, joint Scandinavian discussions should be entered upon for the purpose of making clear what the problem involves for Scandinavia as a whole. The Government, however, rejected the idea as impracticable.

In the economic field, public attention and discussion were focussed on those items in the Government programme relating to the land question, and to State control of commercial enterprises having the character of a trust or a monopoly. For a great many years Denmark has with marked success pursued a land policy which has aimed at utilising the land owned by the Crown, and land that is in excess of the requirements of the biggest farms, for the establishment of small, independent farms. The outstanding feature of the present Government's proposals is that under certain circumstances they also permit the acquisition of land from medium-sized farms (50 hectares and more) for the establishment of small holdings, and that, instead of the customary form of possession, *viz.*, independent ownership, they suggest the introduction of a form of Crown copyhold, under which, however, the farmer is still left in a very independent position. The

Government's proposals relating to the control of concerns having the character of trusts or monopolies are based on the view that the protection formerly given to consumers by free competition has been eliminated to such an extent by the economic developments of the past few years, that the welfare of the community calls for the defence of these interests by means of suitable Government control. All these proposals met with keen opposition both in Parliament and in public debate outside it, and their fate was still doubtful at the end of the year.

In the course of the year Parliament ratified a large number of conventions and agreements set up under the auspices of the League of Nations. Denmark's foreign relations were uniformly friendly. There was still some friction between the Danish and German elements in the territory assigned to Denmark by the Treaty of Versailles, but it was of a much less acute character than formerly.

In the relations between Denmark and the independent Kingdom of Iceland (a Sovereign State united with Denmark in a personal union under King Christian X.) there was no change of importance during the year 1929. The proposal mooted in 1928 by a single Icelandic politician that the Union-Act of 1918, passed by both countries and establishing and limiting the union between them, should be brought up for revision prior to the date fixed by the Act (1940), was further ventilated, but the Government of Iceland has not—at any rate for the present—desired to take any steps in the matter, and the Danish Government naturally still less.

SWEDEN.

In contrast with 1928 the year 1929 was politically uneventful for Sweden, but it could still show some noteworthy results, particularly in the economic sphere. The Lindman-Trygger Moderate Conservative Government, which came into office at the beginning of October, 1928, after a short but, for Sweden, unusually vehement election campaign, succeeded rather unexpectedly in creating for itself a favourable atmosphere from the beginning in all political quarters by its general moderation, and in particular, by the measures which it took to promote industrial peace. The Mond Conference called together by Mr. Lübeck, the Minister for Social Affairs, a few weeks after the change of Ministry, had been warmly welcomed by all political parties. Mr. Lübeck pursued his work throughout 1929 with praiseworthy energy. The Industrial Peace Conference—the first of its kind in Sweden—decided finally to constitute a delegation which should be entrusted with the task of co-ordinating the various points of view, and of shaping them into definite proposals of reform. The delegation was constituted a few weeks later with five representa-

tives for the Government, five for the workmen, and five for the employers. After a series of meetings marked by complete harmony, it drew up its first report, which was presented to the Government at the end of September.

While the report did not contain any proposals of striking novelty, it was characterised by the whole of the Swedish Press, with the exception of the Communist organs, as a highly noteworthy document. In it the representatives of the Trade Unions' Organisation and of the Employers' Association, concurring entirely with the representatives of the Government, gave their unanimous and unconditional adhesion to the principle of industrial peace and co-operation.

These efforts for the maintenance of industrial peace may be regarded as the most interesting feature of the political year in Sweden in 1929. The Government's initiative in promoting them greatly enhanced its prestige, and it was therefore able to face with confidence its first Riksdag which in accordance with the Constitution met on January 10. The leaders of both the principal parties, the Social Democrats and the Liberals, smoothed the way for it by stating at the opening of the session their intention to work together with the Government loyally and to judge each case on its merit. Mr. P. A. Hansson, the Social Democratic leader, declared that the new Ministry from a parliamentary standpoint was more truly representative than its predecessor. He undertook that his party would not put difficulties in the way of the Government but would rather assist it, if it showed a desire to do things which in the view of Social Democracy would be of benefit to the country. The position of the Government was further improved by the fact that, thanks to the favourable economic and financial situation, it was able in its Budget to promise a considerable reduction of taxation—a promise which to a large degree it eventually fulfilled.

The excellent relations between the Government and the Parliament were not long maintained. Its difficulties became greater and greater as the session proceeded, and when the Riksdag approached its conclusion, a storm seemed to be impending. The session very nearly ended with a general Ministerial crisis, and one of the leading members of the Government, Mr. Wohlin, the Finance Minister, was actually forced to retire as the result of a so-called "Constitutional admonition," later emphasised by a vote of want of confidence, in which all the parties of the Opposition joined. Mr. Wohlin was reproached with having failed to deal promptly and effectively with certain disquieting reports which had arisen in connexion with the State Agricultural Bank, and which forced the State to take action to protect investors in the bank. As the Finance Minister did not resign in spite of the "Constitutional admonition," the leading representatives of all the parties of the Opposition—even those which

had not joined in the "admonition"—censured him in the most emphatic terms, and called for his immediate resignation with a view "to preserving the authority of the Riksdag as the decisive organ for expressing the political wishes of the country." The Finance Minister bowed to the will of the House, resigning in order not to involve the whole Government in inextricable difficulties. Another member of the Government, Mr. Malmberg, the Minister for Defence, was also subjected to a "Constitutional admonition" for having advocated a voluntary course of military training for schoolboys, but this admonition was not accompanied by criticisms calculated to lead to his resignation.

In addition to suffering these reverses, the Government failed to secure the approval of the Riksdag for several of its Bills. The Bill for increasing the tax on sugar to protect the home sugar industry was rejected. The same fate met the Bills for the re-organisation of the higher command of the national defence and for the organisation of higher education for girls.

In consequence of these defeats, the Government's position at the end of the session was less strong than at the beginning, so much so that the possibilities of a change of Ministry began to be actively canvassed. Stimulated by the example of co-operation set in the Labour world, political circles also made efforts to bring about such a combination of parties as would render possible a genuine majority Government.

In a series of political speeches delivered during the summer and autumn the party leaders discussed this problem. More or less explicit invitations were addressed, both from the Social Democratic side and from the Right, to the non-Socialist parties of the Left to take part in some way or other in such a combination. Mr. P. A. Hansson, the leader of the Social Democrats, was especially active in advocating this course. The leader of the Liberal Party, however, the former Prime Minister, Mr. Ekman, responded rather coldly to these invitations, though he did not entirely reject the possibility of co-operation with the Left. Within the ranks of the Social Democratic Party also, opinions were much divided as to the desirability and possibility of co-operation with the Liberals, and the chief organ of the party, *Social-Demokraten*, declared itself strongly opposed to such a plan. The question, however, lost some of its actuality during the closing weeks of the year, as in political circles less certainty was felt that the coming Riksdag would bring about the Government's resignation.

A more important problem for the moment was the unsatisfactory situation of agriculture. A lively discussion on the subject was carried on in the Press and on the platform during the latter half of the year, and a sharp controversy took place between free-traders and protectionists. The Government, meanwhile, gave no indication of its views, and did not state what measures

it proposed to bring forward in the Riksdag which was to meet at the beginning of 1930. It instituted, however, an exhaustive inquiry into the whole problem by means of a parliamentary commission. The proposals put forward by this body did not include any increase in import duties as protection for agriculture, but favoured instead State support for co-operation among agriculturists, together with measures for securing the full use of the Swedish wheat harvest for supplying flour to the home market. On the other hand, a series of public meetings of agriculturists and of deputations to the Government strongly urged an increase of import duties. The Government had not declared itself on these proposals by the end of the year.

In the field of foreign politics Sweden continued within the limits of her capacity to work for the cause of international peace. The Kellogg Pact and the General Acts of the League of Nations for the peaceful solution of disputes between nations were very warmly welcomed by Swedish public opinion, and it was, therefore, quite natural that the Riksdag, in accordance with the proposal of the Government, should decide unanimously on giving Sweden's adhesion to these international peace treaties. The adhesion to the General Acts was restricted, however, to those sections which provide for conciliation in disputes involving national interests and for arbitration or settlement in Court of judicial disputes. On the other hand, the Swedish authorities did not think that the time was ripe for giving adhesion to the section providing for arbitration in disputes involving national interests, as in such cases considerations of a political nature are decisive, and therefore they are not so suitable for compulsory arbitration. The Government and the Riksdag thought it desirable to continue as hitherto to investigate to what extent unrestricted arbitration agreements covering also disputes as to national interests might be concluded with various countries separately. If Sweden's adhesion to the General Acts was qualified by the exception of this section, it was on the other hand made independent of any kind of reservation. This was in complete accord with Sweden's settled policy of recent years, when concluding conciliation and arbitration treaties, to avoid every kind of reservation. In addition Sweden gave her adhesion without reservation to the so-called Optional Clause in the statute for the permanent International Arbitration Court.

In the work of the League of Nations the Swedish delegation supported the proposal originally put forward by Finland for the rendering of financial help to any country attacked, and submitted certain modifying clauses, which were accepted by the Assembly, for the Convention which was being drawn up, with the object of preventing misuse of the solidarity which the Convention imposes on States. The support of the Swedish delegation was given also to the proposal brought forward for a tariff

truce, while the delegation also urged strongly that something should at last be done in the matter of disarmament. The British proposal that the League Covenant should be brought into agreement with the Kellogg Pact was also supported by Sweden.

In respect to commercial policy Sweden is one of the countries which try to follow the recommendations given by the Economic World Congress of 1927. At the meeting of the Assembly of the League, however, in September, Mr. Trygger, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the course of the general discussion pointed out that it was very hard for Sweden to continue in this path, owing to the fact that so many countries in and out of Europe were far from following the recommendations and sometimes even adopted a trade policy in direct opposition to them. Unless a radical change were brought about in this respect there was danger lest the results already achieved might be thrown away, for countries which until now had sought to follow the recommendations loyally might be forced to change their policy unless the other countries made their actions correspond to their words, or in any case abstained from measures which stood in direct opposition to the principles to which they themselves had subscribed. Mr. Trygger could speak with a good conscience in this matter, as the year's Riksdag, acting in the spirit of the Economic World Conference, had set its face against all proposals for new tariffs or for increased tariffs. In fact it effected reductions in a number of existing tariffs, and further ratified the Convention of November 8, 1927, regarding the abolition of prohibitions and restrictions in the matter of imports and exports.

During the year Sweden's trade relations with Turkey and Persia were placed upon regular treaty basis through the signing of the commercial and shipping treaties with these countries; the commercial treaties negotiated during 1928 with Hungary and Columbia were ratified by the Riksdag; and a supplementary treaty to the commercial treaty with Germany was also signed. The friendly relations between Sweden and the Baltic States were strengthened in the course of the year by the visit which Mr. Zemgals, the Latvian President, paid to Stockholm at the end of May, and by the King of Sweden's visit to Reval and Riga a month later.

The exceptionally good economic conditions which marked the closing months of 1928 continued during 1929. There were no labour conflicts of any importance, the supply of capital was good, the sale of goods both at home and abroad increased considerably, and the resultant increase in production helped in no small measure to diminish the extent of unemployment, which already was inconsiderable. The export trade was particularly good. Great briskness prevailed in some of the leading wharves which were utilised to the utmost of their capacity.

The State's financial situation in 1929 again showed a substantial improvement. The Riksdag's Budget for the financial year 1929-30 balanced at 779·3 million kronor, as against 741·3 million for the previous year. Revenue amounted to 740·2 million kronor, as against expenditure of 689·3 million, and this although considerable reduction in taxation, amounting in all to 28,000,000 kronor, had been effected.

NORWAY.

The Storting was opened with the usual ceremonial on January 12. Mr. C. J. Hambro (Conservative) was elected President of the Storting, and Mr. Hornsrud (Labour), a former Premier, Vice-President. In the Lagting or Upper House, Mr. Thune (Farmers' Party) and Mr. Nygaardsvold (Labour) were elected President and Vice-President respectively. In the Odelsting or Lower House, Mr. Eiesland (Radical Left) was elected President, and Mr. Bergersen (Labour) Vice-President.

The King announced in the Speech from the Throne that Bills would be submitted to the Storting for signifying the adherence of Norway to the Kellogg Pact and to the general Act for the settlement of international disputes passed by the Assembly of the League of Nations. The Speech emphasised that the restoration of the State finances to a healthy condition was still one of the most important tasks of the Government. By the return to gold parity the work of economic reconstruction had been placed on a solid basis, and the outlook for the fishing, shipping, and export industries had become brighter. Unemployment was decreasing, the number of unemployed being 15 per cent. less than a year ago. The estimates for the financial year, July 1, 1929, to June 30, 1930, balanced at 366,500,000 kroner, a net reduction of 5,500,000 compared with the preceding Budget.

The debate in the Storting on the Speech from the Throne took place in the last days of January in an unusually calm atmosphere. Motions of no-confidence were brought forward by the Labour Parties, but were rejected by large majorities. The debate on the Budget, which took place some days later, also resulted in a victory for the Government. A proposal by the leader of the Farmers' Party, Mr. Mellbye, for a drastic reduction of the number of officials, was declared unacceptable by the Premier, Mr. Mowinkel, and was decisively defeated on a division, only 25 votes being cast in its favour. The leader of the so-called Liberal Left, Dr. Rolf Thommessen, caused a certain sensation by proposing a reduction of the estimates by four millions in order to lower the income tax by 10 per cent. His proposed reductions affected particularly the military estimates and the subventions for the support of agriculture. They failed to find a single supporter besides Mr. Thommessen himself. Another proposal by

the same representative requiring the Government to examine the possibility of a future reduction of the military estimates from 40,000,000 to 30,000,000 kroner was accepted by the Premier.

The outstanding event in March was the wedding of Crown Prince Olav and Princess Märtha of Sweden, which took place in the Church of Our Saviour at Oslo on March 21. Among the royal personages who attended the wedding were the Duke and Duchess of York, the Duke acting as the Crown Prince's best man. The marriage had, of course, no political significance, but the enthusiasm with which it was hailed by the Press and the public showed how entirely the old bitterness between Norway and Sweden had disappeared.

Jan Mayen Island in the Arctic was, by an Order in Council, placed under Norwegian sovereignty on May 8. The head of the meteorological station on the island was at the same time invested with police authority. The annexation had been unanimously decided upon at a secret sitting of the Storting on the previous day, the Government having presented a Bill for the purpose. This step is a natural consequence of the measures taken by the Norwegian Government in 1921 when the Norwegian meteorological station on the island was established. Norway has found it necessary to place the island under her sovereignty, as Norwegian Arctic interests can only be properly safeguarded by establishing a permanent police authority on the island. Jan Mayen, which is 34 miles long and 9 miles at its broadest, is situated between Greenland and Northern Norway, about 300 miles north of Iceland. In spite of its isolated position, the island has frequently been visited by seal hunters and whalers during the 300 years which have elapsed since its discovery in 1607.

Another addition to Norwegian territory was made in the Antarctic, the "Norvegia" Expedition annexing Peter I.'s Island on behalf of the Norwegian Government. The island was discovered by a Russian expedition in 1821 and re-discovered by the French explorer, Charcot, but nobody had previously been ashore. The island is nine nautical miles long. The "Norvegia" Expedition ascertained that neither the Thompson Island nor The Chimneys exists.

The Mowinckel Government in April suffered two defeats on questions of foreign policy. On April 19 the Storting quite unexpectedly and by a large majority refused the usual grant to cover the expenses of Norway's participation in the International Labour Conference at Geneva during the forthcoming financial year. The chief speaker against the grant was C. J. Hambro, who stated that his attitude was meant as a protest against the unsatisfactory composition of Norwegian delegations at previous Labour Conferences and also against the present leading officials of the International Labour Office. Some days later the Storting unanimously adopted the report of the Committee of Foreign

Relations on the adherence of Norway to the League of Nations general Act of peaceful settlement of international disputes, although this report differed from the Government's Bill on the subject by not including acceptance of Article 3 of the Act. The Premier, Mr. Mowinkel, strongly protested against the attitude taken up by the Storting on both these occasions.

By an extremely narrow majority the two Houses of the Storting in the beginning of June passed a Bill changing the name of Trondhjem to Nidaros, as from January 1, 1930. No decision of the Parliament for many years caused such indignation among the people most directly concerned. The municipal council of Trondhjem, by an overwhelming majority, with only one dissident, pronounced against the name of Nidaros, and a municipal plebiscite in which 80 per cent. of the electors took part also gave a practically unanimous declaration against the change, only a handful voting for Nidaros. After this manifestation of the will of the inhabitants of Trondhjem, the Government, although in favour of the change of name, did not think it advisable to proceed with the Bill, and recommended the postponement of the question. After long and heated debates, however, the Nidaros party carried their point in the Lagting as well as in the Odelsting. The changing of the name is a feature of the national movement which insists on abolishing all names reminiscent of foreign influence. Christiania was changed to Oslo five years ago. Fredrikshald has been changed to Halden, and Fredriksvern to Stavern. In these instances there was, however, very little opposition to the change, nobody denying the Danish origin of the former names. The case is quite different with the name of Trondhjem, which by some leading historians and philologists is considered even older than Nidaros, and at any rate is thoroughly Norwegian. A Trondhjem society was formed with the object of obtaining the repeal of the Nidaros law during the session of 1930. Innumerable meetings of protest were held not only in Trondhjem but also at Oslo and in other towns.

The uneventful session of the Storting came to an end on June 26. Mr. Mowinkel's Government, although commanding the support of only a fifth of the members of the legislature, maintained itself in office. In the concluding meeting of the session several speakers, representing the various Opposition parties, asserted that the many defeats suffered by the Government during the session had undermined its position. Mr. Mowinkel, on the contrary, contended that the position of the Government had been strengthened in the course of 1929. Being a minority Government, the present administration naturally was not able to carry measures of an exclusively party character. But the Government was, on the whole, satisfied with the reception its policy had met with in the Storting, particularly in financial questions. Its chief object was to restore the public

finances, and its efforts in this direction had been supported by a majority of the legislature. As long as this was the case, the Government would continue its work.

One of the most important decisions of the session was the ratification of the agreement by which the protracted conflict regarding the salaries of the State officials had been brought to an end. The Town Court of Oslo at the beginning of the year gave judgment in favour of the officials, and pronounced illegal the 10 per cent. reduction of the salaries which took effect on January 1, 1928. The Government did not appeal against this judgment to the Supreme Court, but opened negotiations with the various organisations of the officials. The result was an agreement by which the officials assented to a 10 per cent. reduction of their salaries as from July 1, 1929, on condition of receiving compensation to the total amount of 18,000,000 kroner, for the reduction during 1928 and the first six months of 1929. The Government at the same time pledged itself not to effect any further reduction of the salaries before January 1, 1935, and subsequently only in the case of a corresponding decrease in the cost of living.

The Norwegian delegation, headed by the Premier, Mr. Mowinckel, as usual took a very active part in the League of Nations' Assembly in September. The delegation made itself the mouthpiece of the smaller nations who desired that the projected bank of international settlement should be directly under the control of the League of Nations. Mr. Mowinckel made a speech supporting this view.

Treaties of Arbitration were during the year concluded with Spain, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

FINLAND.

Dr. Sunilia's Agrarian Cabinet having resigned on September 13, 1928 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 219), a new Cabinet was formed on December 22, with Dr. Oskar Mantere, a moderate Progressive, as Prime Minister. The new Ministry commanded only 44 votes in a House of 200, but being strong in administrative ability, it was thought to have a good chance of maintaining itself. Very soon, however, it found itself in serious difficulty. In April the Diet rejected by a large majority a Bill which it had brought forward for increasing the salaries of public servants. This was a matter of great importance, as the Civil Service was threatening to strike if salaries were not increased. Accordingly President Relander dissolved the Diet. A General Election was held on July 1 and 2, and on an exceedingly small poll the Agrarians gained eight seats at the expense of the Progressives. Soon after (August 2) the Government resigned. On August 16 a new Government, predominantly Agrarian, was formed by Mr.

Kallio, who had been Premier of the Agrarian Government in 1924.

The Diet met for the new Session on September 16. The Government lost no time in bringing forward a new Bill dealing with the salaries of Civil Servants. As the proposed increases in salary represented only one-seventh of what the Civil Servants demanded as a minimum, and as, further, working hours were to be extended under the Bill by 25 per cent., the discontent in the Civil Service was not allayed. In an official report presented in September it had been stated that for some time competent officials had been leaving the Civil Service to take up business posts, and there was a great lack of adequately qualified candidates for appointments, particularly in the most important posts. The report pointed out that this state of affairs was bound to produce inefficiency, and that the settlement of the salaries problem was therefore a matter of extreme urgency.

Another problem which caused the Government equal difficulty was the enforcement of the Prohibition Law. The police showed themselves quite powerless to put down the law-breakers ; in fact, they were accused of abetting them. General Jalander, the Governor of the Province of Nyland, in which the capital is situated, stated in the Press that the law was incapable of enforcement, and that it was responsible for an appalling increase in hooliganism and general corruption in the country. On November 15 the Council of Justice appealed to the High Court to recommend the repeal of prohibition to the State Council, but the Court refused. At the end of the year the Speaker of the Diet, Dr. Virkkunen, suggested that a national referendum should be held on the subject.

Determined efforts were made in 1929 to check the spread of Communist influence in Finland. At a Convention of 178 representatives of the Social Democratic Trade Unions at the end of September, it was decided to organise the whole country in a federation which should affiliate to the Amsterdam International. In December deputations of citizens were sent to Helsingfors to impress on the President and the Government the urgent need of taking steps to counteract Communist propaganda. In response, the Government introduced a Bill dealing with the matter which it made a question of confidence. The Bill was strongly criticised by the Socialists and Communists for what they called its "reactionary" clauses, but eventually it was carried on December 17, with a few amendments, by 89 votes to 80.

In asking the Diet on February 8 to ratify the Kellogg Pact, the Foreign Minister stated that from the very start the Pact had been welcomed by the Government, as it was in line with the peaceful nature of the nation's policy. Referring to the pacific agreement between Russia and some of her neighbours known as the Litvinoff Protocol, the Minister said that in principle the

Government regarded with sympathy any effort making for the maintenance of peace in Northern Europe, but they did not consider themselves called upon to take up a definite attitude to the question, as Finland had not been officially invited to sign the Protocol.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST: PERSIA—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ—PALESTINE— SYRIA—ARABIA.

PERSIA.

At the beginning of the year the British authorities in the island of Bahrein, in the Persian Gulf, announced that henceforward Persians would not be allowed to enter Bahrein without a passport, like any other foreigners. Hitherto they had merely required permits for travelling from one Persian port to another. On January 5 M. Pakrevan, the Persian Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Sir R. Clive, the British Minister in Teheran, a strong letter of protest, in which he reiterated Persia's claim to the island of Bahrein. He also sent a copy of the letter to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to be circulated among the members. On February 18 a British reply was sent both to this letter and to the Persian Note of August 2, 1928. It went over the same ground as Sir A. Chamberlain's Note of January 18, 1928 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 221), disproving in even greater detail Persia's right to the island and declining emphatically to recognise its present claim.

Another step taken by England at this time led indirectly to the termination of the long-standing friction between Persia and Iraq. Persia had hitherto refused to acknowledge Iraq, mainly because citizens of Great Britain and certain other Powers enjoyed privileges in Iraq which were denied to Persians. At the beginning of the year Britain applied to the League of Nations for approval of the termination of the Anglo-Iraqi Judicial Agreement. The Persian Government took this as a sign that the capitulatory regime in Iraq, and with it the discrimination against Persians, would soon be abolished, and accordingly intimated its readiness to recognise Iraq. In token of the more friendly feeling thus created between the two countries, the Iraq Government in April sent a delegation to Teheran, headed by Rustum Beg Haidar, King Feisal's private secretary, with a message of good wishes on the occasion of the celebration of the third anniversary of the Shah's coronation. The delegates received a most cordial welcome, and at a luncheon given in their honour on April 25, the

Prime Minister, Mehdigholi Khan Hadayat, the Mokhbar-es-Soltaneh, announced that he had sent a telegram to Baghdad informing the Iraqui Government of its formal recognition by Persia. Diplomatic representatives were soon after appointed by both countries.

In the course of the year friendly agreements were concluded by Persia with several other States. Early in January a Treaty of Friendship with Latvia was signed at Riga by the Persian Envoy to Moscow. On February 17 a treaty for five years was signed with Germany, stipulating most-favoured-nation treatment and equality of rights, and providing for the submission of disputes to arbitration. In April an agreement was made with Turkey for setting up a commission to deal with frontier incidents. A permanent Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, Customs, and Navigation with Belgium was signed at Teheran on April 12. In August a diplomatic mission came from the Hedjaz to secure Persian recognition, which was readily granted. On September 5 a permanent Treaty of Friendship with Italy was signed at Teheran.

On May 2 the employees of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company at Abadan, at the instigation of Bolshevik agitators, ceased work and created disturbances. The Persian authorities, fearing that a plot was on foot to stir up revolt in Southern Persia, took energetic measures to prevent the trouble from spreading further. Forty-five ringleaders were arrested, and troops were rushed to the spot. As a result of these steps, normal conditions were soon restored.

In the middle of April the Baharlu tribe, east of Shiraz, became refractory, and from them the trouble soon spread to the Kashgai tribe, west of Shiraz. On May 3 Ali Khan, the acting Chief of the Kashgais, met the Governor-General and presented to him the demands of the united tribes for the reduction of taxation and its collection through the chiefs, the abolition of the military governorships, the suspension of the disarming of the tribesmen, and the abolition of conscription and European dress. He also demanded the release of the real Chief of the Kashgais, the Sovlet-ed-Dowleh, and his two sons. The Government temporised, and concentrated troops in the Shiraz district. The tribes meanwhile took the offensive, and for a time cut off Shiraz from Ispahan on the north and Bushire on the west. During the whole of June the insurgents were practically in command of the province of Fars, and the Government troops were able to make very little headway against them.

On June 29 a fortnight's truce was declared, and negotiations were reopened. Soon after the Sovlet-ed-Dowleh was received in audience by the Shah in Teheran. The Kashgais thereupon desisted from active operations. Towards the end of September the Shah consented to the appointment of Malik Mansur Khan, son

of the Sovlet-ed-Dowleh, as their Ilkhani. In the meantime the Baharlu tribe had continued fighting, and the Bakhtiaris also rose in revolt in the neighbourhood of Ispahan. A good deal of fighting took place between the Government troops and the Bakhtiaris in July; they were finally pacified by the appointment of new tribal chiefs early in August. Soon after the Khanseh tribes in the province of Fars submitted, and by the end of August order had been restored throughout Southern Persia.

In connexion with the rising in Fars, suspicion of treasonable conduct fell on a number of high officials, and on June 18 Prince Firuz Mirza, the Nusret-ed-Dowleh, Minister of Finance, Prince Akbar Mirza, late Governor-General of Fars, and General Fazlullah Khan, Commandant-in-Chief of the Gendarmerie, were arrested. In a few weeks the last-named was released and restored to his rank and honours, no charge having been proved against him. In September Prince Firuz Mirza was also released, but he was not reinstated in office. Grave financial irregularities had taken place while he was Minister, and in July several officials were suspended or dismissed. In September a Government Commission found a deficit of some 4,600 tons of wheat in the public granaries of Teheran.

On May 2 a large area near the Perso-Soviet frontier, in the province of Khorasan, was shaken by a terrible earthquake, which opened a fissure twenty-four miles long and nine feet wide. According to the official report, 3,253 persons were killed and 1,121 injured, while eighty-eight villages were destroyed. On May 9 the Mejliss voted 25,000 tomans (5,000*l.*) for relief. The same district was visited by another shock, which fortunately caused little damage, in July. At the same time disastrous floods took place in Tabriz, causing great loss of life and damage to property. Towards the end of the year the Shah visited Tabriz in the course of a tour in Northern Persia, and after inspecting the parts of the city which had been most damaged, ordered the early construction of barrages for the future protection of the town. He also gave 1,000*l.* for the relief of the sufferers.

In January the Mejliss voted an advance of 600,000*l.* to the syndicates which had been entrusted with the construction of the Trans-Persian railway, for the purchase of materials. The German syndicate in charge of the northern section had completed a stretch of 65 miles, from Sari to Bandarshah, the new port on the Caspian, by the time the Shah started on his northern tour, and it was inspected and formally opened by him on November 10.

AFGHANISTAN.

When the year opened, King Amanullah was still retaining a precarious hold upon the throne at Kabul. He was in danger from two sides. On the east the Shinwari and other tribes were at

Jalalabad debating whether to advance on Kabul or not. For the moment they were parleying with the king's brother-in-law and Minister, Ali Ahmad Jan, whose forces, however, were quite insufficient to keep them in check. From the north, Kabul was threatened by the brigand Bacha-i-Saquao and his army, who had almost succeeded in capturing the city before Christmas. Though beaten off they were still encamped in force about twenty miles away.

King Amanullah took appropriate steps to combat both dangers. In order to placate the Shinwaris he issued on January 7 a proclamation cancelling most of his reforms, such as the education of women, and the introduction of conscription and European dress, and also promised to appoint a council, including clergy, nobles, and officials, which should assist him in revising the law, and in reviewing the decisions of the popular assembly. To secure himself against Bacha-i-Saquao he sought to confirm the loyalty of his troops by giving them two months pay and increasing the pay of his bodyguard.

These efforts were now too late to save him. It is true that when Bacha-i-Saquao resumed the offensive on January 9 Amanullah was able, with the help of Russian airmen, to ward off his attacks. But the Shinwaris clamoured for further concessions, and in fact seemed determined upon his dethronement. Feeling himself powerless to resist them, Amanullah, on January 14, abdicated in favour of his elder brother, Inayatullah Khan, who for the previous ten years had lived a private life. Soon after he succeeded in making his way to Kandahar, where the tribesmen were still loyal to his house, and whither he had sent his queen Souriyah some time before.

The change of monarchs only hastened the fall of the dynasty. Bacha-i-Saquao continued to press his attack on Kabul and by January 17 succeeded in gaining possession of the city. Inayatullah immediately abdicated, after a reign of three days, and Bacha-i-Saquao declared himself Amir, with the name of Habibullah Ghazi. Inayatullah was allowed to retire in safety with the members of his household, being conveyed, with them, by British aeroplanes to Peshawar, and he soon after joined his brother in Kandahar.

Not many days passed before Amanullah in Kandahar, under pressure from the tribesmen, formally rescinded his abdication and again proclaimed himself king. At the same time a force favourable to him began to concentrate at Ghazni, between Kandahar and Kabul. The tribes in the eastern part of the country also showed no disposition to acknowledge Habibullah, partly because they looked upon him with suspicion as being a Tajik (Persian) and not a true Pathan, partly because they preferred to be independent. Thus the new Amir's authority extended to only a comparatively small part of the country, comprising chiefly Kabul and the

district north of it, where his own tribesmen resided. He himself being illiterate, had no sympathy with the reforms of Amanullah, and restored the old regime in Kabul.

Up to this point foreigners in Kabul had not been molested, nor was there now any sign of an anti-foreign movement there. Nevertheless, the Indian Government, mistrusting the ability of the new ruler to keep order, decided at the end of January to advise all British subjects to leave the city, and to place aeroplanes at their disposal for doing so. The work of evacuation commenced early in February, and went on throughout the greater part of the month. Besides British subjects—mostly Indians—a large number of Turks and members of other nationalities were brought to Peshawar by the British aeroplanes. The evacuation was completed with the departure of Sir Francis Humphrys, the British Minister, and the last members of his staff on February 25. Within two months the British aeroplanes had brought from Kabul to Peshawar some 600 people in seventy-two flights, without casualties and almost without mishaps—a wonderful achievement considering the height of the mountain ranges which had to be crossed and the intense cold. After the departure of Sir F. Humphrys, the only diplomatists left in Kabul were the Russian and Turkish Ambassadors, and the Persian and German *Chargés d’Affaires*.

When Habibullah entered Kabul, Ahmad Ali Jan declared himself Amir at Jalalabad. The Shinwari and other tribes of the neighbourhood were no more disposed to accept his rule than that of Amanullah, and early in February they inflicted a severe defeat on him at Jagdalak. At about the same time tribesmen entered and plundered Jalalabad. A powder magazine was blown up in the course of the plundering, killing hundreds of people, and the town was reduced nearly to ruins. The tribes which had supported Ahmad Ali now offered their allegiance to the Amir of Kabul, but the rest remained independent, and commenced to quarrel with one another. Ahmad Ali made his way to Kandahar, where he was first imprisoned by Amanullah but afterwards released.

The disruption of the country and its gradual relapse into anarchy were watched with deep concern by those who had its interests at heart,—by none with deeper concern than Shah Nadir Khan, a member of the royal house, who at the time of Amanullah's overthrow was living in retirement in the Riviera. Born in 1880, Nadir Khan had been Minister of War in 1919, and had won for himself a position of unique influence among the tribes. In 1925, not being able to agree with King Amanullah, he had gone as Afghan Minister to France, but after holding that post for two years he had resigned and gone to live in the Riviera for the benefit of his health. He now determined to return to his native land, ostensibly to look after the interests of his relatives there, but really to see whether he could do anything to restore peace and unity to the country. He reached Peshawar on February 25

—the same day as Sir Francis Humphrys—and on March 6, in company with one of his brothers, the Sirdar Shah Wali Khan, crossed the frontier. Habibullah had made preparations for receiving him at Kabul, but instead of proceeding thither he joined another brother of his, the Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan, at Khost. Habibullah thereupon ordered his house to be looted and imprisoned some members of his family in Kabul.

Nadir did not attach himself to any of the rival Amirs, but sought to bring about the convocation of a *jirgha* (tribal assembly) which should proclaim an Amir of the whole country. At the same time he tried to induce Habibullah to submit his claims to such a *jirgha*. He wrote him a letter telling him that he had made a mistake in declaring himself king, as he had no qualifications for such a position, and inviting him to call a conference for the purpose of selecting a ruler, adding that, if he refused to co-operate, he (Nadir Khan) would use his influence with the tribesmen against him. Shortly afterwards, Nadir sent another letter to Habibullah couched in most conciliatory terms, and assuring him that if he abdicated in favour of Amanullah, or any other member of the Royal Family, he would receive a full and honourable pardon. These overtures produced no effect.

During February and March Habibullah was engaged in military operations with the Tagari and Wardak tribes immediately south of Kabul. He succeeded in defeating or pacifying them, and thus cleared a way for himself to Ghazni, where the Malik Ghaus-ed-Din, of the Ahmedzai Ghilzais, had proclaimed himself Amir. During this time Amanullah had been inactive at Kandahar, though his agents were busy trying to win for him adherents in Eastern Afghanistan, without success, as it proved. He showed little confidence in himself and at one time seriously thought of withdrawing to Herat, and only desisted in deference to the protests of the townsmen of Kandahar, who pointed out that such a step would involve them in heavy loss. At length, early in April, his forces moved northward and reached Mukur without opposition. Habibullah meanwhile had marched south from Kabul, and on April 19 met Amanullah's troops south of Ghazni, and with the help of the Ghilzais decisively defeated them. Amanullah for a time made a stand at Mukur, but owing to the hostility of the tribesmen was forced to retire from there on May 14. He then gave up the struggle as hopeless, and on May 23 left Afghanistan in company with his brother Inayatullah.

During this period fortune was equally favourable to the cause of Habibullah in other quarters. In the north, on the frontier of Russian Turkestan, Amanullah's standard had been raised by the Sirdar Ali Ghulam Nabi Khan, who had formerly been his Minister in Moscow. Habibullah's cause was espoused in the same quarter by Said Hussein, who kept Ghulam in check and finally drove him across the Russian frontier at the end of June. On May 4 the

Sirdar Abdur Rahim Khan occupied Herat, in the west of the country, in the name of the Amir of Kabul. On May 9 Nadir Khan, having raised a force in the Khost district, started an advance on Kabul, but he was met by a Kabuli force at Baraki in the Logar valley, and defeated, chiefly through the treachery of his ally, the Amir of Ghazni. At the end of May Habibullah's troops occupied Kandahar without opposition, and captured the Amir Ahmad Ali, who was sent to Kabul as a prisoner and executed there in July.

After his defeat, Nadir Khan was left utterly without resources ; nevertheless he remained Habibullah's most formidable opponent on account of his influence with the tribes and the loyal co-operation of his brothers. Habibullah now tried to conciliate him and proposed a conference. Nadir Khan stipulated that he should first resign the throne, but to this he would not consent. On June 16 Nadir Khan succeeded in obtaining the support of an important *jirgha* of tribes convened by the Hazrat Sahib of Shor Bazar, an influential religious leader, at Shishrak, not far from Gardez. Meanwhile Habibullah had assumed the offensive, and sent a force into the Logar valley to seize Gardez, which Nadir Khan had occupied in March. Its first attempt on the place, on June 13, was frustrated by the tribesmen, but a second attempt, made a few days later (June 25), was successful. Further advance was, however, barred to the Amir's troops by the hostility of the tribesmen.

During the next couple of months there was an active competition in propaganda between the Amir on one side and Nadir Khan and his brothers on the other, for the purpose of gaining over the tribes. Gradually Nadir Khan won the day. Already in the middle of July he was able to launch a small offensive, which, however, met with no success. On August 22 his forces made a determined attack on Gardez, and eventually recaptured it, but were unable to retain it. The Amir had just made his peace with the Hazaras, on the west of Kabul, who had long been a thorn in his side, and was thus able to spare more men for the campaign against Nadir Khan, and so to neutralise his success. Early in September the Durani tribe drove his governor and garrison out of the town of Kandahar. From a military point of view this loss was not of great consequence, but it cut off Kabul from one of its great sources of food supply, and caused the price of bread to rise there seriously.

On September 15 the forces of Habibullah, under his brother Hamidullah, again showed their superiority in the field by inflicting a decisive defeat at Gandamak, near Jalalabad, on Mahmud Hashim Khan, a brother of Nadir Khan, who had collected a *lashkar* among the tribes of Eastern Afghanistan. This success, however, availed the Amir but little. The constant fighting of the last four months had exhausted his resources, and his failure to open communications with India had prevented him from replen-

ishing them. Nadir Khan, on the other hand, had strengthened his influence with the tribes, and at the beginning of October his army, under the command of his brother, Shah Wali Khan, was in a position to commence an advance on Kabul through the Logar valley. The Amir's troops met them outside Kabul on October 6 and suffered a decisive defeat, after which his resistance rapidly collapsed. Shah Wali Khan was at the gates of Kabul on October 8, and two days later was in possession of the city. The Amir held out a few days longer in the Arq (citadel), but this also was captured by bombardment on October 13.

On October 17 Nadir Khan made his formal entry into the city, and called an assembly of chiefs and notables to thank them for their support. The spokesmen of the tribes begged him to accept the crown. He at first declined on the ground of ill-health, but as the whole assembly continued to insist, he at length consented. Most of the provinces within a short time declared their acceptance of his rule.

Habibullah escaped from Kabul into the district of his own tribesmen, the Koh-i-danis, in the north. He was unable, however, to rally a force to his support, and was in a few days captured along with a number of his chief officials and brought to Kabul. On the demand of the Hazaras and other tribes hostile to Habibullah, they were all executed on November 2.

The new Amir's first steps were to form a Ministry and enrol troops for a regular army. On October 19 he sent a message to Europe through a newspaper correspondent that he hoped to lead Afghanistan along the path of progress and to make it an independent and civilised State, to reopen the schools, and to build up roads, railways, and industries. He was anxious to create bonds of friendship with all nations, especially with France, which he regarded with peculiar affection. At the end of November he issued a proclamation summing up his policy in ten points which included the maintenance of Islamic law as the basis of administration, the total prohibition of alcoholic liquor, the establishment of a military school and an arsenal for manufacturing modern arms, the continuance of King Amanullah's relations with foreign Powers, a progressive educational policy, and the continuance of the old Council of State.

During the early part of the year, Great Britain was loudly accused in the Russian and German Press of fomenting civil strife in Afghanistan. The charge, which was not supported by any evidence, was officially denied, and the Indian Government took stringent measures to prevent the border tribes from taking part in the Afghan fighting. In the spring the Soviet Government suspected Persia of a design to annex part of the Herat province, and issued to it a peremptory warning to desist. The fighting in the north led to some incursions into Soviet territory, which gave rise to preventive measures, but no armed intervention.

IRAQ.

The relations between Great Britain and Iraq monopolised much of the attention of Iraqi statesmen during the earlier half of the year 1929. The arrival at Baghdad of a new High Commissioner, Sir Gilbert Clayton, in February, gave an opportunity for a reconsideration of all the problems that concerned the two Governments. Still earlier in the year, however, the difficulty of reconciling the British Government's views upon the military and financial agreements subsidiary to the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty with those of the Iraqi Nationalists had led to a crisis, and when Sir Gilbert Clayton arrived he found the country without a Cabinet. The Iraq Government with the people behind it, as it claimed, felt the need for greater responsibility in carrying out the military agreement, and urged this upon the High Commissioner, especially in the matter of Iraq defence. The Prime Minister had pointed out to Sir Henry Dobbs that the defence proposals of the British Government failed to take into account the responsibility imposed upon King Feisul's Government by the existing agreement, and he had urged that Iraq should at least be given an opportunity to show that it could fulfil its obligations. The real cause of the trouble was Iraq's desire to see full independence and membership of the League of Nations granted to her at a much earlier date than the British authorities contemplated, believing that her military strength was not yet sufficient to maintain such independence. The Government held the view that this strength was sufficient, although it did not have the whole people behind it in this view.

It was not possible to form a new Cabinet until April when although the retiring Prime Minister, Abdul Muhsin Beg es Sa'dun, did not appear in it, its political complexion was not very different from that of its predecessor. The new Prime Minister was Taufiq Beg Suwaidi. The principal change was at the Ministry of War, where the new Minister, differing in that respect from his predecessor, was a definite opponent of conscription. In the programme put by the new Government before Parliament a drastic reform of the Army held a prominent place. The new Government did not, however, last long. It soon fell from favour, and by August was out of office, and the Prime Minister who had resigned at the beginning of the year back again at the head of affairs. Simultaneously with this event occurred the most momentous political incident of the year. The announcement was made that the British Government proposed to recommend to the Council of the League of Nations the unconditional admission of Iraq to the League in 1932. Such admission would of course carry with it unqualified independence for the Iraqi State. The intimation of the decision took the form of an Iraqi Government communiqué:—

"Following the suspension last winter of negotiations between the Iraq and British Governments for the revision of the financial and military agreements, the Iraq Government considered it advisable to direct attention to another means whereby the country's aspirations might be realised—namely, the termination of the operation of the existing treaties by the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations.

"Accordingly the Iraq Government discussed the matter with the late Sir Gilbert Clayton, who expressed his willingness to support Iraq's point of view, and to address the British Government on the subject with all possible expedition. When the Labour Cabinet came into office, Sir Gilbert Clayton proceeded to impress them with the necessity of an early decision on the Iraqi proposals. A reply has now been received from the British Government in the following terms :—

"First, Great Britain is prepared to support Iraq's candidature for admission to the League in 1932; secondly, Great Britain will inform the Council of the League at its next session of Great Britain's decision not to proceed with the Treaty of 1927; thirdly, Great Britain will inform the Council of the League of Nations at its next session in January, that in accordance with Article 3 of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1926, it proposes to recommend Iraq for admission to the League in 1932."

This decision was in accordance with the recommendations of Sir Gilbert Clayton who, to the universal regret, died suddenly while the despatch was on its way. (See under Obituaries.) He was succeeded by Sir Francis Humphrys, until recently British Minister at Kabul.

After two months in office, the Prime Minister, Sir Abdül Muhsin Beg es Sa'dun, suddenly committed suicide. Apart from a new Prime Minister, Naji Beg es Suwaidi, and one new member, the Cabinet remained unchanged. The change of Government meant no change of policy. The new Government, like its predecessor, welcomed the recent announcement of the British Government, and that latter Government was able to announce before Sir Francis Humphrys left London that the effect of its communication upon the internal political situation in Iraq was immediate. Distrust and suspicion gave place to mutual confidence and good-will, and, whereas previously no Ministry could be found to take office, a strong and responsible Government had been formed embracing representatives of the two principal political parties in Iraq, and anxious to co-operate with His Majesty's Government in the solution of outstanding questions before 1932.

Clearly a new treaty would be required to regulate the relations of Great Britain with Iraq after that State had become a member of the League of Nations, and the necessary steps would be taken to prepare a draft treaty for that purpose framed upon liberal lines and based generally upon the recent proposals for an Anglo-Egyptian settlement.

Earlier in the year the relations between Iraq and Persia were regularised. The King of Iraq sent a representative to the Shah, and while he was at Teheran the Persian Government intimated to that at Baghdad its formal recognition, and Ministers were shortly afterwards exchanged.

PALESTINE.

The year 1929 was completely filled with agitation and controversies between Moslems and Jews which culminated in a fierce Anti-Jewish outbreak at the end of August with much bloodshed and looting and destruction of property. The immediate cause was a dispute about the Wailing Wall, the last remnant of Herod's Temple, which is also part of the external wall of the Mosque enclosure. The Wailing Wall is perhaps the principal of the Jewish holy places. The Mosque is the third holiest place in Islam. For centuries Jews have been accustomed to assemble at the Wailing Wall for prayer, and so long as they limited themselves to religious exercises there had never been any interference with them. Not only the Wall but also its surroundings and the pavement which formed the *cul de sac* itself is Moslem ecclesiastical property. During Turkish times there was never any fear of political designs on the part of the Jews, and the Wall was never therefore a centre of controversy. The religious Jews who congregated there could arouse no fears. But more recently the atmosphere altered, and the slightest change on the part of the Jews from the *status quo* aroused the vehement protests of the Moslems who always, sincerely or insincerely, held the view that the ulterior design of the Jews was to seize the Mosque and re-establish the Temple there. Under the Treaty of Lausanne the interests of all religious communities in their holy sites were safeguarded, and the function of the Mandatory Power was to see that the *status quo* was preserved in respect of all of them.

The first incident had occurred on the previous Day of Atonement (in 1928), when an attempt by the Jews to secure a small privilege to which they were not legally entitled and to which the Moslems objected, was frustrated by the police. This step on the part of the Jews was followed up by the Moslems who made new claims and pressed them with emphasis. They commenced building operations, including the opening of a passage from the Mosque enclosure to the approach to the wall. Jewish protests followed, and the work was stopped by the Government while the matter was referred to London. The Law Officers of the Crown there decided that the works were not an infringement of the *status quo* and they were then allowed to proceed. This decision aroused the deep and vehemently expressed protests of the more vocal part of the Jewish population.

The feeling of resentment which was undoubtedly to some extent spontaneous was carefully cultivated by agitators in the Press and elsewhere, and the counter action of the Moslems by no means tended to alleviate the excitement. The culmination was reached at the end of August, 1929. On the Jewish Fast of Av, a party of young Jews and Jewesses—followers of Mr. Jabotinsky the Revisionist-Zionist leader—came up to Jerusalem to present

resolutions of protest to the Government. They then proceeded to the Wailing Wall in procession. The Government hesitated, for it was notorious that this was no religious proceeding, but felt that it could not properly prohibit the access of any Jews to the Jewish Holy Place. It did not reckon, however, that this procession would, on arrival at the Wall, hold an anti-Arab demonstration, with loud demands for the ownership of the Wall and the taking of an oath to defend it at all costs. The result among an ignorant superstitious Oriental population may be imagined. If this manifestation were not sufficient in itself, there were probably not wanting professional agitators who made the most of the opportunity that was given them. The news soon spread through Palestine Islam that the long threatened attempt of the Jews to seize the Mosque had commenced. The following day (August 16) was an important Moslem festival which brought Moslems into Jerusalem from all the surrounding villages. A mob of these invaded the Wailing Wall precincts, but finding only one man there, who was removed without injury, satisfied itself with overturning a table and burning whatever papers it could find. However, by now the whole of Jerusalem was seething. The funeral of a Jew who had been killed in a brawl with an Arab gave an opportunity to hold a Jewish manifestation; this increased the tension, although an attempt to break through the police cordon and enter the city with its innumerable narrow alleys and passages was frustrated. The following Friday (August 23), however, the situation boiled over. An unduly large number of Arabs came into Jerusalem for the customary Friday services, and these, on leaving the Mosque, poured forth armed with knives and sticks and attacked every Jewish passer-by. It was not long before the villagers around Jerusalem rose and attacked the outlying Jewish suburbs, in some instances with rifles. In the succeeding few days (August 24 to 29) there were anti-Jewish risings at Hebron, where a universal massacre was prevented by the heroism of the young English police officer stationed there, at Mozah—a small long established settlement near Jerusalem, at Jaffa, Haifa, Safed, and in a number of the smaller outlying Jewish settlements. The news, of course, spread rapidly throughout the country, and wherever it reached it caused intense excitement among Moslems and Jews. The Moslem cities of Nablus, Tulkarem, and Beersheba were kept quiet, although the handful of British officials there had a very anxious time. In Gaza, which is almost entirely Moslem, there was also no active movement. Tiberias, largely Jewish, remained at peace, as did all of the principal Jewish settlements in Galilee, Esdraelon, Samaria, and the Plain of Sharon.

The British forces in Palestine had been reduced under Lord Plumer's regime to less than 400 men, Air Force and British Police, a force quite inadequate to cope with trouble over so large an area. A Special Police Force consisting of practically all Englishmen in

Palestine, visitors as well as residents, was enrolled, and made heroic efforts to cope with the trouble. The native police, for the most part Arab, seemed paralysed with fear and to a large extent adopted a passive attitude, and abstained from doing their duty. Troops and warships were hastily summoned, and the first of them arrived on the day after the first outbreak (August 24). With their arrival the rising was soon suppressed, and within a few days, apart from the feeling of panic on the part of the people which persisted for months, the number of troops and armed police to be seen in the streets, and an obstinate and long persisting trade boycott of Arabs and Jews mutually, the situation had become normal. The casualties numbered 120 Jews killed, more than half of them at Hebron, where the slaughter took the form of a massacre of old and young—men, women, and children; about 180 Moslems, for the most part at the hands of the troops and the police, and four Christians, including two British officials, one killed while acting as a special constable. There was a much larger number of wounded. Very much Jewish property, which had been looted, was discovered in the searches in the neighbouring villages immediately undertaken, and a very large number of arrests made. Many convictions, in some instances for deliberate murder, were obtained.

This was the third anti-Jewish outbreak in Palestine since the end of the war. The first two were avowedly anti-Zionist, and although some of the Jewish religious population suffered, the object of the attacks was undoubtedly the new Jewish immigrants and their supporters. The latest outbreak was of a different character. It was a Moslem-Jewish war in which all Jews were objects of attack, those of Hebron and Safed who had never had any serious differences with their neighbours, equally with those of Talpith and Haifa who were all more or less Zionists. On this occasion also the Christians stood apart; those who were killed and injured suffered by accident.

The aftermath of these events was in some respects more serious than the events themselves. During the last few years the proximity of the two races in Palestine, the everyday contacts of members of both of them in innumerable spheres, the gradual development of moderate parties among both the Arabs and the Jews, the realisation that each was dependent on the other and the welfare of Palestine as a whole on both of them, and the influence of an impartial British Government were noticeably creating a *rapprochement* between the two peoples. The events of August, however, destroyed all the good work. An estrangement that overwhelmed all onlookers who remembered the conditions of one, five, ten, twenty years ago, supervened. What had at first appeared a religious movement quickly became political as well. Christian Arab, at first a neutral, moved to the side of his Moslem fellows. A chasm opened between Palestinian Jew and

Palestinian Arab. For the time being all divisions of party among the Arabs, Christians as well as Moslems, were obliterated. A foolish boycott, originated by the Jews, was taken up by the Arabs with avidity, and Jewish commerce and industry were sorely stricken. The boycott and anti-Jewish movement spread throughout Moslem Western Asia, and those newly-created Jewish industries that depended on exports to Syria, Transjordan, and Iraq found their existence jeopardised. A Commission under Sir Walter Shaw, appointed by the Colonial Office to investigate the causes of the outbreak, arrived in Palestine at the end of October, and spent two months in hearing evidence. The Arabs of Palestine showed their unanimity by two one-day general strikes, on which occasions practically all activity was suspended, at any rate in the towns. The one was called to protest against the conviction and sentence of Arab rioters charged with murder and to demand the dismissal of the Attorney-General, an English Jew, whom they held responsible for the sentences, and against temporary regulations regarding access to the Wailing Wall which had been issued by the Government pending the clear definition of the rights of the two parties to be made by an authoritative body to be appointed. The other took place on the 2nd of November, the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, when every Arab to be seen was in mourning, every Jew kept to his house in fear, and every Englishman, soldier, and civilian was under arms. At the same time sporadic crime, which went to a large extent undetected, prevailed, the Attorney-General himself being shot and slightly injured by a young Arab Government messenger.

The Commission's reference was merely to discover the causes of the outbreak, and to recommend the course that should be pursued to prevent a repetition. The British Government, when it announced its appointment, hinted at the probability of the appointment of a more important Commission to consider questions of major policy regarding the Mandate for Palestine and its administration. The case for the appointment of such a Commission was reinforced in a letter published in *The Times* newspaper on December 20, 1929, from Lord Balfour, Mr. Lloyd George, and General Smuts, three of the members of the War Cabinet by which the Balfour Declaration was made.

The demand of the Arab representatives for a Parliament was heard throughout the year, and became more insistent towards its close. On January 3 the High Commissioner had received an Arab delegation and had promised to study the question with a view to its discussion in London when he went on leave in the summer. This the High Commissioner did, and it is possible that a policy that might to some extent have met the wishes of the Arabs was agreed upon. But the outbreak of savagery at the end of August and the indignation it aroused in the breast of

the High Commissioner caused him to postpone indefinitely any announcement or further action in the matter. This, however, did not prevent the Arab advocates from urging before the Commission of Enquiry such a step as a means of preventing a repetition of the outbreak.

The Jewish Agency, representative of the Zionist Organisation and non-Zionist Jewry, came into existence at Zurich on August 11, but had not taken any part in affairs in Palestine or of Palestine before the end of the year. A Zionist Congress was held at Zurich immediately before the formation of the Agency. Its main business was to ratify the agreement out of which the Agency grew. This was done although not very willingly.

Apart from these events, Palestine had little history during the year. The economic clouds continued to rise, and the investment of a relatively large amount of money in orange plantations and hotels provided employment and thus justified the resumption of the immigration of working men. The disturbances inevitably affected industry and revenue, but the results were not yet fully apparent before January. At the end of the winter of 1928-29 the country was again threatened with a plague of locusts which would have destroyed the copious harvest that was promised, but the measures taken by the Government successfully averted the threat. The year also saw the grant to Major Tulloch and Mr. Novomeysky, the latter a Palestinian Jew, of the concession for the extraction of minerals from the Dead Sea, a concession that had been under consideration for many years and had aroused at times fierce controversies, in England as well as in Palestine.

The first session of the Legislative Council of Transjordan was opened on April 2. At the beginning of the year there was the not exceptional state of unsettlement on the south-eastern frontier of Transjordan, which was relieved on this occasion by the taking as hostage of the son of a Transjordan desert chieftain as a guarantee that his father would refrain from raiding into the territory of Ibn Saud. As a further safeguard, a fine in the form of camels was inflicted on the tribe. This was in January. Two months later it was the turn of the tribes on the other side of the frontier who were driven out of Transjordan where they had been raiding, by British and Transjordan forces, and punished.

SYRIA.

The year 1928 ended so far as the Syrian Constitution was concerned at a deadlock, and at a deadlock it remained throughout the year 1929. January was devoted to attempts at agreement, but these all failed, and early in February the High Commissioner adjourned the Syrian Constituent Assembly *sine die*. The French Government went so far as to offer to adopt the Constitution which had been

drafted by the Constituent Assembly, provided that an addition was made to the effect that no article of the Constitution can run contrary to the obligations of France towards the League of Nations concerning Syria. This applied particularly to those articles relating to the maintenance of public security, national defence, and foreign relations. Secondly, that throughout the duration of the international obligations of France concerning Syria, any article of the Constitution likely to affect such obligations was only applicable in conditions eventually to be agreed between the French and Syrian Governments. Thirdly, that articles of the Constitution affecting these responsibilities could be discussed and promulgated only after the execution of such agreements, and finally, that legislative and administrative decisions of the French Government could only be modified in consequence of an understanding to that effect between the French and Syrian Governments. But this offer was without avail.

For some months nothing further transpired, but early in the summer a monarchist movement arose, and although the Nationalist Party, which composed the majority of the suspended or dissolved Constituent Assembly, was of a republican complexion, four of the six parties by which Syrian politics are governed declared for a monarchy.

However in July the French Government was able to report to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in hopeful phrases. The political atmosphere was much calmer. Although all political agitation had not ceased, it was no longer accompanied by violence of word or deed. Economic progress had aroused in the population an interest in economic questions, and thus diverted the Syrians from their purely political theories. Economic progress had therefore contributed to the pacification of public opinion. Such agitation as there was was confined to Syria; there was no longer any trace of upheavals in the Lebanon, the Jebel Druze, or the Sanjak. The disturbances in Palestine at the end of August produced a slight echo in both Damascus and Beyrout, but the Jewish population of those cities having disclaimed all sympathy with Zionist projects the excitement soon died away. There was some anxiety for a short time lest bands from Syria would cross the frontier and join the Arabs in Palestine, but this anxiety in the event proved to be without material basis.

The question of the Turco-Syrian border which had been unsettled since the war and occasionally gave rise to incident even until the late spring of 1929, was solved during the year. An agreement was signed by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs and the French Ambassador at Angora on June 22. By this agreement the frontier was drawn in such a way that Turkey could protect her territory, while the interests of France would also be safeguarded. By the same instrument the Mersina, Tarsus, and Adana Railway which had been purchased by Turkey was transferred. On the

whole Turkey had the advantage by the settlement, but the French Government secured some five hundred square miles and a hundred and one villages which had hitherto been in Turkish occupation. It is not certain, however, that this settlement is final, for an agitation immediately commenced in Syria for the inclusion in Turkey of the Districts of Antioch and Alexandretta whose population is predominantly Turkish. Another point of contact with Angora which showed itself towards the end of the year was a renewed migration of Armenians from Turkey to Syria, which proved a source of expense and anxiety to the French authorities.

ARABIA.

The series of raids into Iraquian and other neighbouring territory which was so noticeable a feature of the history of this part of the world during 1928 continued into 1929, but had ceased several months before the year closed. In one of these a party, including Dr. Charles Crane, a former United States Ambassador, who had specially interested himself in the Arab cause, was attacked and his companion, a United States missionary, killed. These raids were undertaken unquestionably contrary to the wishes of Ibn Saud, and their leaders were promptly declared rebels. The British Air Force took part in repelling these raids, but when he had completed his preparations the King of Nejd himself took the field against his recalcitrant followers. He overtook the rebels early in April and severely punished them, Faisal al Darwish, their most powerful leader, being wounded. Before this happened, Ibn Saud called a tribal conference to consider the question of the police posts well within the Iraquian frontier to which the Nejdians took such strong exception. To this conference the King explained his policy, which was accepted. This, however, did not bring the state of unrest to an end, and until the end of the year there were still reports of outbreaks and engagements between the King's forces and rebels.

Farther south, in the Yemen, the principal event of the year was the signature of a Commercial Treaty with the Union of Soviet Republics. Commerce between Russia and the Yemen is never likely to be considerable, and if the treaty meant no more than it said it would have been of little consequence. But the presence in the Yemen of a Russian trade delegation with diplomatic privileges will, it is feared, facilitate Communist political activities on both sides of the Red Sea and also in India. Incidentally Russia recognised by the treaty the independence of the Yemen. Great Britain on her part was also prepared to negotiate a treaty with the Yemen and to recognise her independence, but the desire was not reciprocated, or, at any rate, no response that could be recognised was made to Britain's offer.

In the meanwhile desultory hostilities continued between the

ruler of the Yemen and a neighbouring tribe, the Zaraniq. The revolt of these latter had, however, come to an end by October, and their chief town was occupied on the first of that month. A revolt also broke out in Shukra which is within the Aden Protectorate, but as the cause of dispute was a local one only, it was not necessary for the Aden Government to interfere.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN—THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

CHINA.

THROUGHOUT 1929 the Central Government established at Nanking in 1928 continued to represent a united China in the eyes of the outside world. Large parts of the country itself, however, remained under the control of independent military chieftains, some of whom did not pay even nominal allegiance to Nanking. In its own territory also the Government was in constant conflict with the Left Wing of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, which accused it of being false to the principles of Sun Yat-sen, and regarded its chief general, Chiang Kai-shek, as no better than the militarists whom he sought to bring under its authority.

On January 1 General Chiang Kai-shek, in the name of the National Government, of which he was chairman, issued an appeal to his fellow militarists to emulate the Samurai Party in Japan, and surrender their military control to the Central Government, as only in this way could China become united and strong. For a time it seemed as if the patriotism of the chiefs was not incapable of rising to this height. On January 7 the six principal generals in China, namely, Chiang Kai-shek, Yen Hsi-san, Feng Yu-hsiang, Li Chi-sen, Li Tsung-jen, and Ho Yin-ching, met in conference at Nanking to deal with the question of disbanding the surplus soldiery enrolled during the civil war. After hearing a statement from Mr. T. V. Soong, the Minister of Finance, the conference, which sat till January 17, decided on a plan for appointing a disbandment Commission whose function it would be to reduce the Army from nearly three million men to sixty-five divisions of 11,000 men each, at a total annual cost to the country of 192,000,000 dollars (18,000,000*l.*). There was also talk at the conference of accepting the authority of the State Council, and allowing the Finance Ministry to control military expenditure and also to extend the Government's measures of taxation and financial reform throughout the country.

The hollowness of these promises was soon revealed. On February 21 General Li Tsung-jen, Governor of Hupeh, ejected

the Governor of Hunan, General Li Ti-pin, from his office, on vague charges of Communism and corruption. The deposed Governor was the nominee of the Nanking Government, which accordingly considered his eviction a direct challenge to its authority. On March 26 it dismissed Li Tsung-jen from his post, along with two other Kwangsi leaders, and ordered them to present themselves for trial. As Li refused, Chiang Kai-shek led an army against Wuhan, the headquarters of the Kwangsi faction. The struggle was of short duration, and resulted in an almost bloodless victory for Nanking, owing to the defection of some of the Wuhan forces. Hankow was occupied without a blow by Chiang Kai-shek on April 9, and by the beginning of May the civil war on the Yangtze was terminated, Li Tsung-jen finding refuge in Hong-Kong. Meanwhile, however, the standard of revolt had been raised in Kwangsi, where the Governor, Huang Shao-hsiung, collected an army and invaded the province of Kwangtung. For a time he threatened Canton, as did also General Pei Tsung-hsi, an associate of Li Tsung-jen. The Cantonese army, however, remained loyal, and repulsed the invaders (May 9 and 23).

The National Government, leaving Kwangsi to itself, now turned its attention to Feng Yu-hsiang, whom it regarded as a much more serious menace. During the war with Wuhan, Feng, who dominated the northern provinces, had professed loyalty to Nanking, and had moved troops to Hupeh, sixty miles from Hankow. The Central Government, however, mistrusted him, and thought it advisable to make sure at least of his neutrality by promising him, among other things, the reversion of Shantung when it should have been evacuated by the Japanese, and also, as it was reported, by the actual payment of a substantial sum. After its successes at Wuhan and Canton, however, the Central Government considered itself strong enough to defy Feng, and even called on him to submit himself to its authority. Feng, fearing an attack, withdrew towards the end of April from Shantung, and by May 10 had concentrated his troops on the Lunghai and Peking-Hankow railways, having blown up channels and tunnels as he retired. On May 23 the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, at an extraordinary Plenary Session, passed a resolution expelling him from the party and depriving him of all offices and membership of the Government Councils; and on the next day General Chiang Kai-shek announced a punitive expedition against him.

The Nanking Government was counting on the assistance of Yen Hsi-shan, the Governor of Shansi. Yen, however, adopted an attitude of strict neutrality, and instead of taking up arms against Feng, sought to bring about a reconciliation between the two factions. As a result of his mediation, an agreement was reached on June 18 by which Feng was promised 3,000,000 dollars for arrears of pay due to his troops, and 200,000 dollars for tra-

velling expenses, and in return undertook to leave the country. On June 28 Chiang visited Peking to see if he could strengthen the influence of the Central Government in the Northern Provinces. He had interviews there with Yen Hsi-shan and Chang Hsueh-liang, the ruler of Manchuria, but his representations produced no effect, and on July 10 he returned to Nanking leaving matters practically in *statu quo*. Feng meanwhile instead of leaving the country remained at Taiyuanfu as the guest of Yen, and still retained control of his army, though nominally he had handed over the command to a subordinate.

The weakness of the Central Government was in part due to internal dissensions in the Kuomintang itself. Its authority, it is true, had been confirmed by the third Party Congress which, after many postponements, had been convened at Nanking on March 15, but this body had itself been packed by the Government and the Left Wing carefully excluded. A vehement agitation was carried on against the Government under the leadership of Wang Chao-ming (also known as Wang Ching-hei), an ex-Chairman of the Kuomintang who had been forced to leave China for a time in 1927. Under his auspices a new faction called the Reorganisation Party, composed of militarists and Left Wing politicians, was formed in the summer. This body organised a military revolt, which commenced with an unsuccessful attempt on August 28 to assassinate Chiang Kai-shek. Shortly after General Chang Fa-kuei, the commander of the fourth division, disobeyed an order of the Government to transfer from the Yangtze river to the Lunghai railway, and instead marched across Hunan to Kwangsi in order to join the disaffected elements in that province. On September 21 the Reorganisation Party openly declared itself on the side of General Chang. The Government in reply issued an order for the arrest of twelve Reorganisationist leaders.

The Reorganisation Party confidently expected that both Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan would join them in the attempt to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek. On October 10 one of Feng's generals actually began an advance southwards towards Hankow. Feng, however, disowned his subordinate, and both he and Yen maintained a cryptic attitude, declaring neither for the Nanking Government nor against it. At the end of October, Chiang Kai-shek took the field against the northern rebels, who were now in Hunan. After a certain amount of fighting, the rebel forces, on November 24, retired westwards into the mountains of Shensi; according to the Government, they had been decisively defeated, but according to the Press they had been bought off. Chiang then returned to Nanking.

About this time Chang Fu-kei with his army entered Kwangtung from Kwangsi with the intention of marching on Canton. His advance emboldened Wang Ching-hei to publish a manifesto

on November 28 announcing his intention of forming a new Government in Canton. Once more, however, the loyalty of the Canton troops saved the Nanking Government; they opposed a stubborn resistance to the invaders and forced them to retire on December 11.

Meanwhile serious trouble had arisen for the Central Government nearer home. In the first week of December its very existence was threatened by a number of mutinies in the district under its immediate control—one at Pukow on December 3, one at Anhwei on the 4th, one at Chengchow on the 6th, and one north of the Yangtze opposite Woosung. On December 5 General Tang Shen-chi, with the support of the Reorganisationists, issued a manifesto, said to be signed by thirty-eight generals, denouncing Chiang Kai-shek and his Government. The threat of civil war seemed so imminent that foreign gunboats were dispatched to Nanking and other places for the protection of foreign life and property, and women and children were evacuated from the interior. The danger, however, vanished as suddenly as it had arisen, whether through lack of cohesion between the enemies of the Government or through the pressure exercised by generals who remained loyal. On December 12 the Government felt strong enough to "excommunicate" Wang Ching-wei from the National Party, and on December 21 its position was further assured by a joint declaration of Yen Hsi-shan and Chang Hsueh-liang, the governor of Manchuria, pledging their services to suppress rebellion and restore peace.

The year 1929 witnessed a marked improvement in China's relations with Japan, which had become strained after the incident at Tsinan (Tsinanfu) in the previous May (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 250), as a result of which Japan had occupied part of Shantung. On March 28, after eight months of negotiation, an agreement was signed by which Japan undertook to withdraw her troops from Shantung, in return for a promise on China's part to protect foreign nationals. The agreement contained a declaration that both sides were "ready to dismiss from their minds all discordant feelings attending the incident, in the hope that their future relations may thereby be greatly improved." According to the agreement, the evacuation was to have commenced on April 18. When that date arrived, however, Chiang Kai-shek begged the Japanese to remain for fear that on their departure the province might fall into the hands either of Feng Yu-hsiang or of the ex-Tuchun, Chang Tsung-chang, who had just made a raid into it. These dangers having blown over, the evacuation was duly commenced on May 5, and by May 20 it had been completed. The Chinese boycott against Japanese goods was then raised. A little later negotiations were opened for a new Commercial Treaty between China and Japan, but they had led to no definite result by the end of the year.

No sooner had China restored friendly relations with Japan than she became seriously embroiled with her neighbour on the north.

On May 27 the Chinese authorities raided the Soviet Consulate in Harbin, arrested thirty-nine persons who were holding a conference in the basement, and seized a number of documents. Translations of these were published and proved that Russia had made use of the Chinese Eastern Railway to create trouble in China with a view to overthrowing the established regime. On July 10 the Chinese officials in Harbin arrested the manager, the assistant manager, and all the important Russian officials of the railway, occupied it together with other institutions under Bolshevik control, and interned a large number of Russians. On July 13 Russia delivered to China an ultimatum, demanding full restoration of the *status quo* on the railway and release of all Soviet citizens arrested. In her reply, dispatched on the 16th, China made no offer in regard to these points, but enumerated Russia's misdeeds and asked her "to respect China's law and sovereignty and refrain from submitting proposals contradictory to the actual facts of the case." On July 19 Russia broke off diplomatic relations with China and began to move troops towards Manchuli and Pogranichnaya. On August 12 General Galens, who, as an adviser, had accompanied the Chinese Nationalist armies on their triumphant march from Canton to Hankow in 1926, was appointed by Moscow to command the Red army against China. Overtures were made by China to Russia through Germany for the resumption of friendly relations, and for a period there was a lull in the political activities, interspersed with continual raids by the Russians into Chinese territory. On October 12 the Russians attacked the Three Rivers District, and in the fighting that ensued, the Chinese lost heavily. On November 19 and 20 the Russians attacked Manchuli and advanced as far as Hailar, threatening Harbin. This seemed to have decided the Chinese to settle the matter peacefully by accepting Russia's terms. On November 21 a delegate was sent to Harbarovsk to meet the Russian representative, and on December 22 a protocol was signed whereby China agreed to dismiss the Chinese director of the railway, and in return Russia agreed to appoint a new manager and assistant-manager. Other Russian employees dismissed by China were to be reinstated, and the Chinese who had been appointed to take their places were to be dismissed. At the close of the year, the new manager and assistant-manager had taken up their duties, and arrangements were being made to restore through traffic to Siberia and to hold a conference in Moscow in February, 1930, to discuss the status of the railway.

On April 27 the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs sent Notes to Great Britain, America, France, Norway, and Holland, asking them to agree to the abolition of extra-territoriality. In their

replies, dated August 10 and 14, these Powers maintained that the time had not yet come for abolition, but Great Britain and the United States expressed their willingness to confer with China with a view to some gradual system of abolition *pari passu* with China's progress in judicial administration. On September 5 China sent another Note to the Powers, reiterating her request and pointing out the efforts that had been made to improve her judiciary. In November the Powers replied to much the same effect as before. On December 20 the British Government, in a statement made to the Chinese Minister in London, agreed that January 1, 1930, should be treated as the date from which the process of the gradual abolition of extra-territoriality should be regarded as having commenced in principle. The Chinese Government thereupon, on December 28, issued a Mandate to the effect that all foreign nationals at present enjoying extra-territorial privileges should as from January 1, 1930, be called upon to abide by the laws of China. The Mandate did not state that foreigners would be subject to the jurisdiction of Chinese courts, and it was therefore not held to go beyond the British statement of December 20. In the latter part of the year discussions were held at Nanking between Chinese and foreign delegates on the reorganisation of the Shanghai Provisional Court, one of the most pressing problems connected with extra-territoriality. A decision had not yet been reached by the end of the year. Meanwhile the Shanghai Municipal Council had invited Mr. Justice Feetham, from South Africa, to advise them as to the best means of harmonising the claims of foreign and Chinese residents.

Owing to the civil wars, the country continued to be in a distracted state throughout the year, and brigandage was rife. No new enterprises were started, and the railways deteriorated seriously. Nevertheless, trade was brisk, and the Customs collection reached the record figure of 165,000,000 taels. The flourishing condition of trade enabled the Government to raise large loans on the security of Customs revenue. The proceeds were mostly used to finance the civil wars.

The State funeral of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the "father" of the Chinese Republic, who died at Peking on March 12, 1925, took place at Nanking on June 1 with great ceremony, being attended by all the foreign diplomatic representatives. In February a financial commission of experts headed by Dr. Edwin Kemmerer arrived in China to advise the Government on financial matters. In March Sir Frederick Whyte, ex-President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, accepted the post of Political Counsellor to the National Government as an honorary appointment. In May Colonel Bauer, the German Military Adviser of the Government, died, and in September Colonel Kriebel, formerly of the Bavarian General Staff, was appointed in his place.

JAPAN.

The resumed Session of the Imperial Diet, which opened on January 22, was of an unusually turbulent character, being marked by several scenes of disorder, after one of which the Speaker resigned. On February 9 Baron Tanaka's Government secured a vote of confidence by 249 votes to 185. On the 21st it succeeded in getting its Land-tax Bill passed by a majority of 15. The object of this Bill was to transfer land-tax revenue from the Central Treasury to the local Prefectures with a view to improving local finance and distributing the burden of taxation more evenly. This measure was subsequently rejected by the Upper House, chiefly on the ground that it would entail a great reduction in the revenue of the Central Government at a moment when, owing to the approaching expiry of the Washington Agreement, the country was faced with the necessity of a large increase in naval expenditure. Another measure passed by the Lower House and rejected by the Upper was a Bill for the Control of Religious Organisations. The chief opposition to this came from the native Christian Churches, which were afraid that it would subject them to petty persecution at the hands of the police and local authorities.

In February the House of Peers by a majority of 23 passed a resolution rebuking Baron Tanaka for "indiscreet and irresponsible" conduct in connexion with the resignation of the Minister of Education in May, 1928. This vote seriously shook the position of the Ministry, which was already somewhat unpopular, partly on account of its policy, partly on account of a certain maladroitness shown by the Premier himself; nevertheless it remained in office, its party (the Seiyukai) still being the largest in the Diet. Its downfall, however, was not long delayed. In response to an insistent popular demand, the Government had instituted an inquiry into the circumstances attending the death of Chang Tso-lin, the ruler of Manchuria, who in June, 1928, had been blown up in a train while travelling near Mukden. As a result of the investigations, certain officers were held to have been guilty of negligence. They were punished with a severity which was considered in military circles excessive. This step sealed the fate of the Government, and on July 2 its resignation was brought about by pressure from circles connected with the Throne.

A new Cabinet was formed by Mr. Y. Hamaguchi, the President of the Minseito (Liberal) Party, Baron Shidehara becoming Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr. J. Inouye Minister of Finance. The new Government announced its programme to be one of public and private economy, sympathy with Chinese national aspirations, co-operation with other Powers for naval reduction, tariff revision, and suppression of "subversive thought." Contrary to general expectation, Mr. Hamaguchi decided to work for

the present with the existing Diet, though it was commonly thought that a new election at that juncture would have given him a much more substantial majority.

In the first half of the year the economic condition of the country was not satisfactory, imports being greatly in excess of exports and the yen being considerably depreciated. In the latter half of the year there was a great improvement, so much so that the Government towards the end of the year considered it safe to announce that the embargo on the free export of gold, which had been in force since 1917, would be raised early in 1930. The Budget drawn up by the Cabinet for 1930-31 balanced at 1,608,000,000 yen, which was 72,000,000 yen less than the total of the previous Budget. In pursuance of its policy of retrenchment, the Government announced that in the coming year the salaries of all officials receiving more than 120*l.* per annum would be reduced by 10 per cent. This decision, however, created such an outcry that it had to be withdrawn.

Throughout 1929 Japan pursued a conciliatory policy towards China. At the end of January she accepted China's new import tariff for one year. In May she withdrew her troops from Shantung (*vide* China). The negotiations which followed for a new Commercial Treaty between the two countries were interrupted by the suicide in November of the Japanese Minister to China, Mr. Sadao Saburi, and the refusal of the Chinese Government to recognise Mr. Obata, whom Japan designated as his successor. The Chinese Government alleged that Mr. Obata, who had already once before been Minister in China, was a *persona non grata*, but it was thought in Japan that the real reason for their objecting was a desire to have the Japanese Legation in Peking raised to Embassy rank.

The speech of Mr. Hugh Gibson at Geneva in April, announcing America's readiness to enter into new discussions regarding the limitation or reduction of naval armaments, evoked an immediate response in Japan. In a statement made to the Press in the middle of May, the Minister of Marine said that the Japanese Government was prepared to participate in another conference at once without waiting till 1930, and suggested that the leading naval Powers should agree in advance to a scheme for submission to a preparatory disarmament committee. For financial reasons the question was one of vital interest to Japan; in default of a new arrangement, 820,000,000 yen would be required for the replacement of battleships and 380,000,000 yen for that of auxiliary warships reaching the age limit in the years 1931 and 1932, and these were sums which the country could ill afford. The question of naval policy was discussed by the Cabinet and by the Supreme War Council in September, and it was agreed that Japan's main object should be the reduction of naval armaments on the basis of a ratio consistent with the maintenance of national security.

The Japanese reply, given on October 16, to the British invitation to participate in a Five-Power Naval Conference, was in accordance with this decision. The Japanese Government, it said, entirely concurred in the desirability of such a conference, attaching as it did the highest importance to clearing the ground in advance, as was done in the discussions with the United States. It cordially supported the principle that the Treaty for the Renunciation of War should be taken as the starting-point for all discussions on disarmament, and laid stress on the desirability of effecting a reduction of armaments rather than a mere limitation. The Japanese Plenipotentiaries appointed to the Conference were Mr. Wakatsuki, a former Prime Minister; Admiral Takarabé, the Minister of Marine; and Mr. Matsudaira, the Japanese Ambassador in London. In November Mr. Wakatsuki and his associates left for London via America, and they spent a few days in Washington on the way, in order to confer with President Hoover.

The Factory Law, embodying the Washington Resolution prohibiting the employment of women on night work, came into force on July 1. The Law, however, applied only to factories employing ten hands or more, and contained exceptions not provided for by the Convention. While visiting Japan at the beginning of the year, M. Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labour Office at Geneva, tried to persuade the Government to expedite Labour legislation, and the employers to recognise workers' organisations, but without much success.

On November 1 a new Labour Party, under the presidency of Mr. Oyama, was, with the grudging permission of the authorities, inaugurated at Tokio. In politics the new party intended to co-operate with the Shakai Minshuto (Social Democrats). The celebration of May Day in Tokio was accompanied by disturbances resulting in the arrest of nearly 100 people. A new stimulus was given to Communist activity towards the end of the year by the return to their native country of about twenty young Japanese Communists who had completed their training in Russia. For a time they eluded the vigilance of the police while conducting a secret agitation, but an accident having led to their discovery, a great "round-up" ensued, in the course of which hundreds of arrests were made. By the end of the year, 155 of those arrested had been committed for trial, among them being fifty-one students of the two Imperial Universities of Tokio and Kyoto.

Japan's ratification of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War (Kellogg Pact) was delayed for some time by a singular obstacle. According to the text, the treaty had been signed by the various national representatives "in the name of their respective peoples." Political purists in Japan maintained that this rendered it invalid in that country, as according to the Constitution only the Emperor had the power to conclude treaties. For a long time the

Diet refused to ratify unless some modification were made in the text. Finally, after lengthy discussions the Privy Council agreed to recommend the treaty for ratification provided an interpretative statement were added to the effect that the words in question did not affect the Imperial prerogative as laid down in the Law of the Constitution. Ratification thereupon took place on June 27. Count Uchida, who had been the Japanese signatory at Paris, resigned his seat on the Council as a protest against the action of his colleagues and the surrender of the Government.

On May 2 a British Mission headed by the Duke of Gloucester arrived at Yokohama for the purpose of investing the Emperor with the Order of the Garter. The investiture took place a few days later in the Imperial Palace at Tokio in the presence of a distinguished gathering. The Emperor shortly after presented His Royal Highness with the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum with Collar, the highest Japanese decoration. The visit evoked demonstrations of great popular enthusiasm in Japan.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

In the last days of the year two occurrences took place which clearly illustrated the sharply divergent aspects of the Government's policy.

The revision of the "Law regarding the Statute of the Government of the Netherlands East Indies" in 1925 had made provision for the appointment of native members of the Council of India, and the Second Chamber of the States-General on October 18, 1928, for this purpose, had approved of the enlargement of the Council by two members. The First Chamber, on April 12, 1929, having agreed to this reform—at the same time adopting by 20 to 15 the new Constitution of the Volksraad (People's Council) (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, pp. 257, 258)—the Crown in December appointed two of the most distinguished representatives of the native population, Raden Adipati Aria Achmad Djajadingrat and Pangeran Adipati Aria Koesoemo Joedo, members of the Council of India. Both the new members belong to noble Javanese families. After enjoying a Western education—the latter even having taken his degree at Leyden University—they entered the Government service, where they rose to the rank of Regent (native burgomaster). On the institution of the Volksraad they became active members of that body, the former as a declared Nationalist, the latter professing more moderate and conservative views. In September, 1929, they were given seats in the Dutch delegation at the League of Nations.

While thus seeking to gratify the orderly elements of the native population who aspire to the emancipation of their people by the way of peaceful evolution and co-operation, the Dutch Government found itself at the same time forced to adopt severe

measures with regard to those other native elements which, in spite of repeated warnings, had persevered in subversive methods. A plot was brought to its notice which seemed to call for energetic intervention. At a given hour, in the early morning of December 29, in the most important towns and other great centres of population, the houses of the leaders and other prominent members of the Partai Nasional Indonesia, the organisation of the extreme Nationalists, were searched. A great quantity of documents were seized and a large number of Nationalists were arrested.

Reiterated warnings indeed had not been spared since the riots of 1926. On more than one occasion in the past year both the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies Government had explained their views on the political position of the Indian Archipelago now and in the future and the ways by which its autonomy might be furthered. Thus in his speech at the opening of the session of the Volksraad in June, the Governor-General, referring with satisfaction to the revised Constitution, declared that the solution of the important problems now arising lay first of all with the people themselves, and they should therefore devote their best endeavours to finding it. The Government would try to remedy the not unjustifiable complaint that freedom of political association and meeting for the natives existed more in name than in deed. In every country where sufficient political and social liberty was granted the vast majority of the people showed themselves moderate. Only a small minority went to extremes. Where liberty was withheld, a pressure was created which was felt to be unreasonable by the moderate elements, with the result that an increasing number of these elements were pushed in the direction of extreme courses. The proof, however, that political and social liberty would not be abused should be produced by the natives themselves. Now was the time for both the older and the younger people to take a hand. They should reflect that too much haste would only lead to failure and a return to fresh restriction of liberty.

In its Memorandum of Reply to the Budget for 1930 the Governor combated the opinion expressed by some members of the Volksraad, that his policy should aim at a "serious liquidation" of Dutch authority. This word, as the Minister for the Colonies had declared already in the First Chamber of the States-General, was not included in the vocabulary of the Government. The Government remained vigilant and would act immediately and energetically wherever public order was or threatened to be disturbed. The Government hoped that it would not be necessary, as in 1926, to employ force, but considered that such a possibility was not excluded in view of the manner in which some quarters reacted to its policy of tolerance, and of the influences emanating from Moscow which were still at work. With regard to the National Indonesian Party and the Communistic Indian

Party the Government had adopted a waiting policy to see whether the leaders would be successful in guiding the forces aroused by propaganda in the direction of social constructive work, and in creating and maintaining such a discipline in the party as would prevent any criminal adventure. The leaders had been sufficiently warned. To the trade union campaign the Government was giving its close attention. Trade unions conducted on sound and orderly lines might be regarded as normal institutions, but the present economic conditions in the Dutch East Indies were of a nature which justified the Government in demanding from the leaders the greatest possible circumspection. Should Indian nationalism follow communistic methods or accept communistic support, even if it should do so under the name of nationalism, energetic action from the side of the Government was unavoidable.

In October a violent campaign carried on by the P.N.I. with headquarters at Bandoeng, the centre of extreme nationalistic activity, for the purpose of seducing the armed forces from their loyalty, compelled the Government to forbid all State servants in the Army, the Navy, and the police forces to be members of political organisations, no matter of what nature. At the end of the year still more vigorous measures proved necessary.

The financial situation was not regarded as completely satisfactory, though the ordinary accounts for 1927 showed a surplus of over 41.8 million guilders, and for 1928 a surplus of 46.6 million guilders. The ordinary accounts for 1929 were not expected to show a surplus. Although it was not found necessary to resort to increased taxation, a reduction of taxation was out of the question, especially of the income tax and the company tax. Revenue was affected by the drop in the prices of the chief products in which the State has either a direct or indirect interest.

The Government was authorised by the States-General to convert at a suitable moment the 5 per cent. 1915, 1916, 1917, and 1923 A loans, as also the 6 per cent. 1923 D loan, all issued on behalf of the Dutch East Indies, into a loan with a rate of interest to be fixed later by the Government, in order to obtain a maximum of 224,337,000 million guilders.

In 1929 the endeavours to accelerate communication between the Metropolis and the Dutch East Indies were successfully continued. On January 7 a service of wireless telephony was opened for the public. In the autumn eight fortnightly flights in each direction took place, showing the possibility of a regular air service, but the British Government has hitherto not granted permission for a continuous use of British landing grounds. Negotiations for this purpose were still proceeding between the two Governments.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOROCCO AND EGYPT.

MOROCCO.

French Zone.—At the beginning of the year M. Steeg, the Resident-General, suddenly resigned his post, which he had held since the retirement of Marshal Lyautey in 1923. The reason given was that a law had recently been passed in France forbidding members of Parliament to hold paid office for more than six months, or to be immediately reappointed. Being a Senator, M. Steeg would have been forced by this law to resign in six months, and he preferred to give up at once. M. Lucien Saint, the Resident-General of Tunisia, was appointed in his place. M. Saint arrived in Casablanca on February 21, and on the same day was welcomed by the Sultan, who assured him of the special goodwill of the people of Morocco, as to one acquainted with their language and well versed in their customs.

In pursuance of the French policy of "pacification" in Southern Morocco, Protectorate troops in April undertook an encirclement of the Tafilet oases to the south of the main Atlas range, and constructed a number of forts in that district. On May 10 the outpost of El Borgi, about 100 miles south of Fez, was attacked by about 300 tribesmen, who were, however, driven off. On June 8, while a French column of 400 strong was marching to El Borgi from the neighbouring outpost of Ait Yakub, it was ambushed by tribesmen from the Ait-Hadidu tribe, and heavily defeated, losing eighty-one men, including seven officers, besides thirty-eight wounded. The tribesmen also made attacks on Ait Yakub, but were kept at bay until reinforcements arrived.

The reverse at Ait Yakub gave rise to a vehement attack in the French Chamber, on June 25, on the whole policy of "pacification" in Morocco. It was defended by M. Painlevé and M. Briand. The former stated that Northern Morocco was peaceful and in Southern Morocco, where there was still much raiding, two courses were open to France. One was to undertake a large-scale military expedition against the refractory tribes; this would probably require more than one campaign. The other course was that of peaceful penetration, which had the support of the Resident-General and the officers on the spot. He emphatically denied that France was acting in the interests of concession hunters in South Morocco. M. Briand pointed out that the posts of Ait Yakub and El Borgi had been occupied at the request of tribes in whose district the policy of peaceful penetration had been begun, and that France could not abandon them to the raiders. At the same time he promised that the operations should not, under the pretext of reprisals, develop into an expedition.

In the course of the next few weeks a number of tribes in the Draa region, in the extreme south-west of Morocco, submitted to the French, and early in August the Resident-General, who was then in Paris, telegraphed to General Auré congratulating him and his subordinate officers on having contributed to securing a notable success for French policy. Trouble, however, still continued in the south-east, on the Algerian border, and on October 14 a detachment of sixty French troops was ambushed by raiders at Jihani, and almost wiped out.

The Budget of the French Protectorate for 1930, published in October, estimated the revenue at 800,000,000 francs (about 6,400,000*l.*), which was $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. above that of 1929. Of this sum only 55 per cent. was to be raised by taxation, the rest being profit on Government undertakings; the export of phosphates alone was expected to yield 136,000,000 francs (nearly 1,100,000*l.*). On the expenditure side large sums were to be set aside for remunerative public works—electrification, irrigation, and railways. In July the Resident-General announced the discovery of large coal-fields in South-East Morocco, and said that the railway would be extended at once in that direction. He added that prospecting in Morocco was open to all nationalities.

Spanish Zone.—Spain in 1929 continued to keep about 60,000 troops in Morocco. With this force—to which were to be added Shereefian forces to the number of about 30,000—complete tranquillity was maintained in the Spanish Zone, enabling considerable progress to be made with the economic development of the country. The construction of the great trunk road from Tetuan to Melilla was pushed forward, and other roads were built in the neighbourhood of Melilla and of Laraiche. The new town of Villa Sanjurjo on Alhucemas Bay grew rapidly, and companies were formed to promote settlement in its vicinity.

Towards the end of November the Spanish High Commissioner, General Jordana, visited the French Resident-General at Rabat, and discussed with him questions of mutual interest. He also made a tour of French Morocco, in order to study the excellent results achieved by French administration.

Tangier.—Early in the year steps were taken to put into effect the administrative changes laid down in the international agreement of 1928 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 263). The Italian Government appointed an Italian member of the international Administration and a new judge in the mixed Tribunal. A Spaniard took the place of a Belgian as commander of the international gendarmerie, which had not yet been called into being. A number of other new appointments were also made.

The additional load imposed by these appointments on Tangier's already overburdened finances was viewed with consternation by a large part of the inhabitants. On January 31 the British Chamber of Commerce in the city addressed to the British Consul-

General, and published in the Press, a letter of protest in which it described the existing situation in Tangier as opposed to British sentiments of justice, honour, and humanity. It charged the Governments of the Powers of Europe with saddling Tangier, in their own national interests, with an excessive number of judicial and administrative officials, and pointed out that while more than one-third of the total revenue was spent on salaries, less than one-seventieth was spent on combined medical assistance and relief. It insisted finally that the cost of all appointments and charges not necessary for the upkeep of Tangier should be borne by the Powers concerned, on the principle already accepted in the case of the gendarmerie.

The protest of the British Chamber was supported by the International Chamber of Commerce and the Press and the public generally. It was communicated by the British Consul-General to the Home Government, and a question was asked about it in the House of Commons on February 20. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir A. Chamberlain, admitted that the complaints of the Chamber were not altogether unjustified, but stated that Britain could not act alone. None of the Powers concerned seemed willing to take the initiative, and matters were left unaltered for the rest of the year.

On February 6 a long and stormy debate took place in the International Legislative Assembly on the Administration's programme of public works, which consisted principally of the construction of tourist roads in the vicinity of Tangier. A number of members protested against such expenditure being incurred in the interests of the European population alone, while the native and other poor quarters of the town were neglected, and in the end most of the proposals of the Administration were rejected by a large majority.

At the beginning of the year energetic steps were taken by the urban police—which had an English officer at its head—to put down public gambling in Tangier, a vice which was undermining the *morale* of the population. Their efforts were seconded by the Administration, which at the beginning of May closed all gaming establishments. In the meanwhile the Administration had taken up a suggestion made to it from various quarters, that it should grant a concession for a casino similar to that at Monte Carlo, in the profits of which it should have a share. The proposal was referred to the Committee of Control, the members of which consulted their respective Governments. All were favourable to the idea except the Spanish Government, which objected on the ground that gambling was immoral, that it was altogether improper to make Tangier dependent for its existence on the profits of gambling, and that in any case the proximity of Tangier to the Spanish zone made the establishment of a casino in that city highly inadvisable from the Spanish point of view. As unanimity

could not be secured in the Committee of Control, no further progress was made with the project.

Early in August a party of British Boy Scouts who visited Tangier were officially entertained by the Spanish and other authorities, and fraternised most cordially with the British, Moorish, French, Jewish, Italian, and Spanish Boy Scouts in the town. The Moslem festival of the Patron Saint of Tangier, held later in the same month, which formerly had as a rule given rise to wild displays of fanaticism, was this year made the occasion of a general holiday in which all sections of the population participated on the most friendly terms.

EGYPT.

For the first seven months of the year Egypt was almost in the happy position of being without history. But then events of outstanding importance followed one another with such rapidity as to redress the balance. The first incident followed on the heels of the arrival in London of Lord Lloyd, the High Commissioner, on his annual leave. Difficulties had arisen in the past between Lord Lloyd and the Foreign Office with whose policy in Egypt the High Commissioner was not in complete agreement, and it is possible that his term of office would have come to an early conclusion, even if there had been no change of Government in England. It was unlikely that the policy of the Labour Government would be less liberal than that of its Conservative predecessor, and if Lord Lloyd had found difficulty in working hitherto, the conclusion that these difficulties would in the future become greater was unavoidable. This point of view was put to Lord Lloyd who to the astonishment of most people who were quite unaware of what was transpiring suddenly resigned. He was succeeded by Sir Percy Loraine, a diplomatist *de carrière*, the first to hold the office of High Commissioner in Egypt.

The King of Egypt and his Prime Minister were in England when Lord Lloyd resigned, and doubtless conversations were already then in course with them. Very shortly afterwards agreement on a treaty between Britain and Egypt was announced. The proposals, which were subject to approval by both Parliaments, and thus involved the prior restoration of constitutional government in Egypt, were described by Mr. Henderson as "the extreme limit" to which he could advise the British Government to go "in their desire to achieve a lasting and honourable settlement of outstanding questions." Mahmud Pasha, on his part, accepted the proposals "in the sincere belief that their acceptance would be in the best interests of my country." The draft treaty laid down that the occupation of Egypt by British forces was terminated and that an alliance was established between the two countries. Of the four reserved points Britain was authorised to

maintain in the Suez Canal zone armed forces for the protection of the Canal. The treaty of alliance secured British assistance in the event of foreign aggression. The status of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan reverted to that of 1899 when there was in effect an Anglo-Egyptian condominium. Only on the subject of the protection of foreign interests and minorities in Egypt did the British Government give way. In future these are to be the concern of the Egyptian Government.

Other points of the proposed treaty were that Great Britain undertook to support Egypt's application for admission to the League of Nations; in the event of Egypt requiring foreign military instructors these should be chosen from among British subjects; the Egyptian Government, when engaging the services of foreign officials, would as a rule engage British subjects; the capitulatory regime was recognised as no longer in accordance with the spirit of the times and the present state of Egypt, and Great Britain undertook to support its change; and Great Britain would be represented in Egypt by an Ambassador, to whom would be reserved the highest diplomatic position at the Court of the King of Egypt. The treaty was to remain in force for twenty-five years.

In supplementary documents it was laid down that the British personnel should be withdrawn from the Egyptian army, but that its armament should be uniform with that of the British army and that the return of an Egyptian battalion to the Sudan should be sympathetically considered. The British financial and judicial advisers were to remain in the service of the Egyptian Government.

The proposals were well received in Egypt except by the Wafd, and especially its leader, the ex-Premier, Mustafa Pasha Nahas, who in effect declined to accept anything from the Government of Egypt and its head whom he attempted to overwhelm with abuse. The invitation to enter a coalition under another head than that of Mohamed Pasha Mahmud was rejected, and Mohamed Pasha, putting his country's interests before those of himself or his party, thereupon resigned. Adly Pasha, a former Prime Minister, accepted the task of forming a non-political Cabinet, all the members of which had had previous experience of office, and most of whom were men who had retired from active life. Its main, its only duty was to hold a General Election. After the accession to power of the new Government, Sir Percy Loraine made a clear statement of British policy.

"Egypt claims the right to manage her own affairs in her own way and accepts in advance full responsibility for the discharge of that duty. Great Britain has for long been not merely willing that Egypt should accept the discharge of these responsibilities, but actually desirous that she should do so. If there is any change in the British attitude it is that the present British Government, in formulating its proposals, has gone farther in the direction of meeting

Egyptian aspirations than its predecessors, and, indeed, to the limit of concessions which it feels able to recommend to the British Parliament for acceptance.

"One point I wish to make abundantly clear. The only treaty which possesses any real value for Great Britain, or which offers any real prospects of finality and durability, is one concluded with a free Egypt, and by free Egyptian consent. The British Government is not concerned with the internal political complexion of any Egyptian Government with which a treaty may be signed. All it wishes to know is that the Egyptian nation is behind its own Government in endorsing its signature to a treaty. In that way alone can the British Government's earnest desire be realised of placing Anglo-Egyptian relations on a firm and lasting basis of good-will, amity, mutual understanding, and co-operation, and of ensuring the mutual support which is the essence of an alliance.

"The signing of a parchment and the ratification of an international instrument are important events, but in these days, when nations deal with each other through the Governments which they themselves have chosen, even that is not enough. The will to apply the treaty must exist alongside the will to sign, and that will can only fructify in a spirit of mutual regard and mutual confidence, and with a common understanding of the common aims which the treaty consecrates."

Preparations were at once commenced for the holding of a Parliamentary election at the end of December, and it was soon clear that that election would result in an overwhelming victory for the Wafdist Party. The Liberal Party, that of Mohamed Pasha Mahmud, the late Prime Minister, decided to abstain. It knew that it would have no support at the polls. The Wafdist Party declined to put the question of the treaty directly to the electors. They preferred that the decision should be a mere party or personal one, whether or not the Government of Egypt should be entrusted to them. The result of the elections was in accordance with expectations. By a majority of 196 seats in most of which the candidates were returned without contest, to thirty-three others of all parties, the Wafd was returned to power, and the Prime Minister, Adly Pasha, having completed his task, resigned.

In February the Bar Council of Discipline had delivered their long-awaited decision in the case of the complaint brought by the Parquet against Nahas Pasha, the Wafdist leader, and others, whom they acquitted of actions inconsistent with the dignity of the Bar and of intentions to misuse their former position in the Chamber to further the interests of their clients.

Early in the year an Agreement was made between the British and Egyptian Governments for the settlement of certain outstanding claims. This Agreement included the acceptance by Egypt of responsibility for its share of the Turkish Loan of 1855 which the British Government had guaranteed and on account of which Egypt had ceased to make payments in 1924, and also laid down the share of Reparations from Germany that was to come to Egypt out of the contribution to be received by Great Britain. Another Agreement between the same Governments, made a little later, provided for the regulation of the supply of Nile water to Egypt,

while at the same time the interests of the population of the Sudan were safeguarded.

The Sudan was without history during the year apart from the defeat and dispersion in February of a small force of Nuer who, under a local wizard, had caused some annoyance since the end of 1927.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA—BRAZIL.
---CHILE—MEXICO—OTHER AMERICAN STATES.

THE UNITED STATES.

By far the most important event of the year 1929 was the astonishing stock market panic which swept over the United States on October 23 and 24, followed by a second panic of almost greater dimensions on November 19.

This was the climax of a stock market "boom" which began slowly after the depression of 1921-22, suffered a slight check in 1924, quickened during the administration of President Coolidge, and reached its peaks—as measured by the average prices of the leading industrial and railroad shares listed on the New York Stock Exchange—on September 3, 1929. The amazing profits taken by professional speculators during this prolonged advance attracted wide attention; one brokerage house in New York has estimated that about 3,000,000 families were involved, as investors or speculators, in the New York and provincial stock markets.

Plenty of danger signals were flying early in the year, but they were ignored, and the public rush to buy shares carried the prices to preposterous heights. Large investors, foreseeing the end, began selling in September and suddenly, on October 23, the public became frightened and turned loose upon the stock markets a flood of selling which brought stocks crashing down to levels prevailing in 1927. Shares sold on the New York Stock Exchange on October 23 totalled 19,226,400, a record up to that time—the worst previous panic had seen only 9,000,000 shares sold.

The big New York banks hastily formed a "pool" and began buying such leading shares as United States Steel, in an effort to stay the panic. But as the public apparently realised that this support was only temporary, it had little effect. President Hoover issued on October 24 a reassuring statement, pointing out that the "fundamentals" of American prosperity were sound, and that the country was prosperous and more industrious than ever before. But his words were scarcely heeded.

Hundreds of thousands of speculators, both men and women, lost their entire investments over night. Thousands of well-to-do investors, who had not speculated, found their funds tied up in shares which had shrunk to a third or even a quarter of their former value. On every side it was said that "the Coolidge bull market is over!" That "bull market" had carried the average price of the thirty leading American industrial shares from 93 dollars in 1923 to 158 dollars in 1925, thence up to 200 dollars in 1927 and still higher to 300 dollars at the close of 1928. After some fluctuations in the early part of 1929, the average price started soaring again, reaching a peak of 380 dollars on September 3. The crash of October 23 and the week following, brought the average tumbling down to 230 dollars—a loss of 150 dollars. There was a pause, a brief recovery, and a second panic in November which brought the average down to 198 dollars. This was the bottom, as measured by the average price, but it left the country wondering to what extent the swift debacle had actually injured the economic framework of the country.

Certainly the paper loss was colossal. The shrinkage in the market value of the stocks and bonds listed on the New York stock Exchange, multiplied by the number of shares and bonds outstanding, showed a paper loss of 26,078,000,000 dollars, equal to the entire war-time increase in the American national debt.

At first it was believed that the banks were seriously affected through having loaned immense sums of money on stocks and bonds which had greatly depreciated in value. But the banks, with the aid of the Federal Reserve system, presented a reassuring appearance. There were no exceptional failures. But the heavy losses known to have been incurred by the well-to-do classes spelled an immediate reduction in the demand for luxury articles; the diamond market in Amsterdam felt the crash quite as promptly and severely as the motor-manufacturing centres of Michigan. It was obvious that the country faced a trade recession of unknown dimensions, and President Hoover in October called a series of conferences at the White House of leading bankers and industrialists to discuss the steps necessary to prevent the disaster from causing general unemployment.

These conferences had a steady effect upon public opinion. Mr. Hoover extracted from the railroads of the country the promise to reduce no wages, and to continue their equipment and rehabilitation expenditures on an even larger scale than they had planned. From the leaders of the electric light and power industry he received assurances that their construction budgets for 1930 would be increased to 860,000,000 dollars as compared with 800,000,000 dollars in 1929. He summoned the governors of the various States and received assurances that State expenditures for improvements to highways would be raised to the utmost. From Congress he received an almost doubled appropriation for

Federal aid to the road construction programmes of the several States. Mr. Hoover's argument that public projects should be pushed their hardest during a time of threatened depression found widespread acceptance, and although "business" was distinctly uneasy at the outlook, the year ended with the country somewhat more confident of recovering the ground lost by the stock market crash.

Up to the time of the crash, the year, like those immediately preceding it, had been one of remarkable prosperity as measured by industrial activity, the earnings of the larger corporations, the dividends disbursed, and the total of factory pay-rolls. It is probable, however, that this prosperity was being steadily undermined by the mania for speculation. The savings banks, for example, reported for the fiscal year ending June 30 a marked drop in deposits—the first drop recorded in twenty years. This decline was attributed, not to unemployment, for there appeared to be none (apart from the usual lag in the re-employment of labour displaced by the speeding up of machine processes and the introduction of labour-saving devices), but rather to the withdrawal of funds for the purpose of speculating in shares.

But the stock market crash had instant repercussions; shop-keepers who feared that the Christmas trade would be less than anticipated, cancelled orders right and left, and by December the trade unions reported considerable unemployment. By the end of the year it was estimated that about 3,000,000 wage-earners or perhaps 8 per cent. of the total, were out of work. It was hoped, however, that this would be rapidly decreased as soon as weather conditions permitted the big public works and other similar projects to be initiated. Public opinion rather surprisingly sought no scapegoat for the stock market crash, though politicians saw political significance in the fact that Northampton, Massachusetts, the home of former President Coolidge and ordinarily a staunch Republican town, "went Democratic" in a by-election after the crash—the first time since the Civil War. There were also some Democratic speeches in Congress which attempted to fasten upon the administration the blame for the crash.

President Hoover's administration, however, seemed fairly popular, judged by newspaper comment. He was regarded as one of the ablest of the occupants of the White House, and there was no question as to his integrity and his aloofness from the more sordid aspects of politics-cum-business. In fact, one of the surprises of the year was the discovery that the President, so far from being like his predecessors complacent towards the growth of huge corporations through mergers and consolidations, was disposed to regard them as of doubtful value and to resurrect the Sherman and Clayton "anti-trust" Acts to prevent them.

As Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover had encouraged various

industries to "get together" in conferences to furnish reliable trade statistics and to check by agreement the more wasteful forms of competition and unfair trade practices. Many assumed from this that he would be willing to see the movement extended still further through actual consolidations. But he appeared to feel that there was a distinction worth preserving, and under his instruction the Department of Justice started suits against various attempted mergers, notably those in the motion-picture field.

For the greater part of the year his overwhelming domestic problem was the tariff. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act of 1922 levied high rates upon a long list of manufactured articles, but there were many trades which felt that they were slighted and their lobbyists had been active in Washington for several years. Unfortunately for them, they faced an entirely new type of opposition. For one thing, the agrarian States—normally Republican and for years complacent regarding high tariffs—had experienced a change of heart. Any increase in rates would, they argued, increase the cost of everything they had to buy without giving them any benefits whatever. Furthermore, the Eastern States, normally ardent Protectionists, contained a large and influential section of investors who recognised that the immense foreign loans floated in the United States could not be repaid, as to principal and perhaps not even as to interest, if the United States persistently refused to accept imports in goods from the debtor States.

But the most interesting *volte-face* was that of the motor industry. American motor manufacturers had built up their industry to a "rated capacity" of 11,000,000 passenger cars and trucks per year. But their experience in 1928, and even more strikingly in 1929, had shown them that the domestic market was entirely saturated by an output of between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 cars per annum, leaving an enormous leeway to be made up by exports if their great plants were to enjoy the maximum blessings of "mass production."

But European manufacturers, having been barred from the American market, partly by their own higher costs due to smaller production, and partly by the 25 per cent. duty levied under the Fordney Act, were agitating for high tariffs against the "dumping" of American cars. Some manufacturers like Mr. Ford and the General Motors Corporation promptly met these European tariff bars by setting up plants abroad for the manufacture of their cars behind the various tariff walls. But the others, unable to see their way clear to such expansion over-seas, became "free traders." Mr. Ford, with characteristic thoroughness, expressed the view that the entire 25 per cent. duty on foreign cars should be removed. But the industry as a whole compromised on a 10 per cent. tariff which could be raised against any country which discriminated against American cars.

The House of Representatives, which has the duty of initiating

all fiscal measures, fell back into the old "log-rolling" habits of the past and produced a Bill, called eventually the Smoot-Hawley Bill, which granted benefits right and left. This Bill produced a remarkable protest from other countries; no less than thirty-eight filed formal protests against various clauses. Canada, which is easily the United States' best customer, was particularly aggrieved, especially at the clause which would bar the imports of Canadian cattle into the United States. But almost every European and South American country was equally disturbed by the almost prohibitive nature of the proposed rates.

The Bill went to the Senate where it was vigorously assailed and, in Committee, practically cut to pieces. It emerged from Committee with its industrial features greatly minimised and with an elaborate scheme for granting bounties to American farmers for the export of agricultural products which gave the Bill a distinctly agrarian tone. Discussion of the Bill continued for months in the Senate and the year ended without its reaching a vote.

The President may have been impressed with the volume of international protest against the proposed tariff, but he had no occasion publicly to discuss it. It was noteworthy that the body of industrialists and economists who formed what was called the "Hoover Commission to Investigate Recent Economic Changes" criticised strongly the continuance of a policy of economic nationalism, and pointed out that America's position as a creditor nation made the international aspects of her every action more important than they had ever been before. But this report, a very able though voluminous analysis of "recent economic changes," which appeared in May, was, perhaps, more skimmed through than read.

Prohibition occupied in 1929 a steadily increasing share of the administration's attention. On May 21 the President appointed a Commission of eleven distinguished citizens to study the problem of "Law Enforcement." None of the members was a pronounced "wet" or "dry," and while the inquiry was not limited to the pros and cons of Prohibition, it was recognised that the lawlessness known to have been caused by that "noble experiment," as the President called it, must figure very largely in the hearings. Both sides therefore marshalled their forces and the discussion raged for months.

Prior to his appointment as Chairman of this Commission, Mr. George W. Wickersham, a leading lawyer, addressed an open letter to the governors of the forty-eight States suggesting that the problem of enforcing Prohibition should be divided into two parts. The Federal Government, he suggested, should assume the task of preventing smuggling and the wholesale distribution of intoxicating liquors, leaving to the separate States the problem of curbing retail sales.

This suggestion attracted wide attention, though it appeared

to please the "wets" more than the "drys." The latter resented the implication that present methods were unsatisfactory, and perhaps they felt that it was impractical to leave the entire question of local enforcement to States like Wisconsin, New Jersey, Maryland, and New York, which were known to be "wet." Massachusetts threatened to make a fifth State of this description, for the "wets" there rolled up a petition of 30,000 signatures compelling the Legislature to submit to a referendum on the repeal of the Massachusetts State law on Prohibition enforcement. A vote on that issue should be taken in 1930.

Wisconsin, containing a large German-born population, struck out on unusual lines; a Bill was introduced into the Legislature which, if passed, will authorise the State Government to undertake the manufacture and sale of liquor. This idea was borrowed, of course, from Canada. Sponsors of this movement professed to have the "highest legal opinions" to the effect that the Federal Amendment prohibits merely the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors by individuals and corporations, and is necessarily silent on the right of a sovereign State to embark on this type of enterprise. The constitutional question is obviously a difficult one, but if Wisconsin succeeds there are a number of States which are likely to follow her.

In Congress a Bill "to promote temperance" was introduced by a New York State Democrat. It proposed to substitute for the far-reaching provisions of the Volstead Act (the law which supplements the Prohibition Amendment of the Constitution) a short and simple Act forbidding the manufacture of distilled alcoholic liquors but permitting the manufacture, transport, sale, and consumption of light wines and beers. It is a curious fact that, despite the ten years' discussion of Prohibition versus "light wines and beers," it was not until 1929 that a Bill covering the latter was actually introduced in Congress. But though interesting as a sign of the times, its chances of adoption were known to be nil.

The Government announced that Federal officers had arrested 66,195 persons for violating the Federal Prohibition Acts, and had assisted officers of the various States in arresting 11,158 more alleged criminals. The President in his message to Congress on December 4 requested an appropriation of 15,200,000 dollars for "dry" enforcement. Smuggling continued, apparently, along both coasts, and perhaps across the Canadian and Mexican frontiers. On March 22 something of a diplomatic breeze was caused by the sinking by American coastguard vessels of the Canadian schooner, *I'm Alone*, some 215 miles off the coast of Louisiana (see under Canada). The facts of the case are disputed. The captain of the sunken vessel, though admitting that he was carrying liquor, declared that he was not within the three-mile limit of the American coast, nor even within the "treaty limits" of one

hour's steaming distance from the coast when he was ordered to halt by a coastguard vessel. He refused, and was pursued some 200 miles out to sea whereupon, on refusing to halt, he was fired upon by another coastguard vessel and his schooner sunk. One man, said to have been of French nationality, was drowned, but the others were rescued by the coastguard and taken to New Orleans under arrest and in irons.

The officers of the coastguard vessels declared that the pursuit began within the twelve-mile limit and that they were within their rights, under the doctrine of "continuous pursuit," in pursuing and capturing the vessel.

Canada protested against the attempted seizure of the vessel, and after some discussion the question was referred to arbitration. The Federal District Attorney, on instructions from Washington, waived the prosecution of the members of the crew "without prejudice to the right of the coastguard to fire upon and sink rum smugglers."

Negotiations were initiated with Canada to persuade the latter to increase its efforts to check the smuggling across the Canadian border. Sir Esmé Howard, the British Ambassador to Washington, created a flurry in diplomatic and administration circles in May by announcing that if the Administration intimated to the Diplomatic Corps that the privilege of importing wines and liquors for the latter's domestic use might acceptably be renounced, there would be a general willingness to forego the practice. This was in a reply to an ardent prohibitionist who had written to the British Ambassador demanding that the embassies should become as "dry" as the country to which they were sent. But as neither the Secretary of State nor the President intimated that any such request was even under consideration, the episode passed into prohibition history without concrete results.

But these isolated incidents scarcely convey the popular preoccupation with this question which held throughout the year. To find a parallel for it one must go back to the short-lived "free silver" agitation of the 1890's and, beyond that, to the slavery discussion preceding and during the Civil War. No other subject had so many speeches in Congress, or so searching a newspaper attention. Apparently, each year has seen the split between the "wets" and the "drys" wider and deeper than before.

Largely as the result of overcrowding due to wholesale conviction of violators of the Prohibition Acts, prisoners in several of the penitentiaries, having secretly procured knives, revolvers, and guns, revolted against their guards. The Federal penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth was the first to witness a bloody uprising. Then the convicts at Auburn, New York, revolted and succeeded in killing several guards before they were disarmed. They continued, however, to receive arms and ammunition, and on December 11 a second uprising took place in which nine men were killed

and six seriously injured. This second revolt was put down only with the greatest difficulty by the use of tear-bombs and the assistance of troops. But the most sanguinary outbreak of the year was at the Colorado State penitentiary at Canon City on October 7 ; here fourteen guards and five convicts had been killed before the authorities cornered the 150 revolting convicts in a block of the prison and blew up the entire block with dynamite. But the convicts had escaped to another tier of cells and ultimately surrendered. The Federal Superintendent of Prisons reported that fifteen out of the twenty-two largest penitentiaries were dangerously overcrowded ; some of them had double the population they were built to hold. It was also disclosed that 57 per cent. of the population of the Federal prisons were convicted under three recent laws—the Prohibition Act, the Anti-Drug Act, and an Act making the interstate traffic in stolen motor cars a Federal offence.

A curious turn of events brought the question of Filipino independence to the fore during the year. At present the Philippines enjoy complete free trade with the United States, and their sugar and tobacco have of recent years come into growing competition with American sugar—especially beet-sugar—and tobacco. After several years' unsuccessful efforts to have the tariff changed, a group of United States Senators from States interested in beet-sugar and tobacco became ardent converts to the idea of complete Filipino independence ; this gives the Filipinos a nucleus of influential votes in the Senate though the motives actuating the " Filipino bloc " could scarcely be called pro-Filipino.

In the United States Senate this question came to a vote on October 9. on an amendment to the Tariff Bill, introduced by a " beet-sugar " senator, granting immediate independence to the Philippines after a form of government had been established in the islands by a constitutional convention. This amendment was defeated, 44 to 36, but mustered a surprisingly large vote. On the other hand, several Filipino street speakers were mobbed and severely injured in San Francisco for attacking American rule.

In the archipelago itself the situation appears to have altered somewhat. Mr. Henry L. Stimson, when retiring as Governor-General of the Islands, early in the year, pointed with pride to the fact that his administration had completely restored the " Harrison " or semi-parliamentary, type of government for the islands which his predecessor, General Wood, had discarded in favour of an autocratic system. The congratulatory speeches tendered to him by both Houses of the Philippine Legislature agreed with him in this while stressing the importance of taking those " further steps " toward autonomy which he had mentioned as being in the mind of the United States Government.

His successor, Colonel Dwight F. Davis, in assuming office on July 16, indicated his desire to continue the Stimson policy and

suggested that the problems of the archipelago were economic rather than political. He stressed particularly the necessity of getting additional capital invested in the islands.

This view was cordially endorsed by the more conservative section of the Manila Press, representing the point of view of the native business men and the landed class. That opinion appeared to be veering round to the idea of reviving the so-called Fairfield Bill of some years ago, which would give the Philippines a larger amount of autonomy without severing the political and economic ties binding the islands to the United States until after the elapse of a specified period of twenty or thirty years. Ultimate independence remains the goal, but the path thereto is prolonged.

An agrarian uprising in Haiti which broke out on December 6 was repulsed by American marines, who killed five rioters and wounded twenty. News of this affray considerably disturbed public opinion in the United States. President Hoover, while dispatching additional marines to the island, sent a special message to Congress stressing the difficulties which had been encountered in Haiti and asking for power to send a special commission of inquiry. Congress debated the whole question of "American imperialism" for some weeks and finally gave the President the authority he requested. Affairs in Nicaragua and elsewhere in the Caribbean were, on the whole, rather quiescent.

In the field of international relations, the outstanding development was the re-orientation of the vexed question of naval disarmament, previously more or less deadlocked since the discussions of 1927.

Addressing the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva on April 22, Mr. Hugh Gibson, the American delegate, in a carefully prepared statement said that the United States felt that the Great Powers, reinforced as they now were by the general acceptance of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, should abandon the old conception of "limitation of armaments" which had bred endless technical difficulties and should go boldly forward to consider the possibility of actual reduction in armaments. He declared that the United States was prepared in advance to agree to any reduction of naval tonnage, no matter how drastic, which left no one class—such as submarines or destroyers—unrestricted. He suggested that the Powers should examine the whole subject afresh in the light of this proposal.

His speech took the conference by surprise; after some discussion, entirely friendly, the conference adjourned to give the various Governments time to examine the American proposals afresh.

The idea was patently Mr. Hoover's. With vastly more courage than his predecessor and a far better grasp of international affairs, Mr. Hoover had hit upon a proposal more certain than any

other to carry the country with him against the small, but not uninfluential, section of Congress and the Press which had been steadily ridiculing the results of the "Washington Conference" and calling for an "adequate" navy. The official suggestion put forth at Geneva that a better "yardstick" might conceivably be found than that of "tonnage by classes" or categories, provoked some naval criticism, but in general the President had whole-hearted support.

On July 24, following the announcement by Mr. MacDonald that His Majesty's Government had decided to suspend construction of two new cruisers then building, as well as various other units, Mr. Hoover announced the suspension of work on three new cruisers then under construction. He wished, he said, to wait and see whether under the proposed all-round reduction of naval tonnage, it might not be possible to scrap them entirely.

On that same day, seated in the great East Room of the White House and surrounded by the representatives of forty-one nations which had signed, or announced their adhesion to, the Kellogg Treaty for the Renunciation of War, Mr. Hoover declared that famous treaty operative and binding upon all. In a brief address, he described the treaty as "a proposal to the conscience and idealism of civilisation" and one which "will relegate war to the limbo of impossible things."

The next significant step was the visit of Mr. MacDonald to the United States on October 4. Escorted by cruisers and torpedo-boats, covered by aeroplanes and saluted by guns and the strains of "Rule Britannia," Mr. MacDonald might have smiled at the contrast between the martial character of his reception in New York harbour and the pacific nature of his mission. His journey to Washington to meet President Hoover "face to face" was accompanied by every sign of friendly and even enthusiastic welcome. The conversations between Mr. MacDonald and the President lasted from October 6 to the 10th and covered—as a subsequent statement revealed—not only the relations between the two countries and their naval programmes, in the light of the Kellogg Pact, but also the problems confronting the Naval Disarmament Conference which His Majesty's Government proposed to call in London in January. Most of the conversation took place in the seclusion of Mr. Hoover's camp on the headwaters of the Rapidan River in Virginia, about 70 miles from Washington.

On October 10 the two statesmen made public a joint signed statement describing their discussions, and the hopes which both entertained that complete agreement, not only between Great Britain and the United States, but with the other interested Powers as well was at least in sight.

In all this Mr. Hoover had his persistent "jingo" critics, such as the *Chicago Tribune*, but he very obviously had the country firmly with him. In fact he was fortunate, for just before

Mr. MacDonald's visit, the United States Senate got wind of the fact that certain armament firms had employed a professional "lobbyist," one W. B. Shearer, at Geneva to prevent, if possible, any agreement being reached which would result in the reduction of the American cruiser programme. This lobbyist asserted stoutly that he had been completely successful and had been promised a handsome reward for his services. He was a breezy and almost-too-candid witness, and his claims, whether true or not, were acutely embarrassing to the "big navy" element in the country.

The French debt-funding agreement, known as the Mellon-Berenger agreement, was ratified by both France and the United States during the year. The French Chamber approved it on July 25 by an overwhelming vote just before Premier Poincaré resigned. This was done in response to the Government's plea for a generous majority to atone somewhat for the long delay. The decision was received with great satisfaction in Washington, and Senator Smoot, in urging American ratification, pointed out that the French people were being taxed 33 per cent. of their annual income, whereas the Americans were paying in taxes only 10 per cent. The House of Representatives ratified the agreement on December 12 and the Senate promptly followed on December 16. The arrangement involves the payment by France of 4,230,000,000 dollars over a period extending to 1965; total payments including interest would reach 6,847,647,105 dollars. All the War Debts have now been funded except the Russian.

ARGENTINA.

The rule of Dr. Irigoyen during the first year of his Presidency was of a much more personal character than that of his predecessor, and approximated somewhat to the dictatorships or quasi-dictatorships in force in some other American Republics. He showed little consideration for the opinion of his colleagues and subordinates, and interfered arbitrarily in the work of administration. Without seeking the sanction of Congress, he "intervened"—not without good cause—in four provinces, Mendoza, San Juan, Corrientes, and Santa Fé, imposing Governors who kept order by means of Federal troops. The public did not question the sincerity of his motives in every case; nevertheless it was not too well pleased with his methods, and his popularity suffered a certain decline. A reaction in his favour was caused by an attempt on his life, made on December 24, by an irresponsible anarchist of Italian origin. The President escaped injury, and the would-be assassin was immediately shot dead by the police.

The great event of the year was the visit of the British Trade Mission headed by Lord D'Abernon (*vide* English History, p. 70), which arrived in Buenos Aires on August 20. The President

took the closest possible interest in the work of the Mission. He showed the members distinguished marks of courtesy, and had almost daily conferences with Lord D'Abernon, to whom he became greatly attached. The public also was most favourably impressed with the business-like attitude of the Mission. The results exceeded Lord D'Abernon's most sanguine expectations, and were described by him as not only satisfactory but "astounding." Besides strengthening the sentimental ties which had so long existed between the Argentine and Great Britain, the Mission secured the President's signature to a draft agreement binding the two countries to establish reciprocal credits for stimulating trade between them. The Trade Convention thus formulated was the subject of a heated debate in the Argentine Chamber on December 12, and was eventually approved by a large majority.

In November the President added to the Convention a provision reducing by 50 per cent. the import duties on artificial silk goods produced in Great Britain, provided that the latter country made a declaration binding itself not to impose duties on certain classes of Argentinian foodstuffs. The provision was to come into force on January 1, 1930. Protests, however, were made by France, and the President issued a decree suspending the concession.

One reason why the D'Abernon Mission was popular in Argentina was because it represented an effort to strengthen British as against American economic interests in the country. The Argentine public had no fear of the British investor, but regarded the American investor with suspicion, as harbouring designs on the sovereignty of his country. American financial penetration was taking place so rapidly that even the railways, the stronghold of British investment, were not considered safe from its advances, and the board of the Buenos Aires and Pacific Railway urged upon the shareholders certain changes in the statutes designed to prevent the railway from passing out of British control.

Congress was opened on May 24 with a minimum of ceremonial. The President did not attend in person, but sent a message stating that the Executive was absorbed in problems relating to production, transport, education, and national economy, and urging on Congress the prompt approval of the new Labour laws. The international relations of the Argentine were stated to be excellent. The session should have closed on September 30, but it was prolonged by the President for consideration of the Budget and other matters.

In July dock strikes took place which seriously interfered with shipping, but normal conditions had been restored before the end of August.

General regret was felt at the resignation in November, for private reasons, of the British Ambassador, Sir Malcolm Robertson,

who had come to Buenos Aires as British Legate in 1925, becoming Ambassador in 1927. Sir Malcolm had played an important part in bringing about the Trade Agreement, and had throughout his stay in the Argentine shown a keen interest in Anglo-Argentinian relations, both commercial and cultural.

BOLIVIA.

The mediation of the Pan-American Conference on Arbitration and Conciliation (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 293) proved successful in averting the threatened war between Bolivia and Paraguay. Before the end of 1928, the Conference had drawn up a protocol appointing a panel of judges to inquire into the affair of Fort Vanguardia and subsequent incidents of the same kind. The judges were to report within six months, during which matters were to remain in *statu quo*. The protocol was signed by both Bolivia and Paraguay on January 3. Both countries, however, insisted that the dispute regarding the El Chaco frontier should not be included in the terms of reference of the panel, but should be left for consideration later and by other means.

The panel consisted of judges from Bolivia, Paraguay, the United States, Uruguay, and Cuba. Argentina and Brazil were also asked to send representatives but refused, the former on the ground that her offer of mediation had already been rejected by Bolivia. Soon after the inquiry commenced, Bolivia announced her willingness to submit the dispute regarding El Chaco to The Hague Court of International Justice. No practical steps, however, were taken to that end, and in May frontier incidents again occurred in the El Chaco district, and relations once more became strained between Bolivia and Paraguay. The Commission of Inquiry, however, used its good offices, and in September, not having yet completed its original investigation, submitted a request to the disputants to allow its neutral members to arbitrate on the difference regarding the Chaco frontier. Both parties accepted the suggestion unreservedly.

While the war scare was at its height, Señor Siles, the President of Bolivia, had assumed almost dictatorial powers in the interests of national safety. His retention of them long after the danger had passed gave rise to acute public discontent. A revolutionary movement was threatened by the partisans of the ex-President, Señor Bautista Saavedra, who was in exile, and of another ex-President, Señor Ismael Montes. Señor Siles succeeded in maintaining himself in power, forcing Señor Montes to expatriate himself, and relegating Señor Abdon Saavedra, another rival, to the outlying territory of Santa Cruz.

In May Bolivia protested against the provision in the Tacna-Arica settlement between Chile and Peru prohibiting the building

of international railways through the Tacna-Arica territory, on the ground that this cut her off from the sea, contrary to a promise made by Chile in 1921.

BRAZIL.

During 1929 Brazil was free from internal disturbances and continued to make good progress economically. The financial situation gradually improved under the careful management of President Washington Luis. In his message to Congress on the opening of the new session on May 3, Dr. Luis was able to announce that expenditure had been cut down without interfering with the existing public services, and revenue had been increased, largely through improvements in the collection of the taxes. In consequence the accounts for the year 1928 had shown an actual surplus of 198,354 contos paper instead of the estimated surplus of 116 contos. As a result of the stabilisation policy, the exchange had been maintained within the gold standard, the milrei in the course of two years having varied only between $5\frac{3}{4}d.$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$. The external debt had been diminished by 131,586 contos and the internal debt by 79,000 contos. Production had increased and exports had exceeded those of 1927 by 9,137,000*l.*, giving a favourable trade balance of 6,757,443*l.* The Government had decided to make the Banco do Brasil a Central Bank of Issue to which the existing Caixa Estabilisação would be transferred.

In July the State of São Paulo nominated Senhor Julio Prestes, its President and a protégé of Dr. Washington Luis, as its candidate for the Presidency at the next election. Soon after, the States of Minas Geraes and Rio Grande do Sul nominated Dr. Getulio Vargas, President of the latter State and formerly Minister of Finance in Dr. Luis's Government, for the office. Dr. Vargas was also a supporter of the policy of Dr. Luis, but the State of Minas Geraes objected to the Presidency being held twice running by representatives of São Paulo. Dr. Luis was known from the first to favour Dr. Prestes, but he did not definitely declare in support of his candidature till August 13.

On December 17 Dr. Prestes stated that, if elected President, he would continue Dr. Luis's policy of a Central Bank, stabilisation, and Coffee Protection. Although the programmes of the two candidates did not differ materially, feeling in regard to the Presidential election ran high, and debates on the subject in the Chamber of Deputies assumed a provocative character. On December 26 a heated altercation between two deputies, one of whom represented Rio Grande and the other Pernambuco, led to a brawl in which the latter was shot dead.

Brazil's relations with foreign countries during the year were in the main friendly. Early in the year some friction arose with Paraguay owing to the occupation by Brazilian troops of

two small islands in the River Paraguay, of no intrinsic value. In June the Brazilians retired, and the incident was closed. In April some irritation was caused in Brazil by the action of Argentina in quarantining Brazilian vessels owing to an outbreak of yellow fever in Rio de Janeiro. The epidemic was over in June, and normal trade relations were resumed.

A treaty with Bolivia relating to boundaries and railway communications was ratified in June. The D'Abernon Mission from England was warmly welcomed by the Government in October.

Early in the year a British firm, the Aircraft Operating Company, was commissioned to carry out an aerial survey of the city of Rio de Janeiro and its surroundings, as a preliminary to extensive town-planning improvements. The first part of the survey, covering an area of about 450 square miles, was completed before the end of the year, and in December the Prefect of Rio sent a telegram to the Company expressing his appreciation of the way in which the work had been done.

The Census taken at the end of 1928 showed the population of Brazil to be 42,637,000, and of the Federal District, including Rio de Janeiro, 2,400,000.

CHILE.

The year 1929 was free from internal disturbances. Congress was allowed to meet in May, but President Ibañez continued to hold all power in his own hands. His dictatorial attitude towards the Parliament brought him into conflict with some members of his Cabinet, and in consequence the Ministry resigned on August 23, and was replaced by a fresh one with Don Enrique Bermudez as Prime Minister. The Presidential Message of May 21 called attention to the improvement in the financial and economic condition of the country which had taken place in the previous year. The accounts for 1928 had closed with a surplus of 34,000,000 pesos (about 850,000*l.*), and exports had increased by 33 per cent. In June the President was empowered by the Government to invest on behalf of the State 40,000,000 Chilean pesos (about 6,000,000*l.*) in shares in a corporation which was being formed in South Chile for the production of iron and steel, the object being to free Chile from its dependence on foreign imports for these materials.

The great event of the year was the settlement of the dispute which had been going on with Peru since 1883 over the provinces of Tacna and Arica. Negotiations on the subject had been opened once more as soon as diplomatic relations were resumed between the two countries in July, 1928, President Hoover acting as intermediary, though not openly as mediator. In April a settlement was reached by which Tacna was assigned to Peru

and Arica to Chile, while Chile undertook to pay Peru 6,000,000 dollars (1,200,000*l.*), and to assign to Peru an area of about six square miles on the Bay of Arica. The dividing line was to be drawn from a point to be named Concordia, $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of the River Luta, and to run parallel with the line of the Arica-La Paz railway. A treaty embodying this arrangement was signed at Lima on June 3, and shortly afterwards Chile withdrew her troops from Tacna and paid over to Peru the sum stipulated.

MEXICO.

The first half of 1929 was rendered noteworthy by an insurrection conspicuous even in the annals of Mexico for its sanguinary and ruthless character. On first assuming office, it is true, Señor Portes Gil, who had been elected interim President in October, had seemed to enjoy the confidence of all parties, and had been able to give his undivided attention to problems of internal reform. The year 1929 also opened auspiciously for his rule with the surrender of a notorious brigand named Benjamin Mendoza, who had infested the neighbourhood of Mexico City. Signs of grave unrest, however, soon after manifested themselves. In January local elections in the State of Hidalgo gave rise to the most deadly political contest ever known in the history of the country, nearly 50 people being killed and 100 wounded. The funeral of José Toral, the assassin of Obregon, who was executed in Mexico City on February 9, evoked a great demonstration of sympathy from the public, and the most stringent police measures were necessary to prevent an outbreak of disorder. On the next day an attempt was made to blow up a train in which the President was travelling, but he escaped uninjured. At about the same time a fiery attack on the ex-President Calles and the present President Gil was made by Señor Gilberto Valenzuela, a candidate for the Presidency, in a speech delivered at Hermosillo, in Sonora. Señor Valenzuela was openly charged by an opponent with planning rebellion and inviting some military commanders to revolt.

Such a revolt actually broke out a short time after. On March 3 General Jesus Maria Aguirre, who had won fame in the wars against the Yaqui Indians, and later by suppressing the Huerta revolt in 1923, declared war on the Government, and at the head of six out of the seven military units in the State of Vera Cruz, seized the port of Vera Cruz and made himself master of the State. Simultaneously at the other end of the country, in the State of Sonora in the North-West, a revolt was proclaimed by the Governor, Señor Topete, assisted by General Manzo and General Manuel Aguirre, brother of General Jesus Aguirre. Señor Topete declared that the country was in revolt not against the Mexican Government, but against the domination of the Gov-

ernment by the ex-President, Señor Calles. All that they demanded was that candidates for the Presidency should be allowed to carry on a regular election campaign, that the election should be conducted legally, and that General Calles should leave the country.

The rebels were joined by General Escobar, in the State of Coahuila, whom they nominated their commander-in-chief. They made efforts to win the support of the disaffected elements in the country—the Agrarians and the “Cristeros” (militant Catholics). The former made little response, but large numbers of Cristeros rose in the provinces of Sinaloa and Jalisco, on the West coast. Of the Army, not more than 10,000 men followed the rebel commanders; the rest, numbering about 50,000, remained loyal to the Government.

President Gil's first step on hearing of the revolt was to summon General Calles from his retirement and appoint him Minister of War. General Calles took supreme charge of the operations against the insurgents, and fixed his base at Irapuato, north-west of Mexico City, whence Obregon had directed the operations against Huerta in 1923. A large force was immediately despatched to Vera Cruz, and after an all-day battle on March 6, it gained possession of the port of Vera Cruz. General Aguirre, deserted by most of his troops, became a fugitive, and a few weeks later was captured and shot.

In the North the rebels were at first more successful. On March 5, after heavy fighting, General Escobar gained possession of Monterey, an important strategic centre in the State of Nuevo Leon. He evacuated it almost immediately, however, on the approach of the Federal troops, and marched to join the insurgents in the north-west. On March 7 another insurgent force captured Juarez, on the United States border, opposite El Paso in Texas. At the same time General Manzo advanced along the west coast in the direction of Mazatlan, with the intention of taking that place and then marching behind the Federal army on the capital.

Confident that the Federal garrison could hold Mazatlan, General Calles at his headquarters calmly made his preparations for an advance. Besides possessing a great superiority in numbers, he had the further advantage of being allowed to procure munitions from the United States, whereas the embargo on the export of arms from that country was strictly enforced against the insurgents. The Mexican Government on March 10 availed itself of this liberty to order from the United States surplus war stocks, huge quantities of rifles, ammunition, and bombs, besides purchasing a number of aeroplanes, the pilots of which were either Mexicans trained in America or American volunteers.

The southern part of the country having been pacified, General Calles commenced an advance towards the north-west on March 9

with 18,000 men. The insurgents under General Escobar awaited his arrival at Torreon. Federal troops began to converge upon that place from Cañitas in the south, from Monterey in the east, and from Durango, which was taken on March 15, on the west. On March 16 and 17 General Escobar evacuated Torreon without striking a blow, and made good his retreat to Escalon, 100 miles farther up the railway line. Fearing that the railway would be cut behind him, he retired farther the next day, to Jimenez, destroying the railway as he went.

In the meantime the rebel forces had been allowed to march without hindrance down the west coast to Mazatlan. Their advance had been delayed by internal dissensions, and when they reached the place they found it occupied with a strong garrison under General Carillo, who after five days' fighting repulsed them with great loss. The failure to take Mazatlan destroyed the last hope of the insurgents of capturing Mexico City. General Escobar's army, however, was still intact, and was separated from the main Federal army by a waterless plain of over 100 miles in extent, in which almost every foot of railway had been torn up. Nothing daunted, General Calles pushed forward with 10,000 men and reached Escalon on March 27. He described the crossing of the desert of Bolson de Mapimi as "the most serious battle of the campaign." On April 1 General Escobar, whose troops then numbered about 5,000, was at last brought to bay at Jimenez. After a fierce battle which lasted two days, the rebels were defeated and driven out of the town. On the next day they were overtaken by the Federal troops at La Reforma, eleven miles north of Jimenez, and heavily defeated. The disastrous retreat of General Escobar's army from Jimenez became known in Mexico as *La Jornada Tragica* (the tragic march). Military operations of a desultory character continued for another month, during which the insurgent army on the west coast suffered a number of reverses and gradually melted away before the Federal pursuit. On April 30 the surrender to the Federal troops of Nogales, on the United States frontier, brought the insurrection to an end. General Escobar with a number of his colleagues escaped into the United States. All the senior officers captured during the operations were executed; junior officers and men were treated leniently, as having been misled by their superiors. Some fifty generals were removed from the Army for complicity in the revolt, and at the end of May the Chamber of Deputies expelled fifty-two of its members in order to deprive them of their immunity and enable them to be brought to trial.

The Cristeros in Jalisco had not been suppressed with the rest of the rebels, and fighting went on with them during a good deal of the summer. In July, however, General Calles judged the state of the country to be sufficiently tranquil to permit him to leave for a holiday in Europe. He was away five months.

Immediately on his return in December, some thirty persons were arrested on a charge of a plot to assassinate him.

As soon as the insurrection was quelled, the problem of coming to some sort of agreement with the Roman Catholic hierarchy was seriously taken in hand by the Government. On May 2 the President issued a conciliatory statement assuring the public that the Catholic Church as an institution had had nothing to do with the revolt, that the Government had no intention of persecuting any religious body, and that the Catholic clergy were at liberty to resume their functions, provided they respected the laws. This approach procured an immediate response; the leader of the Mexican clergy, Mgr. Leopoldo Ruiz y Florez, Archbishop of Morelia, who was then at Washington, welcomed the President's statement as evidence of good-will, and declared that the Church desired no special privileges, but only her liberty on the basis of an amicable separation of Church and State. At the same time he circularised the exiled Mexican Bishops on the question whether they were in favour of a reconciliation between the Church and the Mexican Government. Most of them sent enthusiastic replies in the affirmative, which were forwarded to the Vatican, with a request for instructions. The Pope thereupon appointed Archbishop Ruiz Apostolic Delegate in Mexico with power to conduct negotiations.

Early in June Archbishop Ruiz at the invitation of the President, returned to Mexico, along with Mgr. Paschas Diaz, the Bishop of Tabasco. They were accompanied by Mr. Dwight Morrow, the American Ambassador to Mexico, who interrupted his holiday in order to assist in the negotiations. After three interviews between the prelates and the President—on June 12, 13, and 18—an agreement was reached of which the Pope cabled his approval on June 21. The terms of the agreement were that while priests should still be required to be registered by the Government (a rule against which the Church had hitherto violently objected), the Catholic hierarchy should designate those priests who were to be registered; that religious instruction should be permitted in churches though not in schools; and that Mexican prelates should possess the right—which belonged to all Mexican citizens—of applying in due form for a modification of the Constitution.

This settlement did not cover all the questions at issue between the Catholics and the Government—notably that of the right of the Church to conduct political activities; nevertheless, it was received with unfeigned rejoicing by the mass of the Catholics in Mexico. The interdiction which had lasted close on three years was lifted; hundreds of thousands of people again flocked to the churches to hear Mass conducted by priests, and the pealing of church bells was heard once more in Mexico. Thousands of exiled priests returned to their cures. The Govern-

ment, while declaring the church buildings to be national property, placed the care of them in the hands of the clergy.

In token of the new spirit of conciliation which was at work, the Mexican National League for Religious Defence, which hitherto had supported the militant Cristeros, on July 15 issued a statement urging all members of the League who were taking part in the rebellion to lay down their arms, and devote their energies to promoting the interests of the Church by constitutional means. The Government on its side made a corresponding gesture by liberating some 130 prisoners, mostly women, who had been placed in gaol for offences against the religious laws.

Another matter to which the President turned his attention as soon as he felt at ease over the military situation, was the combating of the drink evil in Mexico. He had already shown his interest in this question by enforcing a certain measure of prohibition in the province of Tamaulipas when he was Governor there. He believed much more, however, in persuasion than in force as a means of promoting temperance among the Mexican people ; and in May he launched an active educational campaign for bringing home to the people the evils which resulted from their addiction to alcohol, and particularly to the national drink *pulque*, regarded by most reformers as the curse of Mexico. The Mexican national holiday, November 20, which commemorates the Revolution of 1910, was dedicated this year to propaganda against the use of alcohol and in favour of outdoor sports and pastimes.

The Congress which met on September 1 sanctioned a new labour code drawn up by the President. It provided among other things for higher pay and better conditions for the oil workers. The oil companies protested that they would not be able to afford the new expenditure, as the oil industry in Mexico was in a state of "complete decadence," production having fallen by something like 80 per cent. since 1921. The Government replied that this decrease was not due to any inherent weakness in the industry itself, but to the policy of the United States Government, which was deliberately restricting output in Mexico in order to conserve a large supply of oil near the United States' borders on which it could fall back in case of emergency.

The Presidential election took place on November 17, having been preceded as usual by a number of assassinations. The candidates were Señor Ortiz Rubio, for the National Revolutionary Party, Señor Jose Vasconcelos, Anti-re-electionist, and General Pedro Tirana, Communist. Señor Rubio, having escaped assassination, was elected by an overwhelming majority. His election was confirmed on an appeal by his opponents to the Supreme Court, on the ground that he had used illegal methods. Shortly afterwards he paid an unofficial visit to the United States, in the course of which he had an interview with President Hoover, thus cementing the good relations between the two countries of which

the continued presence in Mexico of Mr. Dwight Morrow as American Ambassador had been the solid guarantee throughout the year.

In February the Minister of Finance paid 9,000,000 pesos (nearly 1,000,000*l.*) on account of some long-standing debts of the Mexican Government, and announced that this would soon be followed by much larger payments for the same purpose. The civil war, however, once more threw the finances of the country into disorder, and no more creditors' claims were satisfied before the end of the year.

In November Mexico formally signified its adhesion to the Kellogg Pact.

GUATEMALA.

In January an insurrectionary movement broke out in the Western provinces, and the rebels captured Retalhuleu, the chief commercial centre on the Pacific slope. The Government proclaimed martial law for the whole country, assumed control of the transport system, and sent troops to crush the rebellion. Fighting took place, in the course of which the rebels were bombed from aeroplanes, besides being attacked with artillery and machine-gun fire. By the end of January the revolt had been crushed and complete order restored throughout the Republic. In February the President, General Don Lozano Chacon, appointed a new Cabinet, and early in March martial law was withdrawn. In September the President issued a proclamation suspending certain constitutional guarantees in order to have a free hand for dealing with political activities which, he could say, were obviously started to disturb public order. At the same time he declared that complete tranquillity prevailed throughout the country, and announced a programme for improving the economic situation.

VENEZUELA.

On the approach of the termination of his period of office as President, General Gomez announced that he would not seek re-election. Strong pressure was brought to bear upon him from the most influential quarters to reconsider his decision, but he declined, saying that at the age of 72 he felt he had accomplished his work of keeping Venezuela free from revolutions, and that in the present conditions any honourable and capable citizen could satisfactorily fill the office. The Congress thereupon elected as President his nominee, Don Juan Bautista Perez, President of the Court of Cassation, for the statutory period of seven years. The change of President betokened no change of regime, as General Gomez took over the post of Commander-in-Chief, and in that

capacity retained in his own hands the same autocratic powers which he had exercised as President.

The retirement of President Gomez was the signal for a revolutionary outbreak in the North and West of the country. Its leader was General Gabaldon, formerly President of the State of Zamorra. It soon shared the fate of the many similar risings which had preceded it against the rule of General Gomez ; by the end of June the rebels had been scattered and General Gabaldon was a prisoner. This insurrection was distinguished by a spectacular incident reminiscent of the piratical exploits of bygone days. On the night of June 8 some 500 Venezuelans—refugees and others—under General Urbino made a raid on the fort of Willemstad, the capital of the Dutch island of Curaçao, some fifty miles from the Venezuelan coast. They overpowered the sentries of the fort, seized all the arms and ammunition they could find there, and put them on board an American steamer in the harbour. They then advanced into the town, seized the Governor of the island and the commander of the local garrison and some of his men, and having placed them all on board the steamer, compelled the master to sail to La Vela, the nearest port in Venezuela. Having landed there, they allowed the ship to return with the persons they had kidnapped. The Government of Venezuela subsequently expressed its regret to the Dutch Government for the incident, and no international complications followed.

In August a second revolt took place, accompanied by a buccaneering exploit of the same character as the raid on Willemstad. Some Venezuelan revolutionaries embarked as ordinary passengers at Gdynia, the port of Danzig, on a German boat called the *Falke* sailing for South America, and when they neared the coast of Venezuela they forced the captain to take on board a quantity of men and arms from a sloop which came alongside. The force thus collected landed near the town of Cumana, the capital of the province of Sucre. They were, however, driven off with great loss by the garrison, the commander of which lost his life. Similar failure attended the other attempts of the revolutionaries.

PART II.

PART II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1929.
JANUARY.

1. *The Times* announced that Mr. J. H. Plummer, of Southport, had bequeathed, subject to the payment of a small annuity, the whole of his estate, estimated at about 250,000*l.*, to the University of Cambridge, in trust for the endowment of chairs for modern scientific research.

9. A railway accident occurred at Ashchurch, a Gloucestershire village two miles from Tewkesbury; four people were killed and twenty-one injured.

10. Dr. Temple was enthroned Archbishop of York in York Minster.

16. *The Times* announced that Mr. Charles Marten Powell had left the residue of his property, valued at 98,460*l.*, to the University of Oxford.

— Bradgate Park, the home of Lady Jane Grey, recently acquired by Mr. Charles Bennion, of Leicester, has been presented by him to Leicester for public use in perpetuity.

18. Celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the *Boys' Own Paper*.

25. The total proceeds of the Kern Library sale amounted to 1,729,462 dollars (345,892*l.*).

FEBRUARY.

2. Mr. Edward Perry Warren left 13,000*l.* to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for the establishment of a lectureship in Greek.

9. King George V. was moved from Buckingham Palace to Craigweil House, near Bognor.

11. It was announced that Lord and Lady Melchett had presented one and three-quarter acres, situate near Chelsea Town Hall, for the erection of new buildings for the Chelsea Health Society.

— Intense cold and biting winds were experienced all over the country. Thirteen degrees of frost was registered in Kent.

12. Mr. Albert Levy, Treasurer of the Royal Free Hospital, contributed 50,000*l.* to the fund for rebuilding the hospital's maternity department.

— Leyden Town Hall, built in 1595, was destroyed by fire.

— The frosty weather became more intense all over the British Isles. In many towns, owing to the frost, there was a shortage of water.

13. Commissioner E. J. Higgins was elected General of the Salvation Army in place of General Bramwell Booth.

16. The severe weather continued during the week ; snow fell in many places.

18. It was announced that Prof. G. M. Trevelyan had purchased and presented to the National Trust 400 acres of land in the Lake District as a gift to the nation.

19. Three new educational endowments were announced : 8,000,000 dollars under the will of Mr. Milton H. Wilson, to the North-Western University in Chicago ; 1,000,000 dollars to form a fund to be known as the Edith and Percy Straus Fund ; and 2,000,000 dollars to provide a laboratory for the New Haven Hospital.

20. The trustees of the estate of the late Mr. C. Heath Clark announced their intention to contribute 10,000*l.* to the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in London.

MARCH.

1. The New Year's Honours, postponed owing to the King's illness, were issued ; three Peerages were conferred—on Sir Jesse Boot [Baron Trent of Nottingham, in the County of Nottingham], Mr. Urban Broughton [Baron Fairhaven of Lode, in the County of Cambridge], and Sir Berkeley Moynihan [Baron Moynihan of Leeds, in the County of Yorkshire], and nine new Baronets were created.

3. Mr. David Nichol Smith, Fellow of Merton College, was elected Professor of English Literature at the University of Oxford in succession to Mr. G. S. Gordon, President of Magdalen College, resigned.

11. Major H. O. D. Segrave, in his Irving special racing car, Golden Arrow, set up a new world record at Daytona Beach, Florida, with an average speed of 231.36226 miles an hour.

14. *The Times* announced that Lord Rothermere had given 10,000*l.* to the St. Marylebone Grammar School where he was educated.

16. Clearwell Castle, in Gloucestershire, the original house of which dates back to the reign of Edward II., was completely destroyed by fire.

18. It was announced that Cockley Beck Farm, at the head of Duddon Valley in the Lake District, had been acquired by the National Trust through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Simon, of Manchester.

23. Cambridge won the Boat Race, the hundredth of the series, by seven lengths.

26. The Very Rev. George K. A. Bell, Dean of Canterbury, was appointed to the Bishopric of Chichester.

31. *Le Gaulois*, a Paris newspaper, first issued on July 4, 1868, ceased publication on its absorption with the *Figaro*.

APRIL.

1. It was announced that the Fémina-Vie Heureuse Prize for 1928-29 was awarded to Mr. H. M. Tomlinson for his "Gallion's Reach."

4. Under the will of Mrs. Margaret McGregor, of Stirling, the University of Glasgow received a bequest of 20,000*l.* to establish a Chair in Medical Research.

6. It was announced that Mr. Herbert William Summers, of Southsea, whose estate was valued at over 25,000*l.*, has left the greater part of his property to Lincoln College, Oxford.

10. The Travel Association of Great Britain and Ireland was formed for the purpose of engaging in publicity work to induce foreign travellers to visit the British Isles.

11. Mr. G. H. A. Wilson was elected Master of Clare College, Cambridge, in succession to the late Dr. W. L. Mollison.

12. Major Segrave [see under March 11] had a knighthood conferred upon him.

13. Sir James Barrie presented all the rights in "Peter Pan" to the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street.

16. It was announced that the Lord Mayor's Relief Fund for the Distressed Areas had reached over 800,000*l.*

19. Sir Alexander Grant gave 25,000*l.* to the University of Edinburgh towards the building of a new Department of Geology, promising a like amount within twelve months.

21. Summer time came into force at 2 a.m.

24. The town of Beverley in Yorkshire celebrated the 800th anniversary of the granting of its charter.

25. Mr. Algernon M. Talmage, painter, was elected a member of the Royal Academy, and Mr. Richard Garbe, sculptor, was elected an associate member.

26. The first direct non-stop flight between England and India was accomplished by Squadron-Leader A. G. Jones-Williams and Flight-Lieut. N. H. Jenkins. The distance covered was 4,130 miles, and the journey took 50 hours 48 minutes.

27. Bolton Wanderers beat Portsmouth in the Football Association Cup Final Match at Wembley.

— As a thankoffering for the convalescence of King George V., an anonymous donor, calling himself Audax, promised 100,000 guineas for a period of seven years. This was taken as the nucleus of a national thanksgiving fund for the benefit of the hospitals for which an appeal was made to the nation, and another appeal for 150,000*l.* was made at the same time for a National Radium Fund.

29. The Zoological Society celebrated the centenary of its foundation.

— General Booth of the Salvation Army was appointed a Member of the Order of the Companions of Honour.

MAY.

1. The foundation-stone was laid of the new Manchester Grammar School.

3. It was announced that Sir Thomas Henry Holland, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Rector of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, had been appointed Principal of Edinburgh University in succession to Sir Alfred Ewing.

7. *The Times* reported that the Colston Research Society had received a gift of 5,000*l.* from Mr. Mardon for the promotion of research at Bristol University.

— A severe gale, reaching at times over sixty miles an hour, swept over southern England.

10. The Universal Postal Union commenced its first congress in London. Special stamps were issued to mark the occasion.

— At Oxford there was opened Rhodes House, built by the Rhodes Trustees as a permanent memorial to Cecil Rhodes.

13. The Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard was appointed Dean of Canterbury.

— Prof. Henry Roy Dean was elected Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

14. At Newcastle the Prince of Wales opened the North-East Coast Exhibition.

15. An anonymous donor presented Girton College, Cambridge, with a sum, estimated at between 16,000*l.* and 18,000*l.*, sufficient to defray the cost of the new library.

— King George V. accompanied by Queen Mary, left Craigweil House and arrived at Windsor Castle.

17. An anonymous donor presented 58,000*l.* to the New General Hospital Fund of Southend.

19. Kirkley Hall, ten miles north-west of Newcastle, which was built in 1632, was destroyed by fire.

25. Lord Beaverbrook made a gift of 63,000*l.* in seven yearly instalments to St. Mary's Hospital Medical School.

— The Prince of Wales reviewed the Metropolitan Police Force in celebration of the centenary of its establishment.

28. The Duke and Duchess of York took part in the celebration of the 600th anniversary of King Robert the Bruce's charter to Edinburgh.

29. *The Times* announced that two gifts had been made to Edinburgh University for the proposed reconstruction of the buildings of the Medical School—20,000*l.* from the Trustees of the late Sir William Dunn, and 35,000*l.* from the Rockefeller Foundation.

— A gift of 10,000*l.* was announced to the Leeds University Appeal Fund.

JUNE.

3. In the King's Birthday Honours List peerages were conferred on Mr. W. C. Bridgeman [Viscount Bridgeman of Leigh], Sir William Berry [Baron Camrose of Long Cross, in the County of Surrey], Sir Edward Brotherton [Baron Brotherton of Wakefield], Sir Robert Sanders [Baron Bayford], and Sir William Tyrrell [Baron Tyrrell of Avon, in the County of Southampton]. Viscount Inchcape was made an Earl, and Lord Hailsham and Lord Plumer, Viscounts.

— *The Times* announced that a Royal Charter had been granted to the Land Agents' Society.

— Dr. T. Franklin Sibly, Principal of the University of London, was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University of Reading in the room of Dr. W. M. Childs, retired.

4. The Newdigate Prize at Oxford was awarded to Miss Phyllis M. Hartnoll, scholar of St. Hugh's College. This is the third time in succession that the prize has been awarded to a woman.

— The University of Oxford accepted the offer of a professorship made possible through the generosity of Mr. George Eastman, to be known as the George Eastman Visiting Professorship.

5. Mr. W. Barnett's Trigo, ridden by Marshall, and trained by R. C. Dawson, won the Derby at Epsom.

7. *The Times* announced that in his will Sir Hildebrand Harmsworth left 90,000*l.* for scholarships at Merton College, Oxford.

9. The centenary of the death of Sir Humphry Davy was celebrated at Penzance where he was born.

— The 700th anniversary of the foundation of the University of Toulouse was celebrated.

10. Under the will of Lady Durning-Lawrence, the University of Manchester has received a bequest of 10,000*l.*

12. King George V. appointed the Duke of Sutherland and Sir John Maxwell Stirling-Maxwell to be Knights of the Thistle.

17. Seven passengers were drowned when the "City of Ottawa," an Imperial Air Liner flying from Croydon to Paris, came down through engine trouble in the English Channel about three miles east of Dungeness.

— The birth of the first child in the newly-created Vatican city was announced.

21. A Barony was conferred on Sir John Sankey, Chancellor of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Sankey of Moreton, in the County of Gloucester.

22. Sir William Sinclair Marris, Member of the Council of India, and late Governor of the United Provinces, was elected Principal of Armstrong College, University of Durham, in succession to Sir Theodore Morison.

25. Under the will of Lord Revelstoke 100,000*l.* was left to King Edward's Hospital Fund, 50,000*l.* to Guy's Hospital, and 25,000*l.* to St. Mary's Hospital Medical School.

— A Peerage was conferred on Mr. Sidney Webb [Baron Passfield, of Passfield Corner in the County of Southampton].

— Celebration of the centenary of the foundation of King's College, London.

28. The Very Rev. Thomas Williams was appointed Roman Catholic Archbishop of Birmingham.

29. In the Dissolution Honours Peerages were conferred on Sir William Joynson-Hicks [Viscount Brentford of Newick, in the County of Sussex], Sir Hamar Greenwood [Baron Greenwood of Llanbister, in the County of Radnor], Sir George Lawson-Johnston [Lord Luke of Pavenham], Sir Gilbert Wells [Lord Dulverton of Batsford], and Major Robert Yerburgh [Lord Alvingham of Woodfold, in the County Palatine of Lancaster].

30. Ashridge House, the Bonar Law Memorial College, a centre for Conservative education, was opened by Mr. Baldwin.

JULY.

2. On the retirement of Mr. C. P. Scott from the editorship of the *Manchester Guardian*, which he had held since the year 1872, his son, Mr. E. T. Scott, was appointed editor in his place.

6. The Jubilee of the foundation of Somerville College, Oxford, was celebrated.

9. *The Times* announced that Sir Albert Levy had transferred to trustees securities to the value of 250,000*l.* to form a benevolent fund for the purpose of supporting hospitals and other charitable objects.

10. The aeroplane "Southern Cross" landed at Croydon after having flown from Sydney, Australia, which it had left on June 25.

11. A number of disasters were recorded during the last few days ; on the 9th, a submarine was sunk with a loss of twenty-four lives ; on the 10th, eight men were killed in a pit explosion in Monmouthshire, and three in a pit accident in Somerset ; on the 11th, at a hospital fête at Gillingham, fifteen victims were burnt to death.

12. Mr. Henry Thomas Tizard, F.R.S., was appointed Rector of the Imperial College of Science and Technology in succession to Sir Thomas Holland.

— Peerages were conferred on Sir William Warrender Mackenzie, K.C. [Baron Amulree of Strathbraan, in the County of Perth], and Sir George Croydon Marks [Lord Marks of Woolwich, in the County of Kent].

13. Mr. H. W. Walker has presented to the National Trust, Ramps-holme, one of the islands in Derwentwater.

15. *The Times* announced that a Charter had been granted for the constitution of trustees to administer the National Radium Fund.

16. Pitt House, an ancient residence near Shamley Green, was destroyed by fire.

— Eighty-nine degrees was registered in London.

17. Prof. Allen Mawer of the University of Liverpool was elected Provost of University College, London, as from January 1, 1930, in succession to Sir Gregory Foster, resigned.

18. The Prince of Wales opened the new building of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine at the corner of Keppel Street and Gower Street.

— The Library of Louvain University, which had been destroyed during the war, was re-opened.

20. Thunderstorms of unusual severity swept over southern England, and torrential rain with hailstones fell in London.

23. *The Times* announced that the Council of the National Trust had acquired 57 acres on the shores of Derwentwater.

26. *The Times* announced that an anonymous gift of 100,000*l.* had been made to the Middlesex Hospital.

30. *The Times* announced that two old manuscripts had been secured for the nation—the Luttrell Psalter, 1340, and the Bedford Horæ, 1414 to 1435.

— The London County Council and the shareholders of the Southern Railway at their respective meetings approved the provisional agreement for the construction of a new bridge over the Thames at Charing Cross and the transfer of Charing Cross Station to the south side of the river.

31. *The Times* announced that Lord Iveagh made a gift of 20,000*l.* to St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington.

— In order to celebrate the twenty-first anniversary of the foundation of the Boy Scouts Movement, a World Jamboree was held at Arrowe Park, near Birkenhead, from July 31 to August 13.

AUGUST.

1. The airship "Graf Zeppelin" began her second flight to America in her attempt to fly round the world.

2. A Barony of the United Kingdom was conferred upon Lieut.-Col. Sir Robert Baden-Powell in connexion with the World Jamboree celebrations.

4. The airship "Graf Zeppelin" arrived at New Jersey.

8. *The Times* announced that Lord Lee of Fareham would be the first chairman of the Radium Commission, which would be responsible for the custody, distribution, and use of the radium to be bought by the National Radium Trust. [See under July 15.]

10. The airship "Graf Zeppelin" landed at Friedrichshafen, having flown from the United States in 55½ hours.

12. The Channel was crossed by Mr. H. S. Perry in a motor-cycle which had been fitted with floats and a propeller driven from the gear box. The journey from Dover to Calais and back took 7 hours 25 minutes.

— In celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Perth, in West Australia, the dignity of Lord Mayor was conferred on the first magistrate of the City.

15. The airship "Graf Zeppelin" commenced its flight round the world.

16. The Urban District of Walthamstow received a Charter of Incorporation.

19. The airship "Graf Zeppelin" arrived at Tokyo.

28. The Medical Research Council announced that they had received from Mrs. Odo Cross the sum of 40,000*l.* for the endowment of a Trust for the establishment of Research Fellowships for the study of tuberculosis, to be known as the "Dorothy Temple Cross Research Fellowship Fund."

29. The "Graf Zeppelin's" flight round the world ended at Lakehurst, New Jersey. The journey of some 21,000 miles had taken 21 days, 7 hours, 12 minutes.

— Lulworth Castle, an historic sixteenth-century mansion, in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's Head, was burnt down.

SEPTEMBER.

3. A statue in memory of Thomas Carlyle was unveiled at Ecclefechan, his birthplace.

7. The foundation-stone of the new headquarters of the League of Nations was laid in Ariana Park, Geneva.

— Great Britain won the Schneider seaplane race over the Solent course of nearly 218 land miles.

8. Exceptionally high temperatures for this time of year were reached ; 88 degrees were registered in London.

10. A new air-speed record was reached by a British seaplane above Southampton Water of 355·8 miles an hour, as compared with the previous highest flying speed of 318·6 miles an hour.

12. *The Times* announced that an anonymous donor had given 14,000*l.* to University College, Southampton.

25. *The Times* reported the foundation of the British College of Obstetricians and Gynæcologists.

28. Sir William Waterlow was elected Lord Mayor of London.

29. Rain fell in London for the first time since August 22.

— The month was one of the sunniest on record.

OCTOBER.

3. A grant of arms was made to Harrow School.

6. Summer time ended. [See under April 21.]

8. *The Times* announced that University College, Exeter, received a gift of 25,000*l.* from Mr. E. J. Mardon, of New Court, Topsham, to provide a new Hall of Residence for students.

8. Lord Beauchamp was chosen Chancellor of the University of London in succession to the late Lord Rosebery.

— Mr. William David Ross, LL.D., F.B.A., was elected Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, in succession to the Rev. L. R. Phelps, retired.

14. First trial flight of the State Airship R101.

22. Sir Alexander Park Lyle made a gift of 10,000*l.* to be added to the National Fund for the Redemption of the National Debt.

— The jubilee of the invention of the incandescent lamp by Mr. Thomas A. Edison was celebrated in New York by a banquet to the inventor.

29. Prof. R. S. Rait, Historiographer Royal for Scotland, was appointed Principal of the University of Glasgow in succession to Sir Donald MacAlister, resigned.

30. It was announced that a gift of 30,000*l.* was made to the Animal Breeding Research Department of Edinburgh University by Mr. T. B. Macaulay, President and Managing Director of the Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada.

31. Sir Donald MacAlister was elected Chancellor of the University of Glasgow in succession to the late Lord Rosebery.

— The 1929 Nobel Prize for Medicine was divided between Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins, Professor of Biochemistry in Cambridge University, and Dr. Eijkman, of Utrecht.

NOVEMBER.

1. Dr. Edwin Deller was appointed Principal of the University of London.

2. Mr. Winston Churchill was elected Rector of the University of Edinburgh.

4. A meeting was held at Essex Hall, Strand, to form an organisation to be known as the Pedestrians' Association.

5. Convocation at Oxford refused a legacy of 800*l.* which had been left for providing an annual prize in the University for an essay on church history, on the ground that the gift was restricted to men and to members of the Church of England.

8. The airship R101 carried out her fifth test flight, having on board eighty-two people, the largest number ever carried by a British aircraft.

11. A severe gale swept the south of England, causing in London much damage to roofs, hoardings, and shop fronts.

12. Nobel Prizes for the year were awarded as follows : for Literature to Herr Thomas Mann ; for Physics to Prince Louis Victor de Broglie ; and for Chemistry to Dr. Arthur Harden, head of the Biochemical Department of the Lister Institute, and to Prof. von Euler of Stockholm.

20. Heavy rains caused serious floods in South Wales.

— The University of Saskatchewan received a bequest of 650,000 dollars (about 130,000*l.*) in the will of the late Mr. Burford Hooke.

28. In the will of Mrs. Emma Grace Marryat, 200,000*l.* is provided for a scheme of Scottish scholarships, to be known as the Sir James Caird's Travelling Scholarships in Engineering, Electricity, Aeronautics, and Music.

DECEMBER.

1. The River Thames overflowed its banks, and many low-lying areas on either side were under water.

2. General von Lettow-Vorbeck, who commanded the German forces in East Africa during the war, was the guest at the East African reunion dinner at which General Smuts, who commanded the British forces against him, presided.

3. *The Times* reported that Lord Forteviot of Perthshire bequeathed 10,000*l.* to the Perth Infirmary.

5. An exceptionally severe gale swept over a large part of the country ; many ships foundered and many lives were lost.

6. *The Times* announced that the Thankoffering Fund for the recovery of the King [see under April 27] reached a total of 689,597*l.*

7. There was a renewal of the storm in the Channel where a gale blew, reaching a speed of over eighty miles an hour ; in London there was a midnight thunderstorm accompanied by flashes of lightning.

8. The stormy weather continued ; in the south-west of the country the gale blew at speeds of over one hundred miles an hour. Several lives were lost and there were further wrecks all round the coast.

9. The stormy weather continued for the fifth day in succession ; the gale was accompanied by more casualties on land and sea.

11. Dr. Johnson's house in Gough Square, between Fleet Street and Holborn, was handed over by Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, the donor, to a body of governors who would hold it for the nation.

12. The floods in the Thames area increased and were said to have been the worst for twenty years.

16. The airship R100 carried out her first flight from Howden to Cardington.

18. *The Times* announced that Lady Fairhaven and her sons, Lord Fairhaven and Capt. Henry Broughton, have purchased the land round Runnymede in order to present it to the National Trust.

27. It was announced that the family of the late Mr. W. G. Gladstone had agreed to present to the British Museum the letters and papers of that statesman.

— Valley House, Stratford St. Mary, near Colchester, was destroyed by fire.

30. There was a recurrence of floods and gales all over the country accompanied by heavy rains.

31. A panic at a cinema in Paisley resulted in the death of seventy children.

— From the point of view of the weather the year was one of violent contrasts. The rainfall for the year at the Rothamsted Experimental Station was 27·705 ins. as compared with the average for seventy-seven years of 28·768 ins. There was a period of drought lasting thirty-five days from August 25 to September 28. The year's record for sunshine was 1853·8 hours, being the highest total for the last thirty-nine years.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1929.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

ON the whole, the year's output of books showed a falling off in quality. There was a marked diminution in work clearly the result of long and considered thinking and research, though the titles of many books would lead the purchaser to expect such care. The chief sinner was the biography. In the wake of Mr. Lytton Strachey and Messrs. André Maurois and Emil Ludwig there appeared a flood of semi-fictional biographies supplementing known fact by conjectural fantasy, and giving a journalistic touch by the bright treatment of trivial incidents with melodramatic force. This brightness in biography extended also to the field of history, where pretentiousness often crept in to replace the patient gathering and sifting of fact, and even to the critical essay where exact differentiation was avoided by a bravura picture of some object in the victim's surroundings. The reading public in general is being subjected to standardised taste in the better sense by the numerous and increasing series of reprints in which books that have made their name are obtainable at comparatively reasonable prices. The young reader forming his taste can easily accumulate the modern classics—Aldous Huxley, Lytton Strachey, Thomas Mann, D. H. Lawrence, Norman Douglas, the Sitwells, Katherine Mansfield—at 3s. 6d. a volume. In a less desirable direction the book-clubs on American lines, while ensuring that several thousand representative citizens really do read twelve books a year, give undesirable, or at any rate excessive publicity to only a few works, not always of the highest merit, and prevent that distribution of attention which is the normal process of literary fame.

During the year there have been important changes, departures, and arrivals among the periodical guides to public opinion. Chief of these is the cessation of *The Edinburgh Review*, founded in 1802 "in order to accustom country gentlemen to the reading of printed books." This function now being served by younger and livelier organs appealing to an even wider public, and the political views it represented being no longer in favour, it was decided to close down. Meanwhile, in France, the

Revue des Deux Mondes celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its foundation. At the other end of the scale, the departure of *T.P.'s Weekly* will grieve many readers in all walks of life who gratefully remember its easy and popular introductions to many and varied topics. The same "two-penny" public has been partly taken over by the revived *Everyman* which, after its brilliant beginnings, faded into a propagandist organ during the war and justly died of stagnation. The new *Everyman*, without being too loftily critical, endeavours to keep in touch with current literature and the arts by including not merely comment but original work by many of the younger intellectuals. The *Listener*, issued by the British Broadcasting Corporation at threepence, could easily become the best of the cheaper weeklies. It gives the pick of the wireless talks and pays very valuable attention to science, social and industrial history, and the arts; its illustrations and illustrated supplements go much outside the common sources. Its marked bias, both intellectual and political, somewhat abuses the trust of neutrality imposed by its semi-official position and wide dissemination.

The most welcome of the new heavy monthlies is *The Realist*, mainly concerned with scientific and philosophical values, but not neglecting literature. It published first-rate work, but in the end was discontinued. Other new periodicals of interest are *The Consort*, the private organ of the Dolmetsch Foundation; *Human Biology*, edited by Mr. Raymond Pearl, is a serious journal of research, as also is *The Journal of Modern History*, published under the auspices of the American Historical Association by the University of Chicago Press. *Overseas Education*, a quarterly, is published by the Oxford University Press for the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The special German number of *The Times Literary Supplement* satisfied much curiosity.

In bulk the largest achievement of the year was of course the 14th edition of *The Encyclopædia Britannica*. The publishers have endeavoured to bring it up to date, not only by including the activities of the war and post-war periods, but by softening its terrors to the less exacting modern reading public. The illustrations have been multiplied, new articles added, and in many instances old articles cut down. Serious complaints have been made concerning the over-emphasis of American topics, inadequacy of bibliography, omission of recent findings of scholarship, the perpetuation of old errors, and a journalistic and sometimes biased treatment of recent political and intellectual happenings. Despite these fundamental defects of emphasis and accuracy in a work of universal reference, there is much that is still useful and in some cases brilliant, though it must regretfully be stated that the previous editions are by no means entirely superseded.

In literature of the purely creative kind the chief contribution has been in poetry both of the old and new schools. The year began well with Mr. Edgell Rickword's *Invocation to Angels* (Wishart). This is his second volume, and marks a definite advance from his earlier indebtedness to Rimbaud. His severe critical sense of literature is here accompanied by a sincerity and ruthlessness of imagery and vocabulary that possibly shows

the influence of John Donne, but is nevertheless contemporary in a way many poets refuse. The grimness with which he pursues his own disgust with the world does not interfere with the full exercise of flickering satire in mood, and music in expression. His sonnet on Covent Garden can be placed alongside of Wordsworth's on Westminster Bridge, but his poem "Terminology" is purely modern in its desire for exactness of description of complicated and uneasy emotions. Mr. Rickword is one of the most distinguished and representative of contemporary poets. The year ended with the Poet Laureate's **Testament of Beauty* (Oxford). Like Mr. Rickword, Dr. Bridges is sensible of the complications of modern life, and like Dante he incorporates the whole of modern knowledge in his attempt to unify it. It is good that the authority of the Poet Laureate should give a sanction for the discussion in poetry of psycho-analysis, broadcasting, obscenity, the glandular theory, modern French painting, the problem of sex, lemmings, biology, and the excavations at Ur. It is perhaps this inclusiveness as well as the relief that a great long poem was produced not by a young rival but by a venerable master that has made for its popularity with the younger poets. The poem in its achievement of beauty, its epic similes in which the not too clear philosophy crystallises into pure poetry, and its classic yet personal form, is immediately admitted to the select cluster of English masterpieces.

Mr. Blunden, who at a much earlier age was admitted to the company of English traditional poets, has given us in **Near and Far* (Cobden-Sanderson) an exact and musical record of his contacts with present-day Japan and earlier England. "The Author's Last Words to his Students" will no doubt find its way in due course into the Anthologies. To read Anthony Abbott's *Prose Pieces and Poems* (Gollancz) is to feel sadness at the death of this gifted young man in his nineteenth year. His sensitiveness to the external world and his power of muscular struggle in verse can be seen in "The Idle Man," and his growing critical conscience, and his cool, exact use of words in the service of thought, in so mature a statement as "The Reason is a fair weapon in a duel of ideas. It is no aid in the pursuit of one." There is every indication in the volume of far more than promise, and we can ill afford to lose poets. Admirers of Eva Gore-Booth and of Mr. Gerald Gould will be glad to have their collected poems. Mr. Richard Aldington, in his *Collected Poems* (Allen & Unwin) and *The Eaten Heart* (Hours Press), reminds us by this presentation of his poetry in bulk that he is not merely the exquisite Imagiste poet whose contribution to the evolution of modern poetry is so often overlooked, but a fierce and sometimes philosophical protester against shams in society and in love. Mr. D. H. Lawrence, in *Pansies* (Secker), unlike Mr. Aldington, allowed his prejudices and satire to break into doggerel, although for those who share his views and even for some who do not there is wit and painful sincerity. The Poetry Bookshop, in *The Rambling Sailor*, by Charlotte Mew, has given us another opportunity of evaluating the poetry of this tragic creature. It is, however, the tragedy rather than the poetry that gives dignity to the very competent writing. Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie, now Professor of English Literature in the

University of London, in his *Twelve Idylls* (Secker) continues to reveal those qualities of philosophy, scholarship, invention, and taut unhurried verse that make him still one of the most admired if not the most sensational of modern poets. Mr. W. H. Davies in *Ambition* and Mr. Robert Graves in *Poems 1929*, continue to give of their known quality. Miss Edith Sitwell, in *Gold Coast Customs* (Duckworth), demonstrates the increasing care with which she can express and clarify her emotions. She is a serious, bitter, and accomplished poetess who gains much by being read aloud. The "Cat" and "Metamorphosis" are among the best poems of the year.

Mr. Martin Armstrong, in *The Bird Catcher* (Secker), is that rare and excellent thing, a genuinely minor poet. Of the "Living Poets" issued by the Hogarth Press, Mr. Huw Menai's *Passing of Guto* in an emotional and often unrestrained arrangement of his experiences as a miner, and Miss Ida Graves' *The China Cupboard*, with a classical and sometimes obscurely compressed restraint, are well worthy of attention. Gerard Manly Hopkins' *A Vision of the Mermaids* (Oxford), written in 1862, is more modern than many poems, and is receiving much attention from those younger writers who have already listened to the Poet Laureate's pleadings for a careful study of this skilled and almost great poet. Mr. Harold Monro's *Twentieth Century Poetry* (Chatto & Windus), though the best of the anthologies, contains, perhaps out of charity, too much of the second-rate, but a collection bold enough to give specimens of Gerard Manly Hopkins and Isaac Rosenberg can withstand much attack.

In criticism and belles-lettres only a few books stand out. Of these the chief is Mr. T. S. Eliot's *Dante* (Faber & Faber), one of a series in which modern poets comment on earlier masters. Mr. Eliot, in accordance with his customary critical integrity, has made this the opportunity for explaining how a reader can worm himself into the poetical secrets of a great poet. He gives not merely a guide to appreciation, but by analysis and aphorism produces a restrained masterpiece of critical method worthy to stand alongside of Dryden's "Essay on Dramatic Poesy," which Mr. Eliot himself studied and prefaced not so long ago. In *Practical Criticism* (Kegan Paul), Mr. I. A. Richards gives the result of a guessing-game played with dons and undergraduates at Cambridge, whose comments on unlabelled poems are scientifically examined, to discover, not the value of the poetry, but the reactions of the reader. It is not clear whether Mr. Richards is really interested in literature, and there is restricted value only in conclusions drawn from inadequate and unrepresentative data. Mr. Herbert Read, in *The Sense of Glory* (Cambridge University Press), reprints some of the most brilliant of recent front pages of *The Times Literary Supplement* on Froissart, Malory, Descartes, Swift, Vauvenargues, Sterne, etc., and shows himself one of the most philosophical, earnest, and sensitive, though not yet the clearest, of modern critics. Mr. Bonamy Dobrée, in *The Lamp and the Lute* (Oxford), admits his indebtedness to the three foregoing critics, and discusses Ibsen, Hardy, Kipling, E. M. Forster, D. H. Lawrence, and T. S. Eliot. His powers are much thinner, and he often merely describes when he believes he is analysing.

He serves a useful purpose in stimulating the reader to fill gaps whose existence would have been overlooked had the author not left them. Mr. Peter Quennell, in *Baudelaire and the Symbolists* (Chatto & Windus), discusses also Laforgue, Corbiere, Rimbaud, and Mallarmé, who in their influence on Mr. Arthur Symonds, Mr. T. S. Eliot, and Mr. Edgell Rickword, have entered into the substance of modern English poetry. This volume is an example of the incursion of the fictional into all kinds of contemporary writing. There is a great deal of barely relevant description in very precious manner that as criticism boils down to very little indeed.

Of the more official critics, Mr. H. W. Garrod, lately Professor of Poetry at Oxford, in *The Profession of Poetry*, provides that alternation from the late Professor W. P. Ker that seems inevitable in the history of that chair. Mr. Garrod's not entirely literary judgments will find limited approval. Mr. A. C. Bradley, in *A Miscellany* (Macmillan), gives a veteran's gatherings in a field of intuitive and philosophical criticism that once did valuable service. It is good, moreover, to be reminded, by the minuter studies included in the volume, of the solid basis of the generalisations that left their mark on the modern study of Shakespeare and the English poets. From abroad comes M. Julien Benda's *Belphegor*, with an introduction by Professor Irving Babbitt, the leader in America of the anti-romantics, and marks an earlier stage than "The Great Betrayal" translated last year, in his influential campaign on behalf of "intelligence." In *Tradition and Experiment* (Oxford), there are several duels: Mr. Blunden and Miss Sitwell on poetry, Mr. Mottram and Mr. Beresford on fiction, Miss Rebecca West and Mr. T. S. Eliot on criticism. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has collected the third series of his *Studies in Literature* (Cambridge). Mr. Alfred Noyes, in *The Opalescent Parrot* (Sheed & Ward), lets fly at those who are helping poetry beyond the stage so persistently marked by himself, and lest he be accused of partiality gives Poe, Bacon, and, above all, Bunyan, a taste of his tongue, but defends Longfellow and has a kind word for Shakespeare. M. André Maurois' *Aspects of Biography* (Cambridge University Press) throws much light on the methods and attitudes of one of the brightest biographers of to-day. The Hogarth Lectures continued their uneven way. Mr. Blunden's *Nature in English Literature* is written with minute and curious knowledge and deep sympathy. Mr. Humbert Wolfe's *Notes on English Verse Satire*, and Mr. G. D. H. Cole's *Politics in Literature* are provocative introductions to their topics. Mr. E. E. Kellett's *The Whirligig of Taste*, in the same series, is a curious volume. It deals not so much with taste as with the fluctuations of literary opinion, and obtrudes a great deal of unnecessary learning in the service of a somewhat arbitrary, and not too sensitive summary of a difficult subject. Of lighter writing Mr. E. V. Lucas, Mr. Ivor Brown, Mr. J. B. Priestley, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, Mr. E. V. Knox, Mr. Philip Guedalla, and Mr. A. A. Milne have all published collections of charming trifles. The usual crop of prophets has appeared. Mr. Montgomery Belgion, in *Our Present Philosophy of Life* (Faber & Faber), Mr. H. I'Anson Faussett, in *The Proving of Psyche* (Cape), and Mr. Percy Wyndham Lewis, in *Paleface* (Chatto & Windus), all attack,

each from his own angle, the difficulties of present-day life. Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell's *Gothick North* (Duckworth) eludes exact classification. It is partly criticism, partly history, and partly fiction. Ostensibly it is a study of mediæval life and art. It is reverie and introspection presented with delicate sensibility in subtle prose. Ideas are sprinkled here and there, and it is compounded of fact and fancy, description and autobiography, mingling the perfume of the past with the pain of to-day in a way strongly reminiscent of Proust.

Four books of special interest to women deserve separate mention. Mrs. Virginia Woolf, in *A Room of One's Own* (Hogarth Press), discusses, in the form of an exquisitely sensitive reverie, the female mind and the problems of women of letters to-day and through the ages. Without ever seeming to be attacking any position directly, she manages to say many practical and pertinent things, and without apparent effort attains a position alongside of Mary Astell and Mary Wollstonecraft. Mrs. Wallas, in *Before the Bluestockings* (Allen & Unwin), gives an account of some early women of character and distinction, including Mary Astell, Elizabeth Elstob, and Hannah Woolley. Hannah Woolley also appears prominently in Mrs. Gardener's *English Girlhood at School* (Oxford), a misleadingly light title for a lively, yet serious and well-informed study of women's education through the centuries. Mrs. Wanda Neff's *Victorian Working Women (1832-1850)* (Allen & Unwin) is an important discussion of the textile and non-textile worker, the dressmaker, the governess, and the idle woman, and is the result of wide reading in literary and historical sources of the period, taking much of its material from the novels of Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell, Dickens, and Kingsley.

The study and rehabilitation of earlier English literature moves steadily, and much interesting work has been done during the year. More's *Utopia* (Golden Cockerel Press) has an important introduction by Dr. A. W. Reed. Spenser's *Daphnaida* (Scholartis Press) is the second volume of Professor W. L. Renwick's edition. Dr. F. S. Boas has summarised the new evidence on *Marlowe and his Circle* (Clarendon Press). Dr. Alwin Thaler in *Shakespeare's Silences* (Milford) discusses Shakespeare's technique and his influence on Milton. The Nonesuch Press edition of the *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne*, and the *Compleat Walton*, edited by Dr. G. I. Keynes, are two very useful contributions. Walton's continuator, Charles Cotton, is represented by the *Compleat Gamester*, printed with Lucas's *Lives of the Gamesters* in the English Library (Routledge). Mr. Bonamy Dobrée's *Restoration Tragedy, 1660-1720*, is a much-needed study of the heroic drama of Dryden, Nat Lee, Rowe, and Addison. Perhaps the most important book in this field is Professor H. J. C. Grierson's *Cross Currents in English Literature of the XVIIth Century* (Chatto & Windus), in which the very learned and discriminating editor of Milton and Donne traces the interactions of the world, the flesh, and the spirit from Spenser to Dryden. No better orientated guide exists to the strange conflicts, religious, commercial, and poetical, of that mysterious century.

Professor Leslie Hotson, who reopened the mystery of Marlowe's

death, has now in his *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Harvard) provided a vast body of new raw material that will be of great service to literary historians. The late Dr. Elrington Ball, editor of the monumental edition of Swift's letters, published a comprehensive study of *Swift's Verse* (Murray), and Mr. Ellis Roberts, that penetrating and unhurried critic, prefaced the Golden Cockerel reprint of Swift's *Miscellaneous Poems*. London of the eighteenth century is well displayed in Mr. W. H. Irving's *John Gay's London* (Milford), and Mr. F. W. Bateson, in *English Comic Drama, 1700-1750* (Clarendon Press), has given us some lively, scholarly, and acutely critical studies of Colley Cibber, Gay, and Fielding, as well as a comprehensive survey of the progress and attitudes of the comedy of those years. The Scholartis Press has reprinted *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia*, by Sarah Fielding, the much admired sister of a greater novelist. Mr. Blunden's edition of *William Collins* (Etchells & Macdonald) is both beautifully printed and admirably prefaced. Professor Oswald Doughty's introduction to Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (Scholartis Press) makes it a valuable reprint. The Diaries of the Rev. William Jones (Brentano), and of Boswell's friend W. J. Temple (Clarendon Press), throw much light on human beings, taste, and manners of the eighteenth century, and Mr. F. H. Pottle's *Literary Career of James Boswell* is an important contribution to the study of Dr. Johnson's circle, to which the *Letters* of Sir Joshua Reynolds (Cambridge University Press) and *Gibbon's Journal to 1763* (Chatto & Windus) are both valuable additions. Young's *Travels in France* (Cambridge University Press) have been re-edited, and a new *Journal of a Tour in Scotland in 1819*, by Southey, edited by Professor C. H. Herford, is also a picture of Thomas Telford and the progress of early nineteenth-century engineering. The political theories of the romantic poets are dealt with by Mr. A. Cobban in *Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the Eighteenth Century* (Allen & Unwin). Keats has received attention from abroad; Professor Lucien Wolff, of Rennes, has reduced his massive thesis and brought it up to date in a well-written volume in the same brilliant series as Professor Legouis's *Chaucer*, and Professor Cazamian's *Carlyle*. Professor Takeshi Saito, of Tokyo, has written on *Keats's View of Poetry* (Cobden-Sanderson). In Germany, Professor Helene Richter, a veteran student of the Romantic period, has produced a definitive work, well worthy of translation, in *Byron: Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Halle: Max Niemayer), and Mrs. Ethel Colburn Mayne has written on Lady Byron (Murray). The gifted but ill-fated son of Samuel Taylor Coleridge is well studied by Mr. E. L. Griggs in *Hartley Coleridge: His Life and Works* (University of London Press). The *Letters of Disraeli to Lady Bradford and Lady Chesterfield*, 2 vols. (Benn), and Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Letters to her Sister, 1846-1859* (Murray), are lively contributions to a rehabilitation of the period. Mr. A. S. Whitfield writes a biography of Mrs. Gaskell (Routledge), with a really valuable bibliography. Mr. T. E. Welby, in *The Victorian Romantics* (Gerald Howe), throws light on the Pre-Raphaelites from the incomparable collections of Mr. T. J. Wise. Mr. Arthur Symons discusses Rossetti and Swinburne in *Studies in Strange Souls* (Sawyer). Mr. J. Lewis May gives

a new study of *Cardinal Newman* (Bles). Mr. Granville-Barker edited a collection of essays by members of the Royal Society of Literature on *The Eighteen Seventies* (Cambridge), of which the editor on Tennyson, Swinburne, and Meredith as dramatists, and Mr. De la Mare on Women Novelists, are of outstanding merit. Most of the other essays seem deficient in purpose and a sense of literature, but there are two pleasantly reminiscent accounts of Oxford and Cambridge in the seventies. *Richard Middleton's Letters to Henry Savage* takes us into the Nineteen Hundreds, and we are in the present day with Mr. G. Goodwin's *Conversations with George Moore* and Mr. Forrest Reid's *Walter De la Mare: A Critical Study* (Faber & Faber). Professor Ashley H. Thorndike's survey of *English Comedy* (The Macmillan Company) and Dr. E. A. Baker's continuation of his serviceable but expensive *History of the English Novel* (Witherby) are both important works.

In the study of foreign literature, ancient and modern, a few works deserve special mention. The late Professor John Burnet's collected *Essays and Addresses* (Chatto & Windus) form a pleasant memorial to his scholarly contributions in the field of Greek philosophy and literature, but the volume is a little marred by the regrettable inclusion of a long paper on "Kultur." Sir James Frazer's edition in five volumes of *The Fasti of Ovid* (Macmillan) is remarkable for a commentary drawing on all the author's stores of folk-lore, anthropology, classical and modern literature. Professor Karl Vossler is one of the greatest Romance scholars of Europe, and in his *Mediæval Culture* (Constable) he has given a comprehensive and consummate survey of the philosophical, ethical, political, and literary background of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Unfortunately, as in so many English translations of important Continental works, most of the notes and references have been omitted as being mainly to German authorities, but luckily these are replaced by an extensive bibliography of works in English chosen in masterly fashion by Professor J. E. Spingarn. Italian literature also provides us with Professor Orestes Ferrara's *Private Correspondence of Nicolo Machiavelli* (Milford), and a reprint of Edward Dacres' 1640 translation of *The Prince* (Murray). Mr. Arthur Tilley's **Decline of the Age of Louis XIV.* (Cambridge University Press) is one of the most important of this year's studies of foreign literature. It examines the world of La Bruyere, Saint Simon, Fénelon, Bayle, Mme de Maintenon and Fontenelle, and gives a solid and well-authenticated picture of the waning of the classical age. There is an important chapter on the fiction of the period. Professor H. G. Atkins' *Heine* (Routledge) is a very timely and balanced discussion of this much-debated personality. Professor E. A. Peers edits *Spain: A Companion to Spanish Studies*, containing useful summaries and bibliographies of Spain, its history, literature, and arts.

In drama both Mr. Galsworthy and Mr. Shaw have had new plays performed, and Mr. Galsworthy's *Twenty-Seven Plays* (Duckworth) can now be bought for little more than the price of a novel. Mr. Eugene O'Neill's *Lazarus Laughed* and *Including Dynamo* give that remarkable dramatist's latest experiments, and Mr. A. D. Mickle's *Six Plays of Eugene*

O'Neill gives first-aid to students of his earlier work. Mr. Lawrence Housman, in *Cornered Poets* (Cape), has produced a brilliant volume of dramatic dialogues, on the burning of the manuscript of Carlyle's *French Revolution*, the visit of the Comptroller of Stamps to the party that included Keats, Wordsworth, and Lamb, the incident of Blake and the soldier, and John Donne's ordering of his effigy. Among the single plays of the year, Mr. Patrick Hamilton's *Rope* (Constable) is worth more than a passing mention. Although it quite clearly parallels a notorious American crime, it nevertheless has a neat and unencumbered theatrical deftness that may lead to greater achievement when a suitable theme permits. It is a genuine yet artistic thriller. Mr. Dawson Byrne has written the theatrical history of *The Abbey Theatre, Dublin* (Talbot Press). Mr. Theodore Komisarjevsky's *Myself and the Theatre* (Heinemann) is largely a volume of reminiscences of his theatrical activities, but one section, on the art of acting, is worthy of very careful consideration in these days of the danger of a national theatre to perpetuate the present slipshod ways. A national theatre would, however, be in little danger under the direction of Mr. Granville-Barker, whose second series of *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (Sidgwick & Jackson) continues his epoch-making contribution to the theatrical study of the dramatist. This time he deals with "Romeo and Juliet," "The Merchant of Venice," "Antony and Cleopatra," and "Cymbeline," and in his pertinent and illuminating discourses we see each play being produced by a master who displays his credentials. V. I. Pudovkin, *On Film Technique* (Gollancz), is the most penetrating work so far published in any country on the art of the film, and deserves careful attention by anyone who is interested in acting or producing.

The largest section of the year's publishing is always fiction, and no human being could possibly pronounce on all, or even sort them out himself. This survey is, therefore, partly a summary of critical and popular findings, and partly direct comment on a number of novels of special interest. Fortunately the year has seen the publication in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1929, of Mr. H. C. Harwood's *Recent Tendencies in Fiction*. There is no fiction critic so exact, so conscientious, or so ruthless as Mr. Harwood, and in this essay he indulges in brave and trenchant analysis, both knocking down and setting up monuments and even idols.

Many of the best novels are to be found among the translations. This is not surprising, since we are thus given only the few best, judged by either artistic or popular success. Germany seems to be the chief exporter. The year's best-seller was Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (Putnam's), a work much overrated, and taking its popularity from a peculiar hysteria. Few soldiers would vouch for its authenticity of accent. A much better written and truer book is Ludwig Renn's *War* (Secker), which gives, in dispassionate and restrained terms, the feelings of the soldier-unit rolled forward and backward as a submissive particle in a wave. Paul Alverdes' *The Whistler's Room* (Secker) is one of the smaller and more poignant tales of war, concerned mainly with the inside of a hospital. It is one of the best-written stories of quiet tragedy Germany has sent us. Ernst Gläser's *Class 1902* (Secker) is a well-told story of the generation

that passed its childhood amid disturbance and privation during the war years. Ernst Jünger's *The Storm of Steel* (Secker), Hans Carossa's *Roumanian Diary* (Secker), and *Schlump* (Secker) have also attracted much attention. Among non-war books Germany has sent us Jacob Wassermann's *World's Illusion* (Allen & Unwin), one of the greatest of modern German classics, Heinrich Mann's account of pre-war *Berlin*, and a slight but perfect sketch by his more famous brother, Thomas Mann, in *Early Sorrow*. From the younger writers we have Anna Seghers' prize novel, *Revolt of the Fishermen* (Elkin Matthews), Leonhard Frank's moving tragedy, *Carl and Anna* (Peter Davies), and Suzanne Trautwein's *Lady of Laws*. Russia has given us a new and complete translation of another great classic, Ivan Gontcharov's *Oblomov* (Allen & Unwin), an epic of indolence. From the moderns we have Isaac Babel's wild tales of the *Red Cavalry*, by a Jewish Cossack, Ilya Ehrenburg's *Love of Jeanne Ney*, more familiar from a garbled film, Ogynov's *Diary of a Communist Undergraduate* (Gollancz), and Mr. John Cournos, in *Short Stories Out of Soviet Russia* (Dent), gave a representative selection of that brilliant group of contemporary short story-writers that, in addition to Babel, includes Pilniak, Lidin, Ivanov, Leonov, and Sergeev-Tzensky. France sent us André Chamson's little masterpiece, the strangely neglected *Roux the Bandet* (Gollancz), and the latest instalment of Marcel Proust, *The Captives*. From Scandinavia we have Sigrid Undset's *In the Wilderness* (Knopf) and *The Snake Pit*, Sigfrid Siwertz' *Goldman's* (Allen & Unwin), and some remarkable short stories, *Norway's Best Stories*, *Sweden's Best Stories*, as well as *Denmark's Best Stories* (Allen & Unwin). Italy with Italo Svevo's *The Hoax* (Hogarth Press), and Hungary with Markovits' *Siberian Garrison*, are not so profusely represented.

Of English novels the most interesting of all is * *Brothers and Sisters*, by Miss I. Compton-Burnett (Heath Cranton). Her *Pastors and Masters* attracted discerning attention four years ago, and her new book has gone far beyond expectation. It is almost entirely in conversation, but out of the stream of talk emerges a structure, a plot, and a set of characters, in a manner closely approaching the uncanny. Family relationships, group irritations, and social uneasiness are given brilliant precision. It is a novel for connoisseurs of fictional technique. Next in fierceness must come Richard Aldington's * *Death of a Hero* (Chatto & Windus), a much-debated novel in which the character of the generation that went into the war is passionately and accurately depicted. There is bitter but merited satire of pre-war types and a restrained glimpse of the war itself. It is a novel that makes one understand why the war happened. Ernest Hemingway's *Farewell to Arms* (Cape) also takes the war as its theme, but applies his neutral, disillusioned, and acidly incisive style to the depiction of love and war on the Italian front. There is never any conclusion to Mr. Hemingway's books, they just end. This is an adult and almost great book. Mr. Richard Hughes' * *A High Wind in Jamaica* (Chatto & Windus) amply fulfils the hopes his short stories and plays had raised. This is an exercise in fantasy and child psychology that with all its queer faults of intermingled realism and romance stands out as one

of the most remarkable novels of the year. Mr. David Garnett, in * *No Love* (Chatto & Windus), tried another kind of fantasy, but though there is much fine writing and sustained invention of atmosphere, the volume marks Mr. Garnett's failure to escape from his trivial fictions into something more solidly based in psychology. Mr. J. B. Priestley's * *The Good Companions* (Heinemann) has aroused much and violent discussion. It was by way of being a safe Christmas present for those who were known to be antagonistic to the modern novel, and the widespread success of the book may be partly due to the belief, not entirely justified by the contents, that we had at last made the welcome return to Dickens and the Victorians.

Of established writers Mr. H. G. Wells' *The King who was a King* (Benn), despite its flirting with cinema technique, aroused less interest than might have been expected. Mr. Hugh Walpole wrote *Hans Frost* (Macmillan), and in collaboration with Mr. J. B. Priestley, *Farthing Hall* (Macmillan), a novel in letters. Mr. J. D. Beresford applied his fine craftsmanship to the philosophical debates of *Real People* (Collins). Mr. Frank Swinnerton's *Sketch of a Sinner* (Hutchinson) gave another of his accomplished studies of London moods and tragedies. Mr. John Masefield, in * *The Hawbucks* (Heinemann), continued the world of *Reynard the Fox*, and wrote a hunting novel that pleased beyond hunting circles. Mr. John Buchan, in *The Courts of the Morning* (Hodder & Stoughton), added another joyful thriller to the world's debt of gratitude to him. Miss Rebecca West disappointed many readers with her * *Harriet Hume* (Hutchinson), and Mr. Sinclair Lewis, in * *Dodsworth* (Cape), gave an admirable picture of the struggle of a middle-aged American and his wife with the Continent of Europe and the tragedy that resulted therefrom, but did not spare Europe in the process. Mr. Oliver Onions returns to the mood of *Widdershins* in the three stories of *The Painted Face* (Heinemann). Few modern writers have his skill in recording the trembling balance of natural and supernatural. Mr. J. C. Powys, in * *Wolf Solent* (Cape), gives a sombre and brooding picture of a group of Dorset characters, mystics, poets, and libertines. It is a huge book, digging deep down into the soil and written unobtrusively in the carefully considered language of a poet without ever being poetical. Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith was disappointing in *The Village Doctor* (Cassell). Mr. Charles Morgan pleased a large public with * *Portrait in a Mirror* (Macmillan), but many quite friendly and discerning critics found the book unreadable by reason of a pompousness and heaviness of style that at its best was probably translated into dignity and measure. Mr. Osbert Sitwell has given himself an opportunity for much fantasy and much beauty in * *The Man Who Lost Himself* (Duckworth), being the life and death of an intellectual who deliberately became a best seller. Mr. Paul Selver's *Private Life* (Jarrolds) begins ominously, and arouses hopes that are not entirely fulfilled. Mr. Selver has much wit and cannot write badly. He weaves an interesting pattern out of the trivial amorous experiences of his hero, and all the while manages to keep an air of distant grandeur that is caught up in the swift and surprising ending. The book wavers

between a satire, a thriller, and a deeply human tragedy; as any one of these it would have had a unity that is not quite achieved in the present volume. Miss Helen Beauclerk continued in **The Love of the Foolish Angel* (Collins) the vein of fantasy begun in *The Green Lacquer Pavilion*, and told in fairy-tale fashion of an angel who by mistake was thrown out of Heaven with Lucifer, and his falling in love with a damsel he had been sent to seduce. All this in the most gentle and limpid of prose with never a false note and never a disturbance of the gently rippling surface. Mr. Louis Golding's *The Prince or Somebody* (Knopf) applied his very considerable powers to a world in which the relation between the real and the imagined forms a puzzle that persists to the very end of the extravaganza.

Of first novels Mr. Edward Dahlberg's *Bottom Dogs* (Putnam's) is the grimmest and most serious. Mr. D. H. Lawrence vouches for him, and is presumably attracted by the honesty that leaves little unsaid, and is prepared to describe the drabbest and meanest sides of human nature dispassionately and precisely. It is a painful book to read and must have been even more painful to write. Miss Elizabeth Jenkins, in *Virginia Water* (Gollancz), takes us far away from such moods. She traces the outlines of a Bloomsbury family of intellectuals with acute and sensitive observation, but without the smartness and disillusionment that could so easily arise from such a subject. Her imagery is precise and sometimes even finicky, but there are scenes of beauty and poise that promise well for her second attempt. Mr. L. A. G. Strong, who is already known as a poet, in *Dewer Rides* (Gollancz), has given himself a difficult task in attempting to deal with Dartmoor and its thwarted and half-wit inhabitants, but has come very near to complete success. Mrs. Lorna Rea gained much applause for her juggling with *Six Mrs. Greenes* (Heinemann).

A bare list must suffice for the chief among the many popular and competent novels of the year: Martin Armstrong, *The Sleeping Fury* (Gollancz); Mrs. Sarah Gertrude Millin, *The Fiddler* (Constable); Sylvia Thompson, **Chariot Wheels* (Heinemann); F. Brett-Young, *Black Roses* (Heinemann); Miss Mazo de la Roche, *Whiteoaks* (Macmillan); Miss F. Tennyson Jesse, *The Lacquer Lady* (Heinemann); Geoffrey Moss, *That Other Love* (Hutchinson); Thomas Burke, *The Flower of Life* (Constable); Robert Hichens, *On the Screen* (Cassell); Alec Waugh, *Three Score and Ten* (Chapman & Hall); Helen Ashton, *A Background for Caroline* (Benn); Susan Ertz, *The Galaxy* (Hodder & Stoughton); Sarah Salt, *A Tiny Seed of Love* (Gollancz); Conrad Aiken, *Costumes by Eros* (Cape); Liam O'Flaherty, *The House of Gold* (Cape).

After fiction, and closely connected with it in these days, comes biography, but there is little good to say this year of biography, autobiography, and memoirs. The Rev. R. J. Campbell's *Life of Livingstone* (Benn), Mr. Brand Whitlock's *La Fayette* (Appleton), *The Life and Letters of William Dean Howells* (Heinemann), and Mr. Joseph Redlich's *Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria* (Macmillan), seem to be the only large biographies of importance. Interesting memoirs include Professor Oliver Elton on *C. E. Montague* (Chatto & Windus), Viola Meynell's memoirs of *Alice Meynell* (Cape), Sir Humphrey Rolleston on *Sir Clifford Allbutt* (Macmillan).

Professor Westermarck published important *Memories of My Life*. Lord David Cecil wrote *The Stricken Deer, or The Life of Cowper* (Constable); Mr. R. E. Sencourt attempted a new *Life of Meredith* (Chapman & Hall); Mr. Matthew Josephson compiled *Zola and his Times* (Gollancz); Mr. Stephen Graham produced a life of *Peter the Great* (Benn); Mr. D. A. Wilson continued his life of the Sage of Chelsea in *Carlyle to Threescore and Ten* (Kegan Paul); Mr. Lewis Mumford wrote on *Herman Melville* (Cape); Mr. Francis Hackett calls himself a "psycho-historian" and with that equipment tried to write a biography of *Henry the Eighth* (Cape). Of those figures who have from time to time appeared in the public eye, there are biographies and autobiographies of * Lord Lansdowne, * Lord Haldane, Lord Fisher, Mr. "Al" Smith, Marshal Foch, Sir George Parkin, Sir Harry Johnston, Sir Edward Marshall-Hall, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Sir Edmund Hornby, Lord Pauncefoot, Sir Cecil Spring Rice, Lord Halsbury, M. Georges Clemenceau, and General Wrangel.

In history there have been several important publications, some of which are given separate discussion below. For the general reader much the most interesting book in this field is Mr. G. N. Clark's *The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford University Press), a magnificent model and warning to the sprightly historian. It is both brilliant and sound, ranging from country to country, discussing population, economic ideas, commerce, industry, political thought, mathematics and science, philosophy, classical and historical studies, education, religion, painting, and architecture, as well as the more usual constitutional and military aspects; there is even a concise appendix on races and languages. The book is measured, exact, compressed, and admirably ordered. Perhaps the most solid book of the year was Mr. L. B. Namier's * *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III.* (Macmillan). By reference to the 500 volumes of Newcastle Papers in the British Museum, the book throws useful light on certain aspects of eighteenth-century politics in England. The volume consists chiefly of sorted extracts connected by comments, and there are occasional attempts to leaven the mass of grimly useful material by brightness in the modern manner.

The Cambridge Histories continue their massive and informative way. During the year the sixth volume of * *The Cambridge Medieval History* appeared; it is entitled "Victory of the Papacy" and dealt with what is usually regarded as the most interesting period in the Middle Ages. A new work, *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, under the editorship of Professor J. Holland Rose and others, surveyed in its first volume *The Old Empire to 1783*. There are important articles by W. F. Reddaway on "Rivalry for Colonial Power" and Eveline C. Martin on "The English Slave Trade." Volume IV. is devoted to *British India, 1497-1858*, under the editorship of Professor H. H. Dodwell, and includes a useful account by Sir William Foster of "The East India Company" as well as chapters by foreign experts on the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French in India. In ancient history, Mr. C. J. Gadd in *The History and Monuments of Ur* (Chatto & Windus) is a timely and important

volume. Sir Aurel Stein has thrown much fascinating and new light in his *On Alexander's Track to the Indies* (Macmillan). There has been a marked revival in Byzantine studies. Georgina Buckler, in *Anna Comnena* (Oxford Press), produced a seriously documented illumination of the intellectual achievements and literary personality of this learned princess and first woman historian, and Mr. Steven Runciman furnished a solid study of *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign* (Cambridge University Press). The last volume of the late Professor J. H. Wylie's *Reign of Henry the Fifth* (Cambridge) was completed by Professor W. T. Waugh, who also has to his credit a good life of General Wolfe, *James Wolfe, Man and Soldier* (Brentano). Professor A. F. Pollard's study of * *Wolsey* (Longmans) was one of the outstanding historical books of the year. Professor Sir Charles Oman has collected and added to his *Studies in the Napoleonic Wars* (Methuen). The late Professor H. W. C. Davis's Ford Lectures on * *The Age of Grey and Peel* (Oxford), and Mr. G. K. Clark on *Peel and the Conservative Party (1832-1841)* (Bell), are valuable studies. Mr. A. F. Fremantle's * *England in the Nineteenth Century (1801-1805)* (Allen & Unwin) is a pleasantly written and chatty account of the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first five of the nineteenth. Chapters on literature, art, and science are being reserved for a later volume. Benedetto Croce's *History of Italy, 1871-1915*, has been translated, and Mr. R. H. Gretton's brilliant *Modern History of the English People, 1910-1922*, brings the story almost up to to-day. Centenary histories of *King's College* and *University College*, London, throw much light on the social and intellectual history of the nineteenth century.

In the field of sociology and economics the chief work was the concluding portion of Sidney and Beatrice Webb's monumental * *English Poor Law History* (Longmans). The most brilliant book of forecast was Mr. G. D. H. Cole's * *The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy* (Macmillan). Professor Henry Clay discussed the problem of *Post War Unemployment* (Macmillan), and Professor J. A. Hobson approached the wider relations of *Wealth and Life* (Macmillan). The power of Ministers was provocatively considered by Lord Chief Justice Hewart in *The New Despotism* (Benn), and Mr. Bertrand Russell was as lively as ever in * *Marriage and Morals* (Allen & Unwin). Dr. Theodore Abel furnished a much-needed survey of recent advances in sociological theory in *Systematic Sociology in Germany* (King), while more practical matters were examined by Mr. R. D. Richards in *Early English Banking* (King), and Mr. R. M. Robinson in *Coutts' : The History of a Banking House*. The English mind was admirably displayed in Dr. Cyril Norwood's *The English Tradition of Education* (Murray), while Messrs. Longmans began, in their *English Heritage*, a series that will be attractive to many. The names of the editors, Lord Lee of Fareham and Mr. J. C. Squire, are a sufficient guarantee of the truly English tone. Mr. Baldwin wrote a general introduction, and the series already includes *The English Public Schools*, by Mr. Bernard Darwin, *English Wild Life*, by Mr. Eric Parker, *English Humour*, by Mr. J. B. Priestley, and *Shakespeare*, by Mr. John Bailey.

In politics and world affairs much attention was devoted to the great problem of Russia. *The Red Archives, 1915-1918*, were selected and edited by Mr. C. E. Vulliamy (Bles). A really impartial book was published by that veteran student of Russia, Dr. E. J. Dillon, in *Russia To-day and Yesterday* (Dent). Never before was so much detailed and first-hand information given by anyone who was in a position to compare conditions before and after the revolution. Professor S. de Madariaga, in *Disarmament* (Oxford), was, as usual, illuminating; and Professor Gilbert Murray discussed *The Ordeal of this Generation* (Allen & Unwin). Democracy was a theme that interested many thinkers. Mr. A. E. Zimmern wrote stimulatingly on *The Prospects of Democracy* (Chatto & Windus), and Mr. C. Delisle Burns on *Democracy* (Allen & Unwin), usefully supplemented Mr. A. D. Lindsay's *The Essentials of Democracy* (Oxford Press). Mr. H. G. Wells printed *The Common Sense of World Peace* (Hogarth Press), which he delivered to the Reichstag.

In the combined worlds of religion, philosophy, and science, some works equally important to the specialist and the general reader appeared. Chief of these was **The Universe Around Us*, by Sir James Jeans (Cambridge Press), in which the deepest problems of the past and the future of man, and his physical relation to the universe were discussed with welcome clarity. Mr. Middleton Murry's volume on *God: Being an Introduction to the Science of Metabiology* (Cape), attracted much attention, as did also Mr. Walter Lippmann in **A Preface to Morals* (Allen & Unwin) which discussed the departure of the belief in religious sanction and supernatural authority from modern morals. Professor Denis Saurat, in *Blake and Modern Thought* (Constable), traced the sources of Blake's ideas, and found a parallel with Proust and the modern mind. Mr. D. C. Somervell examined *English Thought in the 19th Century* (Methuen). The energetic Mr. J. M. Robertson wrote a *History of Freethought in the Nineteenth Century* (Watts). Mr. Kingsley Martin surveyed political ideas from Bayle to Condorcet under the title of *French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, and gave an interesting account of the relation of society and ideas. In anthropology the book of the year was Professor B. Malinowski's *The Sexual Life of Savages* (Routledge) which, on Mr. Havelock Ellis's authority "will become a classic of which the value must increase with the passage of time." In psychology the progress of Professor Pavlov's epoch-making researches was shown in the collected *Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes* (Martin Lawrence). Dr. H. Piéron's *Principles of Experimental Psychology* (Kegan Paul) was a useful survey, and Dr. Jean Piaget's *The Child's Conception of the World* (Kegan Paul) was a fascinating continuation of his studies in child psychology.

A few miscellaneous and reference works are worth noticing. In music the first volume of the revised *Oxford History of Music*, containing *The Polyphonic Period*, appeared, and a brilliant, penetrating, and informative study of *Modern Russian Composers* came from Mr. Leonid Sabaneyeff (Martin Lawrence). One of the most fascinating of books was *Undying Faces* (Hogarth Press), a collection of death-masks from the fifteenth century onwards. No more moving or sobering book has

appeared, nor one that gave us closer acquaintance with the personalities of the past. The masks of Brunelleschi, Lorenzo de Medici, Pascal, Swift, Beethoven, Coleridge, Heine, Dostoievski, and Hugo Wolf arouse disturbing thoughts about temperament and immortality. The source of much bookmaking was described in *The Reading Room of the British Museum*, by G. F. Barwick (Benn). Two very personal books of much interest were Mr. Edward Thompson's *Crusaders Coast* (Benn), a delightfully written account of Palestine, and Mr. Robert Graves' *Good-bye to All That* (Cape), an autobiography seen through the perspective glass of feeling. Mr. Ernest H. Short produced an original and interesting volume, *The Painter in History* (Philip Allan), which was adorned with numerous illustrations.

Of the above books the following have been deemed suitable for special notice; they are given in the order in which they happen to appear in the General Survey:—

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Testament of Beauty, by Robert Bridges (Oxford University Press).—The Poet Laureate on his eighty-fifth birthday issued a poem that must unquestionably take its place as one of the undoubted English masterpieces. It is a poem ripe for the scholar, a happy hunting-ground for influences, for echoes, for comprehensive and inclusive allusions. Dr. Bridges quite clearly feels himself in a great tradition. There is something consciously Miltonic in the opening lines, something avowedly Dantesque in

'Twas late in my long journey, when I had clomb to where
the path was narrowing and the company few,

much that is reminiscently Wordsworthian in the autobiographical reveries and recollections. We are not allowed to forget that the Poet Laureate is deeply read in all literatures, and echoes of the most central beauties of Shakespeare, Marvell, Milton, and Keats enrich the texture of the poem with a double reinforcement. His main problem is the problem of Beauty. The disturbances of Reason are investigated, the intimations of immortality in childhood considered, the Traherne-like sense of glory examined in man's passage from infancy to infancy. The world outside in all its manifestations is concisely incorporated; the reaping machine is "a shark-tooth'd chariot," the glandular system is "a secret miracle of chemistry holding internal poise upon a razor-edge," he is prepared to reckon with "that supersensuous sublimation of thought, the euristic vision of mathematical trance," chemistry for him, "whether it be starch, oil, sugar, or alcohol 'tis ever our old customers, carbon and hydrogen, pirouetting with oxygen in their morris antics; the chemist booketh all of them as CHO." These things strike us with a heightened familiarity, and, because of their imaginative precision, will surely move later generations. The philosophy will not endure, except as a record of our groping indecisions, because it is

neither coherent, nor clear, and because Dr. Bridges, being a poet, is by nature philosophy's enemy. He, like Keats, intimidated by it, has endeavoured to placate it by closer acquaintance and stammering imitation of its language. The proof of this lies in the soaring relief with which he seizes on the opportunity of the epic simile to give his true message which is to show how by taking an armful of beauty man may find some order in the universe.

Near and Far, by Edmund Blunden (Cobden-Sanderson).—Mr. Blunden is an assured craftsman. He has no difficulties in his utilisation of the heritage of English technique. He brings presents and we sort them out and admire them. In this volume he has been to Japan and brings us a "Japanese Garland." It is difficult for a poet to forget his own world of association, and in "Ornamentations" he indicates his terror of the "red-eyed war-gods," "fiery dreams," the glowing mouth and claw-tendrils, "till thought spies one rose or daffodil." In "Far East" he marks the identity of "the Oriental Giles. He serves a god much like your own." The carp have come to meet him from England. He takes a farewell of his students in terms that pleasantly recall a mediæval discipleship long passed from this modern world, and returns to England, to the book-barrows ("Time fetched her halfpence out and bought a sheet"), and to the deeper friendship, though in Japan "three friends walked there." Mr. Blunden is clearly no happy man, but whatever he feels he turns into poetry without obtruding his struggles on our pity. He talks of war but asks for no sympathy, there were other fighters. He is generous, even to the silent and deserted kiln; a performance of the "Mikado" at Cambridge provokes no satire; Sir William Treloar's dinner for crippled children links up with Coram, Dickens, Hood. His "Report on Experience" is a fit companion for Lamb's "Old Familiar Faces," and in "The Geographer's Glory or The Globe in 1730," we have an exercise in fantasy and humour that will not lightly be forgotten. There is no other contemporary poet from whom we are so certain of sustained achievement, and unhindered concern with that rare thing "subject matter."

The Decline of the Age of Louis XIV., or French Literature, 1687-1715, by Arthur Tilley (Cambridge University Press).—Literary history is more and more extending its consideration to the history of the ideas stimulating the production of works of literature, and to the intellectual basis of what appears outwardly as social history. In this direction Mr. Tilley has provided one of the most instructive of volumes. The period under discussion is one of great significance for English literature and society. It is the period from the Revolution of 1688 to the end of the Stuart Dynasty, and forms a curiously exact chronological parallel. The departure of Charles II. in England, and the decline of the great age of Louis XIV. produced similar effects. Boileau's authority was transferred to England by Addison and Pope. La Bruyere trickled into the *Tatler* and *Spectator*. The legacy of Molière and the world of Congreve have their links. The *Memoires de Grammont* and the *Memoires d'Artagnan* appeared. The education of girls and the politer training of "the fair sex" indicate important changes. The new world roused itself in the

Quarrel of Ancients and Moderns in France before it reached the stage of Swift's "Battle of the Books." Preachers and dictionary writers looked forward to atheists and encyclopédistes, and we see the slow turning of the wheel of influence which was to replace the Francophilia of the English seventeenth century by the Anglophilia of the French eighteenth century. Mr. Tilley is both comprehensive and detailed, he has valuable bibliographies, and in no limited and pedantic way has done much to illuminate the period not only for English readers but even for French scholars.

Lord Lansdowne : a Biography, by Lord Newton (Macmillan).—The fashionable two-volumed biography is apt in many instances to become tedious by reason of its length ; in his admirable *Life of Lord Lansdowne* Lord Newton has chosen the single volume and has produced a very readable story. Perhaps throughout his life Lord Newton's hero suffered from what one of his private tutors had already noted at an early age—"a want of imagination." Lord Lansdowne may be described as a typical stolid Englishman. But he occupied many positions of responsibility, and in each he acquitted himself well. He was fortunate in obtaining office at a comparatively early age ; there appeared to be a tide in his affairs which made him Governor-General of Canada and Viceroy of India in quick succession ; Minister of War during the South African conflict, and Foreign Secretary during a period in European diplomacy in which mighty events were germinating. Successful as Lord Lansdowne was in all his responsible offices, he will probably be best remembered for his work at the Foreign Office. Two of his achievements there were fraught with great consequences—the alliance with Japan and the foundation of the *Entente Cordiale*. Lord Newton narrates the story of these several events with judicial balance, and withal with a racy style not untouched with humour and not without a sprinkling of the personal opinions of the biographer. Lord Newton has written a model biography which is at once an intimate memoir and a valuable contribution to the political history of the first decades of the present century.

Richard Burdon Haldane an Autobiography (Hodder & Stoughton).—This is the tale of a life thronged with activity. The style is unpolished but the voice is of utter sincerity. Inheriting from Cloan the will to do, learning from Lotze at Göttingen the will to think, in 1880, Haldane, trailing philosophy, came to the Chancery Bar. For pure advocacy his trailing was too abstract : the humanism of Oxford or Cambridge (he thinks) is the best preliminary to the Bar. But the relentless search for first principles in every sphere of life was to raise him beyond the advocate into the thinker. To Haldane life was a succession of intellectual problems in which you must seek for first principles. He came to the War Office in 1905, founded the Expeditionary and Territorial force, and won from Haig the tribute of being "the greatest Secretary of State for War England has ever had." In 1912 he became Lord Chancellor ; strengthened the Judicial Committee ; and introduced—the basis of Lord Birkenhead's legislation—two Bills to reform the Law of Property. At the same time he took charge of the Committee of Imperial Defence, the War Office in the Lords, and the Royal Commission on the University of London.

Out of office for ten years he presided over the Judicial Committee and imparted into its judgments something of his "international mind." The last passion of his life was Adult Education. With "faith in the effect of higher education on democracy" he founded the British Institute. This faith drew him towards the ideal of the Labour Party—"equality of chance in life." There was a new intellectual problem—to lead a new party in the House of Lords, and afterwards in opposition. The Bar; the Universities; the Army; the Administration of Justice; Imperial Defence; Adult Education: to achieve in one of these spheres is success. To have achieved something significant in them all is the mark of a great man, and this autobiography is a great book.

The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III., by L. B. Namier, 2 vols. (Macmillan).—The title of these two volumes may sound formidable; their contents make the work one of the outstanding publications of the year. Mr. Namier presents eight essays on various aspects of eighteenth-century politics, written in so attractive a style that he succeeds in making his pages read like a romance. His first essay explains "Why Men went into Parliament." "Here is an ant-heap," he writes (and the reader will at once observe the author's vivid style), "with the human ants hurrying in long files along their various paths; their joint achievement does not concern us, nor the changes which intervene in their community, only the pathetically intent, seemingly self-conscious running of individuals along beaten tracks." Why *did* men go into Parliament? Some because their station in life demanded it; others utilised Parliament as a means whereby to climb to social heights; others again to carve out a career for themselves; yet others to obtain immunity against inquiries about their misdeeds at home or abroad. All hoped to gain something. Mr. Namier sets forth all this with a remarkable fullness of learning, flavoured with the spice of humour. "The Electoral Structure of England" is the subject of the second essay; the third, by special reference to the General Election of 1761, illustrates how elections were managed; and the fourth throws a flood of light on the problem of secret service money under the Duke of Newcastle—who were the recipients, what their services, how much was spent, and how little achieved. Some of the recipients are more closely scrutinised in the eighth and last paper. The three other papers in the second volume give special consideration to certain specific boroughs—those of Shropshire and Cornwall, and Harwich and Oxford. With their letters, their notes and their tables and lists these two volumes are a solid contribution to the advancement of the knowledge of English eighteenth-century history. They will serve as a corrective to not a few accepted opinions found in the standard histories of the period; and they will demonstrate in a striking fashion that truth is stranger than fiction.

The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. VI., Victory of the Papacy (Cambridge University Press).—This great enterprise of the Cambridge University Press is gradually nearing completion; already it is a splendid monument to the fine quality of historical scholarship in England. The sixth volume, surveying mainly the thirteenth century, runs to nearly 1100 pages; and well it might, for the thirteenth is perhaps the most

fascinating of the medieval centuries. It was fortunate in its outstanding personalities—Innocent III., Frederick II., Philip Augustus, Dante; it was remarkable for its causes and movements: heresies, Mendicant orders, crusades; it was distinguished for its political thought and educational endeavour. Wellnigh every aspect of political, economic, and religious life of the thirteenth century is described in this sixth volume, which like its predecessors has been produced by the co-operation of distinguished historical scholars. There is no need therefore to stress the excellence of the achievement, when it is recorded that some of the most competent medievalists of our time have contributed to the result. Professor E. F. Jacob writes most informatively on Innocent III.; Professor F. M. Powicke out of the abundance of his knowledge discourses with mature judgment on English and French history; a very clear story of events in Italy is provided by Dr. C. W. Previté-Orton; the reign of St. Louis is from the pen of Dr. Charles Petit-Dutaillis; Professor H. Pirenne and Professor J. H. Clapham complete the political history by stressing the main points in the economic history of the period; medieval universities are described by the late Dr. Hastings Rashdall; and Dr. A. G. Little is instructive on the Mendicant orders. Evidence exists in abundance testifying to a general stirring of life, to intellectual enthusiasm, to the clash of political forces, to the first genesis of modern capitalism. It was an age big with events, and needed a great volume to do it full justice. The editors have provided such a volume. There can be no doubt that the sixth volume of the Cambridge Medieval History will be one of the outstanding publications of the year 1929.

Wolsey, by A. F. Pollard (Longmans).—Among English statesmen Wolsey occupies a high place of eminence. By combining the chancellorship, the office of Prime Minister, and the authority of Papal Legate, Wolsey was the most powerful man of his time in England. Professor Pollard shows us his hero in each of the three rôles, and who more able than he to give an authoritative and readable story of this fascinating “bold, bad man”? Professor Pollard is unquestionably the greatest living authority on the Tudor Period, and this study of Wolsey’s career is the result of a quarter of a century’s thought and research. His *Life of Wolsey* will therefore be expected to hold the field for many a day as the most reliable and up-to-date study of a personality deserving of attention both by reason of his innate greatness and also for the policy he pursued. Wolsey attempted to grasp at too much, so that he antagonised laity and clergy alike. By overreaching himself he brought home to the thoughtful people of his age the dangers of Papal power. Professor Pollard tells the story with a rare grace; his volume beside being informative is eminently readable. Perhaps the most striking chapters of the book are the last two, the one presenting a picture of the man—the born fighter, riding roughshod over men and morals, with his nepotism, his love of splendour, his taste in lordly buildings, whether palaces or colleges; and the other weighing up his place in English history.

The Age of Grey and Peel, by the late H. W. Carless Davis (Clarendon Press) contains the substance of the Ford Lectures at Oxford in 1926.

Those who are acquainted with the work of the late Professor Carless Davis will expect and will find the same fullness of knowledge and sympathy of judgment in this as is in previous books. The latter dealt for the most part with medieval themes ; but the hand of the master has lost none of its cunning when he interests his readers in a modern theme. He tells the political history of England between 1765 and 1846, analysing by the way the ideas that lay at the heart of the two political parties described respectively as Whigs and Tories. There is an undeniable tendency in these days to search for a new orientation for latter-day political parties. If it is true that the roots of the present lie deep in the past, those in search of a guide as to the origin and principles of the Whigs and the Tories cannot do better than entrust themselves to Professor Davis. Nor is the Labour Party out of the picture. Characteristically enough, the book throws a good deal of light on the first expressions of the rights of man in England and the early social reformers, who later exercised no little influence on Karl Marx—Paine and Godwin, Spence and Evans ; and above all Thomas Hodgkin. The book is furnished with a charming introduction by Professor G. M. Trevelyan.

England in the Nineteenth Century (1801-1805), by A. F. Fremantle (Allen & Unwin).—Here is the history of five years related in over 500 pages, in which the story itself occupies 450, the remainder being devoted to references and lists of authorities. It is "intimate" history, in which the small affairs of life are duly chronicled side by side with those which had their reverberations throughout Europe. What were the English people like at the beginning of the nineteenth century ? Mr. Fremantle has set himself this question and has answered it in a way that is bound to interest his readers. He elaborates the politics of the time ; gives thumb-nail sketches of the politicians (those of Pitt and Fox are particularly good) dwells lovingly on English achievement of victories on land and sea, and does not omit to show that glory must be paid for. At the same time he presents a picture of the English soldier and sailor and of the terms of their service ; of the sports of the common man, of the extent of his education ; of the influence of fashion and the treatment of women. Reading Mr. Fremantle's pages one is often reminded not that history repeats itself (for it does not), but that it is possible to find the same ideas, and even the same ideals, in more than one period. It would seem that at the beginning of the nineteenth century complaints were loud against the comparative shortness of ladies' frocks ; and when in May, 1802, the House of Commons discussed a Bill to prevent bull-baiting, arguments were adduced on both sides which may be found in Hansard one hundred or so years later. Mr. Fremantle has the gift of making his narrative interesting ; it is to be hoped that he will continue it in other volumes. His references deserve a word of commendation.

English Poor Law History: Part II.—The Last Hundred Years (2 vols.), by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (Longmans).—These two volumes complete the splendid studies of Mr. and Mrs. Webb on English Local Government. Part I., which was published in 1927, surveyed the story of the relief of destitution in England until 1832 ; the present two volumes

continue the narrative from the appointment of the Royal Commission in 1832 down to the Local Government Act of 1929. It is only necessary to say that these two volumes, together with their companion volume, will most certainly come to be regarded as the standard work on English Poor Law problems. They are marked by the precision, comprehensiveness, and documentation that students of the Webbs have come to expect in all their writing. Among the best chapters are those dealing with the *personnel* of the 1834 Commission—an interesting and human study; the account of the Commission of 1905-9—from the notes made by a member; and the study of the rise of the present volume of unemployment—"unemployment as a disease of modern industry." Those wishing to be adequately informed concerning the more important social problems of the age will be bound to go to this masterpiece for information. But they will find in these volumes not information only; they will also note an attitude to the problems which is helpful and stimulating. In an especial degree this work stands out among the publications of the year for excellence and worth.

The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy, by G. D. H. Cole (Macmillan), is a thoughtful and comprehensive statement of policy which supporters of all political parties will have to study with care. Mr. Cole is one of the foremost living exponents of practical Socialism; in this book he reviews the Socialist programme from the point of view both of the events and of the people of the post-war period. The result is a volume which stands out unmistakably among the books of the year that are of consequence. The facts and arguments are so clearly and forcibly stated that others besides professed Socialists will find themselves in agreement with the author on many points. Some are, indeed, so fundamental to any discussion of practical politics that they need only be grasped to be accepted. Thus Mr. Cole shows that the foreign trade of the country cannot hope to reach the dimensions of the pre-war period, largely because of the industrialisation of many countries which in the past obtained manufactured goods from Great Britain. Our industrial programme will thus need to be recast, more especially in view of the great volume of unemployment. Mr. Cole suggests the setting up of a Board of National Investment to direct the flow of capital into useful channels. He advocates the socialisation of the country's banking system in a chapter which is among the best of the book; pleads for the extension of educational opportunities for all; throws out a proposal for the bulk purchase of foodstuffs and raw materials; and considers the problem of Imperial Preference. Not a question upon which Mr. Cole touches but is vital; not one but which he does not illumine by clearness of thought and attractive presentation. To what extent Mr. Cole will turn out to be a prophet, time will show. But Mr. Cole the student of practical politics will demand and obtain the serious attention of thinking people.

Marriage and Morals, by Bertrand Russell (George Allen & Unwin).—The thesis of Mr. Russell's book is to show firstly that human sexual institutions and the history of human marriage are both subject to vicissitudes of time and place; while both sex and marriage are products of inevitable

physiological processes, both of them have, because of the complexity of human psychology and human society, been twisted into phantastic shapes. The result has been that the human spirit of which sexuality is so large a part has been enmeshed in a network of usages which have either outlived their utility or belong to environments which cannot be given universal sanction. He has shown from a survey of the history of sexual ideas that marriage and sexual ethics is more a matter of fashion or social custom than the operation of unchanging laws. In the course of his argument he suggests that a belief in paternity is much overrated, that human marriage is much more concerned with the functions of the mother than with the rôle of fatherhood. He seems to have been much impressed with the researches, or rather the opinions, of such eminent anthropologists as Professor B. Malinowski and Dr. Briffaud. While the author is singularly outspoken and humorous in the expression of his views, sparing no one in logical attack and in epigram, his views are entirely free of anything that could be described either as immoral or disruptive. But what Mr. Russell in his zeal for human happiness in marriage and in sex life has failed to understand is that the history of human marriage and the unfolding of human society in which both marriage and sex have embroidered so strange a pattern, the evolution has not been along lines of conscious endeavour. The changes achieved, and the obstinacy with which institutions have been maintained, cannot be explained nor explained away by any rational method of argument. While admitting that sexual institutions and marriage vary from time to time and from place to place, while decadence in civilisations has produced the loosening of moral bonds, and periods of religious revival and romantic chivalry have tightened such bonds, it is obvious that logic is not going to alter suddenly the institution of marriage. What will alter these institutions is the general feeling that the unhappiness they produce on the whole will bring about their alteration but not necessarily their downfall. It may perhaps be the mathematical and philosophic equipment of Mr. Russell which has led him to believe that errors once detected are corrected and do not or should not occur again. But the anomalies in human institutions are not the results of error; they are the results of conflicts in the human mind which have their social repercussions. None the less Mr. Russell has written an informative and thoughtful book which was widely read and much discussed.

The Universe Around Us, by Sir James Jeans (Cambridge University Press).—Not the least remarkable feature of modern science has been the way in which the researches of the physicist in “the direction of the infinitely small” have aided and have been aided by the probings of the astronomer into the almost infinitely great. This story is told by Sir James Jeans, who has himself played no small part in its making, in the charming and vivid style which those who have heard him lecture always expect from him. It was no mean task to undertake, for if knowledge and hypothesis in modern astronomy involve wonders undreamt of even thirty years ago, they also present problems which make investigation possible only to the select few whose equipment, mental or instrumental,

is quite exceptional, and to describe them logically to lay readers demands skill and breadth of view equally exceptional. A selection of chapter headings will indicate the scope of the book : Exploring the Sky ; Exploring the Atom ; Exploring in Time ; The Stars ; Beginnings and Endings. Difficulties are not shirked ; even the cosmologies of Einstein and de Sitter are explained as clearly as can be without the use of mathematical symbols. Here and there it is pointed out that present ideas of time, distances, and evolution may need revision, and the only adverse criticism possible is that this caution is perhaps exercised too seldom. Astronomy has always been singularly fortunate in its expositors ; this book is ample evidence that its good fortune continues. It speaks much for the skill of the author that his book was sold in thousands.

A Preface to Morals, by Walter Lippmann (Allen & Unwin), is an altogether delectable book which found very many readers on both sides of the Atlantic. The author has an engaging style and is gifted with the art of making his fare attractive by neat paragraphs and clever headings. Like many another observer he has noted the decay of authority in modern life—authority in religion and authority in conduct. He sees that thoughtful people are drifting, seeking for a new anchorage. To satisfy this demand he has written his book in which he offers the modern generation a morality of humanism. Since men have lost their belief in a God, they must discover “some other ground for their moral theories than the revelation of his will.” Mr. Lippmann proposes that the test of righteousness must now be found “wholly within human experience.” He sums up his suggestion in these terms : “With all its difficulties, it is to a morality of humanism that men must turn when the ancient order of things dissolves. When they find that they no longer believe seriously and deeply that they are governed from heaven, there is anxiety in their souls until by conscious effort they find ways of governing themselves.” The quintessence of the new Humanism is propounded in most agreeable terms, and there is a great likelihood that Mr. Lippmann will prove helpful to large numbers of serious-minded people who are longing for guidance in their spiritual life. But even those who are still content to abide by the old standards will find the book not a little stimulating. It is full of sturdy common sense, and while recognising both the achievements and the justification of the thought and teaching of earlier ages, it makes out a convincing case for the thought and teaching of the present age likewise. Mr. Lippmann has rendered a valuable service to his generation by writing this book.

FICTION.

Brothers and Sisters, by I. Compton-Burnett (Heath Cranton), is one of the most remarkable of recent novels in the completeness with which it displays all the current tendencies of advanced fictional technique, and the skill with which this armour is concentrated on the deliberately limited field chosen by the author. At first reading the recipe seems to be one-quarter Meredith, one-half Virginia Woolf, and one-quarter headache, but the problem is not so simple. The second chapter shows the structure

and the tone in its very catty cat's-cradle of a birthday party. Miss Compton-Burnett's satire is devastating in its coolness. Her characters are etched with pints of acid. Whether she makes statements or deliberately omits to make them, the effect of control is the same. One character says, "You and I are adepts at saying just the thing at the moment that a decent person would not say." There is the device of the dramatic grotesque in the contrast-giving Cousin Peter adapted from Tchekhov's method of procedure. There is the not too easily followed device of omitting to separate two sections between which time has elapsed, although the stepping-stones are accurately enough placed to prevent any danger for one who walks carefully. There is the trick of parenthesis that gives a book an air of penetration and cleverness. The style is relentless in its formal indicative sentences, and were the fluctuations of matter not so attractive, would produce monotony. It is a pity that so much mechanism is expended on what is ultimately a work and subject of no magnitude. There are flashes of stormy grandeur in which the uneasiness of family relationship comes near to incestuous tragedy. It is not clear whether the refusal to go forward with the hinted material is due to lack of desire or lack of power. If ever Miss Compton-Burnett is willing to devote herself to the full implications of a subject, her knowledge of human nature and human relationships, and the gaps in human armour will produce something durable, if bitterly monumental. At the moment, her work, though of supreme interest to those who are themselves writing novels, or are concerned with the progress of the art of fiction, will certainly antagonise the "escapologists" of the fiction-reading public.

Death of a Hero, by Richard Aldington (Chatto & Windus).—It is usual for a first novel to be autobiographical, it is unusual for it to be personal. Mr. Aldington does not pretend to have written an objective book. It is in the nature of a romantic protest, and must rely on the justice of its emotions to continue to arouse response. For that reason it cannot entirely be judged by purely literary standards. Those who were in the fighting part of the war may feel it too much as an apologia: those who were not may too busily be defending their own existence against the indictment, for "The living must protect themselves from the dead, especially the intrusive dead." The subject-matter of the book is disillusionment forced by the recognition of the meanness, the deceit and self-deceit, the betrayal of standards of those who should have been guardians of the nation's absent honour. The materials with which this is displayed are the war, the home front before and during the war, and the relation of George Winterbourne to his father, his mother, his wife, and his mistress. The language is free and conversational, and outspoken to the extent of venomous but provoked insult. Mr. Aldington makes his affirmations in a short but important prefatory letter to Mr. Halcott Glover: "The excuse for the novel is that one can do any damn thing one pleases." He believes in man and "a fundamental integrity and comradeship, without which society could not endure," and offers the book as "a threnody and a memorial to a generation which hoped much, strove

honestly, and suffered deeply." His love of individuals does not prevent him from endorsing Swift's view of man in certain fallen moods as "the most pernicious race of little odious venom that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth." More than a mere novel, more than a mere war book is involved in the bitter quarrel that has arisen about this book. It is a document in the battle of the generations that has been going on publicly since Butler's *Way of All Flesh*, and it is important, whatever the verdict may be and whatever result from it, that in the rush of superficial war books *Death of a Hero* should come to use the war of armaments as the symbol of a much deeper-rooted struggle. When the literary balance-sheet of the war is made up, no document will appear foolish that can offer the ease, the honesty, the severity, the fierceness, and the precision of *Death of a Hero*.

High Wind in Jamaica, by Richard Hughes (Chatto & Windus).—In perhaps his most charming piece of prose Mr. Hughes has expressed the vagaries of the child mind in a way that many psychologists would envy. To explore the mind of a child requires not only tact but the ability to share the feelings and desires of a child. To picture a group of children requires an ability to live back the microcosm of one's childhood which can only be done in a dank and dismal way through psycho-analysis. Mr. Hughes, in the good company of Shakespeare, has blown away the cobwebs from everyday life by a tempest, a high wind in Jamaica. The home of the children in the hot and sultry tropics with two quite intelligent parents is washed away in the wind of the hurricane, and by a transfiguration through what one must believe is a bogus letter, artistically bogus, we find the children on board a pirate ship,—the last pirate ship, we are told, which sailed the Caribbean Sea in the reign of Queen Victoria. Once aboard the lugger and the child's mind is revealed naked and unashamed. It would be spoiling the delight of future readers to tell of the adventures, lurid and fantastical, that the children pass through on board the pirate ship. It would scandalise our Victorian grandmothers who believed so strongly in original sin that these children were so devoid of original virtue. We can even imagine people to-day denying that little Emily could have so cold-bloodedly killed one of the pirate crew. Such an offence to our preconceived notions of the age of innocence is quite intolerable, and in addition, that these young persons, the welcome guests of a not unsympathetic pirate captain, should ultimately let him down so badly is also quite, quite unbelievable. But let those who doubt the story examine for one moment their own dreams. The author takes the story from the realm of fantasy and brings it into an English Law Court where the pirate chief is tried, sentenced, and hanged for deeds of violence and piracy at sea, and the little girl, so recently the welcome guest of this pirate wild and mild, now helps him blandly to the gallows. But this story has the fabric of a vision. It has the fabric of a poet's vision, and with that we accept Mr. Hughes' fantasy not as psychologists, not as lovers of truth, but as persons who are poets in spite of ourselves. No wonder Mr. Hughes became one of the most popular novelists of the year.

No Love, by David Garnett (Chatto & Windus), is the story of two families who inhabit an island, and depicts the ebb and flow of friendship between the sons of the two houses, a relationship as uneven as that existing between the fathers. Neither Benedict, with his sympathetic parents, nor Simon, with his inhibiting ones, is born for happiness. When he meets the Jewess, Cynthia, Simon comes in the neighbourhood of love, but he cannot trust the girl, and her budding love is blasted by his own breath. As his wife, Cynthia finds love later on where Simon suspects it, with Benedict, but there again it never blossoms. That is the theme of the story: *No Love*. The novel ends with these words. With Cynthia gone and his parents dead, there is no more love left in Benedict's life than in Simon's. Behind the limpid clarity of Mr. Garnett's style there seems to lurk some of the subtlety and perversity of that writer. For all the beauty of the nature pictures, for all the loveliness of Benedict's father—the *flavour* of *No Love* is cruel. Mr. Garnett cannot resist using his power over words to accentuate the grotesque, the inhuman, in mankind. When we behold the anomaly of a heart without love, we recall the lady who became a fox, the man in the Zoo and that St. Francis *manqué* whose daughter, like the August cuckoo, felt that go she must.

The Good Companions, by J. B. Priestley (Heinemann), justifies its title not only in regard to its contents, but also in what it offers the reader. To those of the older generation it is an unmixed pleasure to meet once more an old friend in the plain vital story which runs through natural vicissitudes to a comfortable but by no means improbable happy ending. It is equally certain that the young modern gladly welcomes the old-time fragrance, which endows each and all these chance comrades of a travelling theatrical troupe with a charm that will cause them to live in memory long after the last page is turned down. Perhaps the greatest strength of the book is its utter lack of sentimentality and the abundance of fine passages that serve as a background for the varied and various personages of this huge canvas. The success of the troupe, the ups and downs of its roving existence, the delicate little romances etched in at odd moments endear the actors to the reader, and where so much that is graceful and grateful is provided, it is almost ungracious to stress the fact that the long arm of coincidence is sometimes stretched to attenuation point. In short, when the flashing meteors in the sky of 1929 will have faded from the horizon of books, the steadfast light of the *Good Companions* will illumine many winter evenings of the future.

The Hawbucks, by John Masefield (Heinemann).—"Hawbuck," "a clown, a country bumpkin," the dictionaries have it; and their love places them all at times in a clownish setting, the ten men who come under the spell of Carrie Harridew.

The book has a dual plot, giving on the one hand the career of George Childrey, aptly described as a prodigal "in the good sense of the word." But it is also an account of the reaction of all the hawbucks, George himself included, to the beauty of the golden Carrie. The stories of those who "also ran" for this prize make a theme fit for Chaucer, and Mr. Masefield has left us with a disturbing picture of each—Mr. Catlington,

the parson, his spirit caught in the toils of the flesh ; Steer Harpit, driven from home and friendship back to the sea ; Vaughan, the profligate, running the gauntlet between the seven deadly sins ; the honest young doctor ; the Apollo-like Cothill ; the æsthetic Ethelberta ; the " good for little " Mike, and the boy, Bunny Manor ; with George Childrey, the runner-up. His brother, the winner, is the least convincing of the ten. Poet and novelist ever struggle together in Mr. Masefield's work, which reaches its height when the two combine as they invariably do if the scene is the hunting field. The twenty pages (there are no chapters) devoted to the famous hunt are the best thing in the book (it is significant that this is the actual meet of " Reynard the Fox "), and in their compression of words is that absence of waste which Mr. Catlington would call style. Even the dual plot is unified here, for George is both hero and hawbuck as he triumphantly leads the field with Carrie at his side.

Harriet Hume, by Rebecca West (Hutchinson), is worthy of special attention because it is a story out of the ordinary. Two lovers are its hero and heroine ; but the heroine differs from most of her kind found in books in that she possesses the uncanny power of reading her lover's thoughts. Once the existence of such a power is accepted without question, the resulting possibilities in an ordinary tale of love are numerous indeed. But this is not an ordinary tale of love. Miss West describes it as a fantasy—" A London Fantasy." An ordinary tale of love, even with the magic quality playing ducks and drakes with situations, would at least be intelligible. Miss West's story is not definite enough to be intelligible. Either its subtlety is too deep to be appreciated at the first reading, or it is to be taken wholly as a fantasy. Its effect on the mind is that of things remembered in a dream—interesting possibly, but without cohesion. The story is readable, and contains some fine pieces of descriptive writing. But at the end the plain reader will probably ask himself, What does it all mean ?

Dodsworth, by Sinclair Lewis (Cape), sets out to deal with an American menage of that name and to show us the rocks that suddenly appear in the smooth channel of married life that has been successfully navigated for over twenty years by Samuel Dodsworth and his Fran. It is interesting to follow the two in their travels to and through Europe and their reactions to the new environment and to their new acquaintances. But though the author makes of both Samuel and Fran living entities, he is not able to make us believe that these two were ever even resigned yoke-fellows for twenty odd years. Samuel was no fool, and it would not have taken him even as many months to grasp the limitations and fascinations of the calculating Fran. Every allowance must be made for the fact that he was in love with his wife, but the rudeness of the shocks she gave him and the increasing and never-ending scenes she made would have awakened him sharply but promptly to her actual meretriciousness. Mr. Lewis has drawn a portrait of Fran which underneath its exterior charm is as ruthlessly feline as the claws which this middle-aged bourgeoisie attempts to stick into her various European admirers. She has no redeeming feature save that of having been able to conceal her true character and to keep control

of her desires and actions throughout the apparently uneventful years when she and Samuel were busy "arriving" in Zenith. Her determination to get the best out of the short Indian summer of youth remaining to her is worthy of better ends than those she fashions for herself, but she has forfeited all our sympathy by her shallow grasping attitude to her personal dignity and above all to the long-suffering Samuel, and we take leave of him glad he is man enough to seek compensation with the eminently lady-like and calmly matter-of-fact Edith Cartright.

Wolf Solent, by John Cowper Powys (Cape).—Mr. Powys has undertaken a vast task in the desire placed in the mouth of his Mr. Urquhart "to isolate the particular portion of the earth's surface called 'Dorset,' as if it were possible to decipher there a palimpsest of successive strata, one inserted below another, of human impression." The recording instrument is Wolf Solent, a man of thirty-five, who has no worldly ambitions, who cut himself adrift from teaching by breaking out in his classroom in condemnation of mechanical and sordid modernity, who imagines himself sometimes "a demiurgic force drawing its power from the heart of Nature herself," who has a technique of mystical experience, whose apprehension of the world was largely in metaphors taken from nature in its elementary details. This man is placed in contact with characters who are emanations of the local soil. He lives, thinks, feels, loves, seduces, marries. Mr. Powys takes his passions down to the level of earthly communication, communication through the roots. Many of the characters are grotesque, not through any caricature by the author, but through their own consistency, a rare thing in modern fiction. Although the matter of the book is almost entirely erotic, there is a strange philosophical detachment about it, as though it is being used for wider purposes, a proof perhaps of the basis of nature and the purpose of the flowers that form a large part of the decorations. It is not often that so large a book, one of the largest of recent novels, succeeds in sustaining such a level of feeling and philosophy without cloying preaching.

Portrait in a Mirror, by Charles Morgan (Macmillan).—"It was mind to say that a portrait should be an image of one spirit reflected in the mirror of another." But he did not say it after all, the young Nigel Frew, for the statement would not have been understood. Nor could he even complete the portrait of Clare Sibright which his imagination was for ever creating, for not by the physical or tangible could his spiritual vision of her find any satisfying expression. "Your love was too soon, mine too late. It's as if two people with different languages were to learn to speak to each other only after their secrets had become meaningless," says Clare to Nigel in the final scene when both realise they must go their own ways through life. Nevertheless, in that moment of time they meet at last on the same level, for she has herself become what his imagination has ever beheld her. She knows, however, that her life will not allow her to remain so in outward fact—only in the truth of Nigel's imagination where she will remain with him to inspire his work for ever. Such is the theme of this fine novel, which never falls below the standard of a work of art. Although its subject is among the stars, the book stands solidly

enough on the earth where its drama has to be played. Clare might so easily have been unreal and Nigel a prig, but the author makes us follow spell-bound the unfolding of these two quite human characters whose world is peopled with men and women of varying humours and intelligence, all alive, none of them types. We see them all clearly amid the essential details of their setting, for Mr. Morgan understands the art of selection and has mastered the medium through which he works. The result is a novel of great beauty.

The Man Who Lost Himself, by Osbert Sitwell (Duckworth), is a quasi-scientific experiment in time, which the author labels a Novel of Reasoned Action. By this the reader knows at once that it is no ordinary ghost story but the elaboration of a theory which must be taken seriously. Tristram Orlander is a poet with a gift of divination which enables him to pass forward and backward in time. Driven to Spain by an unhappy but unconvincing love affair, he commences a very curious experience, which is only completed on his return to that country some forty years later. On the first journey he meets his self-that-is-to-be and his whole nature is changed by the encounter; on the second this later self returns to its lost youth and finds death in the adventure. The intervening experiences are admirably related, and the psychology of the book is sound, though not up to the high level of *After the Bombardment*. But even if Mr. Sitwell has enough scientific knowledge for his attempt, it is certain that the novel is an impossible medium for propounding "serialism" or any other of the new physical philosophies. The writing is very beautiful, for the Sitwells all have the secret of lovely language, and never has it been better used than in these pen pictures of Spain. There is brightness, too, in the satire of the after-dinner conversations.

The Love of the Foolish Angel, by Helen Beauclerk (Collins).—To ink of an angel who is innocently mixed up in the Luciferian revolution thrown into Hell, to send him to earth to seduce a maiden, to make all in love with that same maiden, to give him a conscience, to place the service of an amateur witch, and then by the good offices of a priest have him turned into a man that he might learn the unity of death is invention and fantasy enough. Miss Beauclerk is safely trusted with these gifts, for she gives them the cloak of smooth and cried prose and a sustained levitation of style that takes the fairy- almost out of the range of worldly reference. Swirling yet sure currents of legend move together. The foolish and very inexperienced angel, the worlds of Antioch and Ctesiphon, the indecisions of religious history, the worship of Adonis, and bands of hermits, dart in and out of the pattern. Magic and faith seem much simpler then than now. Yet in spite of the unaggressive archæology the whole book is modern, the love is modern, the angel's inferiority complex is pleasantly anachronistic, the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah are no older than yesterday, the dancing place of the Jew Chagab is the night-club of to-day. It is strangely delicious to live in two worlds, at once remote and lovely and intangibly near. Could we transfer prose to the pictures we could almost bear to think of a wingless film of Miss Beauclerk's gossamer Heaven and Hell on earth.

Chariot Wheels, by Sylvia Thompson (Heinemann), tells an interesting story which engages the attention of the reader from beginning to end. Miss Thompson is particularly successful in conveying distinct impressions both of scenes and of characters with an economy of language which is as refreshing as it is rare. Her book tells the story of the adventure in marriage of a successful young novelist whose wife fell in love with his mind. Too late she discovers that her companionship does not suffice to give him all the stimulus he needs, and that apart from that, holding an opinion which is finding increasing support, he condemns the ugliness and pettiness of the "monopoly view" of marriage. Carrying his theories into practice, he seeks and finds elsewhere the solace denied him in his home. The picture of Cressida Stobart accommodating herself to a view of life she cannot share, and making the best of a difficult situation largely for the love she bears her husband, is distinctly beautiful; her character cannot but win the reader's sympathy and admiration. For this study alone the book would deserve commendation. But it does more. It reflects as in a mirror the present life of cultured people of the upper middle class in London, with their prejudices and their moral and social code. Valuable as the book is merely as a good novel, it will one day become a useful social document.

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

ONE of the finest exhibitions of paintings and drawings ever seen in England was opened in January at Burlington House. It was composed of examples of Dutch art of all periods from the fifteenth century to the close of the nineteenth, and illustrated in a remarkable manner the extraordinary achievements of the painters of a little country with a comparatively small population. The exhibition was organised and managed by an Anglo-Dutch committee, the members of which included artists, connoisseurs, and collectors, and was held under the patronage of the King and of the Queen of Holland, and Prince Henry of the Netherlands. Many of the pictures came from the great public galleries of Holland, and from those of other Continental countries; and the owners of private collections in Europe and America lent their treasures without stint for the common good. To these were added the pictures already in England, and the result was an exhibition perhaps unparalleled in its own way. Among the numerous Rembrandts were some superb examples of that great master, Hals was strongly represented, and the Terburgs included that exquisite painting "The Letter," lent by the King from the Buckingham Palace collection.

However, the sensation of the exhibition was the group of pictures by Vermeer, whose work had never before been seen to such advantage in England. This rare artist appeared at Burlington House as a landscape, as well as a figure painter, and in the Eighth Gallery, queues of people waited their turn to inspect closely "The Little Street," the "View of Delft from the Rotterdam Canal," and the "Young Woman Reading a Letter," all of which came from public galleries in Holland. The Dutch exhibition was deservedly successful, financially as well as artistically, and although the insurance of such pictures as it contained was costly, the receipts were so large that (after all expenses had been paid) more than 10,000*l.* was divided between the Rembrandt Society of Holland and the National Art Collections Fund of England.

The exhibition was closed early in March, and the great collection of Dutch pictures was dispersed to make room for the works submitted by outsiders for the summer exhibition of the Royal Academy. These numbered 10,071, fewer by nearly 900 than those submitted in 1928. Of the total submitted by outsiders, 1,284 were given places in the exhibition. Among the works sold at the Academy were "The Mound" (630*l.*) and "The End of the Village" (250*l.*), by Mr. Arnesby Brown; "A Spanish

Bridge" (367*l.* 10*s.*) and "The Northumberland Coast" (367*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. Oliver Hall; "Evening" (105*l.*) and "The Wayside Smithy" (105*l.*), by Mr. Stanhope Forbes; "June Morning: the Deveron at Rothiemay, Aberdeenshire," (135*l.*), by Mr. S. J. Lamorna Birch; "Lady at the Piano—Miss Ethel Bartlett" (200*l.*), by Mr. Harold Knight; "The Cupbearer" (350*l.*), by Mrs. A. L. Swynnerton; "The River at Cagnes, A.M., France" (150*l.*), by Sir H. Hughes Stanton; "A Suffolk Harvest" (200*l.*), by Mr. Algernon Talmadge; "The Temple of Pallas Athene from the Sea" (250*l.*) and "Fifty North and Forty West" (300*l.*), by Mr. W. L. Wyllie; "Kelp-burning, Co. Kerry" (150*l.*), by Mr. Julius Olsson; "Littledown, Upwaltham, Sussex" (115*l.*), by Mr. Claude Muncaster; "A Breton Boatyard" (250*l.*), by Mr. W. Russell Flint; "The Old Pear Tree in Spring" (300*l.*), by Mr. Harry Bush; "The Ruin" (100*l.*) and "Blue and Silver" (150*l.*), by Mr. David Muirhead; "A Passing Storm" (157*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. W. W. Russell; "Autumn in the Dauphiné: after a Spate" (250*l.*), by Mr. Adrian Stokes; "Full-blown Roses" (210*l.*), by Mr. Melton Fisher; "Making for the Harbour" (125*l.*), by Mr. Robert Allan; "The Lone Pine of La Mortola" (210*l.*), by Mr. Harry van der Weyden; "O! Shepherd of the Hills" (200*l.*), by Miss Lucy Kemp-Welch; "Still-Life" (315*l.*), "Still-Life" (210*l.*), and "Still-Life" (210*l.*), by Mr. George Belcher; "Afterglow" (262*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. Arthur Wardle; "Meanwhile the Huntsman makes his Cast" (170*l.*), by Mr. George Wright; "An Anxious Moment" (250*l.*), by Lady Helena Gleichen; "S.O.S." (100*l.*), by Mr. Fred Roe; "A Corner of the Dutch Room, Lady Alma Tadema's Studio" (157*l.* 10*s.*), by Mr. F. E. Beresford; "Children with a Microscope" (150*l.*), by Miss E. D. Hewland; "Susie and the Washbasin" (210*l.*), and "Laugh, Clown, Laugh" (178*l.* 10*s.*), by Dame Laura Knight; "The Serbian Dancer, Desha" (150*l.*), by Mr. Russell Flint; "Flowers and Fruit" (300*l.*), by Mr. Leonard D. Philpot; "Concertina Players" (350*l.*), by Miss Joan Manning-Saunders; "Jane and Anne Johnstone" (200*l.*), by Miss Anna K. Zinkeisen; "Faun—statuette, bronze" (120*l.*), by Miss May Mond; "Baltazar" (300*l.*), by Mr. Glyn Philpot; and "Ribblesdale" (315*l.*), by Mr. Reginald G. Brundrit.

In 1927 and 1928 no Chantrey purchases were made by the President and Council of the Royal Academy, but in 1929 numerous works were acquired, as the following list shows: "Portrait of Michael, son of the Artist," by Ambrose McEvoy, A.R.A. (1,000*l.*); "The Little Apple—group, stone," by Henry Poole, R.A. (315*l.*); "The Convalescent," by Mrs. A. L. Swynnerton (350*l.*); "Marjorie—head, bronze," by Mr. J. P. Allan (105*l.*); "Sea Lion—verd di prato," by Mr. Richard Garbe, A.R.A. (300*l.*); "Any Morning," by Miss M. Barker (40*l.*); "Stripped Camellias," by Miss E. Beatrice Bland (38*l.*); "Pastoral," by Mr. James Bateman (250*l.*); "A Dancer," by Sir George Clausen, R.A. (150*l.*); "The Deluge," by Mr. Ernest M. Dinkel (100*l.*); "St. Germans," by Mr. Alfred Thornton (100*l.*); "Paddlers," by Mr. P. W. Steer (42*l.*); and a portrait of Sir Robert Lorimer as a boy, by Mr. J. H. Lorimer (300*l.*).

In the auction room the most notable event was the attempt at Christie's to dispose of the famous Portland Vase, which had been so long at the

British Museum that most people regarded it as the property of the nation. It had been, however, only lent to the Museum, and was offered for sale by its proprietor, the Duke of Portland, who sent it to Christie's with a heavy reserve price. This price, whatever it was, was not reached, and after the last bid of 34,450*l.* the Vase was bought in and returned to the Museum. The year was not one of great prices, judged by recent standards, but 17,850*l.* was paid at Christie's for a full-length of Jacques Le Roy, by Vandyck; and 15,225*l.*, at Puttick & Simpson's, for a full-length of Lord Nugent, by Gainsborough. The portrait of Lord Nugent is one of great excellence. It was shown as "Colonel Nugent" at the Society of Artists' exhibition in 1765. Other works by the same artist sold during the season included portraits of members of the family of Samuel Kilderbee, Gainsborough's friend and attorney. Of these the highest price, 9,240*l.*, was paid for a half-length of Kilderbee's daughter, Mrs. Dupuis. A portrait of Mrs. Kilderbee realised 4,260*l.* The highest prices given for works by other English masters were 10,500*l.* for Hoppner's portrait group of two boys, the Hon. John and the Hon. Henry Cust; 9,030*l.* for Turner's "Vintage at Maçon"; 9,240*l.* for Morland's "Dancing Dogs"; 8,925*l.* for a study by Romney of Lady Hamilton as Cassandra; 8,400*l.* for Raeburn's portrait of Miss Lilius Campbell; and 6,720*l.* for Richard Wilson's landscape, "The Thames at Twickenham." The prices are records for Morland and Wilson for pictures sold by auction. Other important pictures sold this year included a portrait of a man, "A Warrior," by Rembrandt, 16,380*l.*, and the same artist's "Descent from the Cross," 8,190*l.*; a full-length portrait of the first Lord Peterborough, by Vandyck, 9,975*l.*; a portrait of Edward VI., by Holbein, 9,975*l.*; "The Repose in Egypt," by G. Bellini, 7,875*l.*; a portrait of Mr. Rumbold of the Foot Guards, by Romney, 6,810*l.*; and a portrait group of the Dutton Family, by Zoffany, 8,610*l.*

The British Museum acquired, it is to be hoped permanently, the famous Luttrell Psalter, which had long been one of the principal treasures of Lutworth Castle. The Psalter, which was exhibited at the Museum during the summer and autumn, was purchased for 30,000 guineas. This sum was generously advanced by Mr. Pierpont Morgan, without whose aid the purchase could not have been affected. An interesting relic of one of London's most beautiful houses was presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum (one of the mantelpieces designed and executed for Dorchester House, Park Lane, by Alfred Stevens). The house, built by Mr. Holford eighty or ninety years ago, was pulled down during the year. At the same Museum in the autumn an interesting exhibition was held in some of the galleries that are ordinarily devoted to the display of oil paintings by deceased British artists. The exhibition was composed of Russian ikons, paintings of religious subjects gathered from numbers of churches, and lent to an English committee by the Russian Government. Other exhibitions held at the Victoria and Albert Museum were of the works of Engleheart, and of a large collection of valentines. The National Portrait Gallery received in the summer an interesting gift from Lord Carlisle in the shape of Hogarth's picture, containing many small portraits, of a

sitting of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the charges of cruelty made against Thomas Bambridge, Warden of the Fleet Prison for debtors. Among many other portraits added to the gallery was one of Captain Coram, the originator of the Foundling Hospital, attributed to Allan Ramsay.

Fine exhibitions of silver were held for charitable purposes at Sir Philip Sassoon's house in Park Lane; and (in aid of Queen Charlotte's Hospital) at Seaford House, lent by Lord Howard de Walden. At the National Gallery of British Art an exhibition was arranged of the work of Mr. P. Wilson Steer, in which his landscapes and portraits were both well represented. The many exhibitions at private galleries included one of Canaletto's pictures held by the Magnasco Society at the rooms of Messrs. Spink; of Mr. William Nicholson's paintings at the Beaux Arts Gallery, and those of Mr. Augustus John at Messrs. Tooth's. At the Leicester Gallery there were exhibitions of the work of Mr. Sickert, Mr. Henry Lamb, Miss Ethel Walker, Mr. Eric Kennington, Mr. John Armstrong, and others; mezzotint portraits were shown at the Rembrandt Gallery, and at Barbizon House a collection of paintings by living French artists was on view in the summer. The unveiling of Mr. Epstein's allegorical figures of Night and Day at the new offices of the Underground Railway led to much discussion of their qualities in the newspapers.

The year was eventful at the National Gallery for it witnessed the acquisition of the famous Wilton Diptych, and the large portrait-group by Titian commonly known as "The Cornaro Family." The Titian was bought from the Duke of Northumberland, by whose family it had been owned since Algernon Percy, the tenth Earl of Northumberland, acquired it from the executors of Vandyck. The price paid to the Duke of Northumberland was 122,000*l.*, half of which sum was contributed by the Government. The Wilton Diptych, so-called because of its association with Wilton House, the seat of Lord Pembroke, is a work whose authorship and exact date are unknown, but whose beauty is universally admitted. It was purchased by an ancestor of Lord Pembroke two hundred years ago, and has always been an object of extreme interest to artists and connoisseurs; and its acquisition by the National Gallery, although at the immense price of 90,000*l.*, has been generally approved. Half of the purchase money was found by the Government, as in the case of the Titian; and the remainder in both instances was provided by the National Gallery, and the National Art-Collections Fund, and by generous contributions from Mr. S. Courtauld, Sir J. Duveen, Lord Rothermere, and Mr. F. C. Stoops.

II. THE DRAMA.

A year that saw the production of considerably more than one hundred plays, not counting an unusually large number experimentally performed by special societies, must at least be reckoned a busy one. There is little doubt, indeed, that 1929 will be remembered by regular theatre-goers for the extraordinary multiplicity of plays it brought forth. Out of such a volume it was hardly to be wondered at that the average of successes

should have been somewhat higher than usual. In recalling the more noteworthy events in a year of such abundant activities, it will be as well to begin with a list of plays that made their mark, and to do so without reference to classification. Indeed, as modern plays tend more and more to disregard conformity to definite labels, being composed sometimes of ingredients so varied as to preclude their admission into any particular category, there is the less reason for dividing one class from another.

By general consent, probably, pride of place will have gone to R. C. Sherriff's most moving war play—remarkable in its unflinching naturalness and its fidelity to the whole atmosphere of the trenches—"Journey's End" (Savoy, January 21), although the play really dates from 1928, when it was brought to light by the Stage Society. Its phenomenal success, having regard to the circumstances of its origin, will be remembered as one of the romances of theatrical history. Reginald Berkeley's "The Lady with a Lamp" (Arts, January 7), although comparatively short-lived, was a remarkable achievement for an author from whom one had hardly expected anything so serious as this uncommonly clever play, which was based on Lytton Strachey's somewhat ruthless study of Florence Nightingale. Edith Evans's performance in the chief part added to her reputation.

Perhaps next on the list should come George Bernard Shaw's "The Apple Cart" (Queen's, September 17), which had its first production at Malvern. Many held this play to be good Shaw, and not a few others took the opposite view. Perhaps it may safely be said that the play shows its distinguished author sometimes at his best, and at other moments in a mood of characteristic, but never tiresome, discursiveness. Sean O'Casey's "The Silver Tassie" (Apollo, October 11) did not achieve the success that rewarded his "Juno and the Paycock." Rather should the play, which held scenes of memorable poignancy, be described as a brilliant failure. On the other hand, the public gave prolonged favour to Somerset Maugham's "The Sacred Flame" (Playhouse, February 8). In this play the author again indulged his bent for strong drama, and the theme he treated aroused considerable discussion on a debatable ethical question. Gladys Cooper's part in this piece was less effective than that of the heroine in Mr. Maugham's previous play, "The Letter." Another popular success was Ashley Dukes's dramatisation of Feuchtwanger's widely-read "Jew Süss" (Duke of York's, September 19). No doubt, however, the appeal of Matheson Lang to many among the play-going public was a largely determining factor in this case.

A play out of the common, thoughtfully written and above the average in interest, was Norman Macowan's "The Infinite Shoeblack" (Comedy, April 29). Yet, as a plea for idealism, it was not quite satisfying from the dramatic standpoint. "Murder on the Second Floor" (Lyric, June 21), showed that its young author, Frank Vosper, had it in him to treat the conventions and clichés of "mystery" plays from a new angle. The play was both ingenious and amusing, but nothing like as strong, subtle, and gripping as the same author's "People Like Us," which, banned by the Censor, was performed privately at the Arts Theatre.

Seeing how very few novels succeed in dramatic form, there was the

more reason for congratulating Miss G. B. Stern on the long run attained by "The Matriarch" (Royalty, May 8), as adapted by her from her own novel. On the whole she made a skilful and effective version of it, and, as it happened, the part of the protagonist was admirably adapted to Mrs. Patrick Campbell's brilliant gifts. Another play, even more successful, which owed a great deal to its interpretation, was St. John Ervine's "The First Mrs. Fraser" (Haymarket, July 2). This play had grace in the writing, as well as many flashes of wit, but without the co-operation of such gifted players as Marie Tempest and Henry Ainley it could hardly have won such exceptional favour. Popularity was also achieved by Ivor Novello's "Symphony in Two Flats" (New, October 14), a play possessing no special merit beyond that of being theatrically effective. A similar remark applies to Rowland Pertwee's "Heat Wave" (St. James's, October 15), a play largely helped by the acting of Herbert Marshall and Phyllis Nielson-Terry.

In a lighter vein, plays that secured a more than ordinary measure of popularity were Ben Travers's "A Cup of Kindness" (Aldwych, May 7), in which, as in several previous comedies (or farces) from the same pen, excellent opportunities were afforded those brilliant comedians, Ralph Lynn and Tom Walls; "The Calendar" (Wyndham's, September 18), a sporting piece—with Owen Nares in a prominent part—that represented Edgar Wallace at his best and raciest; "Canaries Sometimes Sing" (Globe, October 21), an extremely deft and amusing comedy in which Frederick Lonsdale, repeating a device he used, perhaps more skilfully, in "On Approval," employed only four characters; "The Middle Watch" (Shaftesbury, August 12), a thoroughly jolly play in a naval setting, by Ian Hay and Stephen King-Hall; Frederick Jackson's "Her Past" (Shaftesbury, January 23), and Walter Hackett's "Sorry You've Been Troubled" (St. Martin's, September 25). "A Warm Corner," an old-fashioned, but diverting, farce, adapted from the German by Arthur Wimperis and Lauri Wylie, and produced at Princes on December 24, appeared likely to enjoy a prosperous career.

The list of plays which did not catch the public fancy included two by Mr. Galsworthy—"Exiled" (Wyndham's, June 19) and "The Roof" (Vaudeville, November 5). The latter contained some interesting scenes, but neither play could compare in importance and interest with the author's "Loyalties" or "The Skin Game." Among other plays which, though unsuccessful, should not be passed over, were A. A. Milne's "The Ivory Door" (Haymarket, April 17), a work somewhat in the nature of a parable; H. M. Harwood's "A Girl's Best Friend" (Ambassadors, October 22), a comedy too unsubstantial to be redeemed merely by witty dialogue; and Clemence Dane's "Mariners" (Wyndham's, April 29). In some respects this play, in which Sybil Thorndike acted with no little power, deserved to rank among the year's more notable productions. Yet somehow the gifted authoress failed to live up to the height of a tragic theme. Other women dramatists, in addition to Miss Dane and Miss Stern, who contributed to the year's output included Alicia Ramsay, whose "Byron" (Lyric, January 22) was a far from

satisfactory effort; Audrey and Waveney Carten, who collaborated with moderate success in a very unreal play entitled "Fame" (St. James's, February 20), in which Gerald Du Maurier brought his art to bear upon a somewhat ungrateful part; Adelaide Phillpotts, who, in "The Mayor" (Royalty, March 11), set a number of queer people talking to excess; Molly Marshall-Hole, whose play, "Water" (Little, June 25), showed distinct promise; and Gertrude Jennings, whose comedy, "These Pretty Things" (Garrick, August 6), was amusing in a trivial way.

The year brought perhaps rather more than the usual crop of plays which had in them more of promise than of actual achievement. In this category one should place "The Berg" (His Majesty's, March 12), a play by an unknown dramatist, Ernest Raymond, who took for his theme the *Titanic* disaster, and treated it with skill and tact. In "The Stag," by Beverley Nichols (Globe, April 2), there were obvious signs of immaturity, but indications also that the young author possessed the makings of a successful playwright.

Of the year's musical productions one of the most successful, and certainly the most interesting, was "Bitter Sweet" (His Majesty's, July 18), of which Noel Coward wrote both the excellent book and the music. "La Vie Parisienne" (Lyric, Hammersmith, April 18), in a new version by A. P. Herbert and A. Davies Adams, was a pleasant and praiseworthy attempt on the part of Sir Nigel Playfair to revive a taste for Offenbach operetta.

III. THE CINEMA.

The year 1929 was probably one of the most momentous in the history of the cinema. Revolutionary changes followed one another with extraordinary rapidity. At the beginning of the year the "talkies" were stuttering their way along; by the end of the year it could be said that the silent film was dead.

The American companies announced that they intended to make no more silent pictures. For the time being they would, for the sake of the small unwired houses, rehash their talking pictures with the aid of subtitles. But the number of unwired houses is growing less and less and by 1930 even such a concession will be a thing of the past.

In America very little effort is being made to meet the language difficulty, though both France and England are planning multi-lingual studios. The idea is that the same sets and the same crowd scenes can be used for several versions of the same picture, with principals from a number of different countries. At the studios of British International Pictures "Atlantic" was made in English and German, and at the Alliance Studios "At the Villa Rose" was made in French and English. The Americans are, for the present, content with their own enormous market, and have many other pressing problems to settle first. Their position in Germany is complicated by the lawsuit between the rival reproducing systems of Western Electric and Klang-Tobis.

Colour has come to stay. Warner Brothers have announced that they

will make no more black and white pictures, and United Artists that they will make all their future song and dance pictures in colour. The favourite process, Technicolor, is expensive, yet cameras cannot be made fast enough to meet the demand. It is possible that by this time next year the black and white picture will be a rarity.

The wide screen is coming ; there are three inventions on the American market. Fox have one, called the Grandeur screen ; Paramount have another, the Magnascope, and R.K.O. are using the Spoor-Bergren invention. They have not been seen in England. Reports say that there is little to choose between them, that they are all good for spectacular or nature scenes, but that in intimate scenes or in close-ups there is still distortion. The inventions involve new cameras, new projectors, new screens, and new lines of sight. Before anything practical can eventuate, there must be standardisation. Samuel Goldwyn anticipates that the big film companies will shortly come together for the purpose of deciding which is the best machine. They will then buy up the patents of the other two, and make one perfect machine out of three semi-perfect inventions. The wide screen is expected to be a practical commercial proposition by the end of 1930. It is significant that Joseph Schenck, chairman of United Artists, who plans to build in London a big new West-end cinema, probably in Shaftesbury Avenue, will make the house suitable to take the wide screen when necessary.

The year was crowded with big pictures, and there seems to be no end to the trouble and money which the American firms are willing to expend in the keen competition for public favour.

Song and dance shows have become a new feature of the screen. The first of these, "The Hollywood Revue," relied on an all-star cast for its attractions. Every one on the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer pay-roll took part, with the result that a great many artists with no talent for this type of work were seen at a disadvantage.

Warner Brothers were next in the field with an all-colour picture called "On with the Show." This tempered pure musical comedy with a certain amount of back stage story and was greatly helped by colour. From the same firm "Gold-Diggers of Broadway" provided an even happier combination of song and story, and once more colour played its part. The story was one of the stage ; indeed, since the talkies became established more than half the pictures have something to do with life in the theatre.

Fox scored a great hit with "Sunny Side Up," which showed that Janet Gaynor could do other things than submit wistfully to ill-treatment. She made clever use of her lack of singing strength. "Rio Rita" was the most ambitious and spectacular of all these musical productions, and though not the most artistic, offered an abundance of rich things. There was also a Spanish version made for the South American Market. "The Cocoanuts" relied less on its music than its humour. The Marx Brothers were a great success.

Mary Pickford entered the talking field with a comparative failure. "Coquette" was a straight tragic drama in which the star played a Southerner. Either on account of some fault in the recording, or on account

of her assumed Southern accent, her dialogue was very difficult to follow. She recaptured her public, however, by appearing with her husband, Douglas Fairbanks, in "The Taming of the Shrew." Shakespeare was treated with respect and set with elaboration.

One of the year's most popular pictures was "Bull-Dog Drummond," the Sapper story, which was brought to the screen with Ronald Colman in the leading part. It enjoyed a record run (twenty-two weeks) at the Tivoli.

Al Jolson having made such a feature of the smile-and-tear type of story tried to repeat it a third time in "Say it with Songs," accompanied by young Davy Lee of "Singing Fool" fame. The picture was not as well received as his previous ones. Jolson leaves Warner Brothers shortly to work at a colossal salary for United Artists.

The comedians were represented by Buster Keaton, silent and very funny in "The Cameraman," and Harold Lloyd, talking and adequately funny in "Welcome Danger." Charlie Chaplin has not yet finished "City Lights" for which he himself has written special music. He will not speak however.

Emile Jannings scored heavily at the beginning of the year in "The Patriot." Talking pictures have made things difficult for him in Hollywood, and he has returned to Germany where he is making a picture in which he will speak German and broken English. The talkies have caused a slump in the American importation of foreigners, save for Maurice Chevalier, who has proved a great screen favourite. Pola Negri, Lya de Putti, Anna May Wong, and Monty Banks have all been working on this side of the Atlantic.

British production has been retarded by the sudden popularity of talking pictures, and a great many companies have been faced with financial disaster. Many pictures which were finished by the end of last year had to be scrapped or remade. It was found that they would not sell without talking sequences. This resulted in a good deal of rather bad work—talking scenes being added to pictures that had originally been meant as silent productions.

British International Pictures kept their lead. Alfred Hitchcock made "Blackmail," in which the talking for Any Ondra, the Hungarian star, was very cleverly doubled. The picture was a great success and was shown on Broadway. His second picture, a screen version of Sean O'Casey's play "Juno and the Paycock," was even better. Irish subjects were popular, for E. A. Dupont made a picture of Liam O'Flaherty's novel "The Informer." The talking sequences added after the picture was finished were a great mistake. Later in the year Dupont made "Atlantic" one of the most elaborate productions ever attempted at Elstree.

The first British song and dance picture was "The Co-optimists," made for New Era.

Earlier in the year we saw one of the last and one of the best of the British silent pictures—"The Lost Patrol." The director was Walter Summers.

Notable visitors working at Elstree included Richard Eichberg, E. A. Dupont, and Elinor Glyn, who at the close of the year was directing her own story called "Knowing Men."

In November T. P. O'Connor, the president of the British Board of Film Censors, died [see under Obituaries] and was succeeded by Edward Short. Several notable pictures that had been refused a certificate were shown by the Film Society, in particular "Potemkin" and "The End of St. Petersburg." A new organisation on similar lines is the London Workers' Film Society which will specialise in showing films dealing with some aspect of the class struggle.

Almost the last of the West-end music halls went over to talkies when at the end of the year the Alhambra became a picture house.

IV. MUSIC.

If the musical happenings in 1929 were not exceptionally noteworthy in regard at any rate to the importance of most of the new works produced, they were at least of more than average interest in point of range and variety. In the domain of opera events proceeded very much on normal lines, and as hopes of the materialisation of Sir Thomas Beecham's plans in connexion with an Imperial League of Opera were again deferred, opera enthusiasts had to be content with the usual Covent Garden season and a considerably less ambitious, but thoroughly efficient, venture of the Royal Carl Rosa Company at the Lyceum, the latter performances, of course, being given in English.

The international season at Covent Garden fell, as usual, into two sections—German and Italian. In the former, Wagnerian music-drama again predominated, two cycles of the "Ring" constituting the chief feature. Bruno Walter was conductor-in-chief, and under his direction fine performances were also given of "Die Meistersinger," "Tristan," and Strauss's "Der Rosenkavalier." The Italian performances were chiefly notable for the London début of Rosa Ponselle, a coloratura singer whose reputation was already firmly established in America. She did not disappoint anticipations, her singing in Bellini's "Norma"—revived after many seasons—and in Ponchielli's extremely dull opera, "La Gioconda," being of great beauty and technical brilliance. Puccini's "Turandot" was successfully revived, with the gifted Eva Turner in the name-part, and there was a revival of the same composer's early, and not altogether satisfactory, opera, "Manon Lescaut."

Chaliapin's reappearance as Boris Godounov was a feature of special interest, and so also, at least to the musical, as distinct from the general, public, was the production of a one-act opera by a native composer, Eugene Goossens. "Judith" was its title, the choice of a Biblical story, as adapted by Arnold Bennett, proving a sufficient stimulus to the composer's powers. Neither book nor music, viewed from the dramatic standpoint, was entirely satisfactory. But Mr. Goossens's score, a remarkable achievement on the purely technical side, held much of interest to musicians, and

probably its general appeal would have been stronger if the composer had seen fit to adopt a more varied style of vocal writing.

An exceptional feature of the year was the extraordinary activity developed in the sphere of orchestral music. Several plans were set on foot with a view to securing some measure of permanence for London's principal orchestras and to bringing about a higher standard of performance by the abolition of the indefensible system of deputies. The chief result of schemes which the year saw only partially fulfilled was a reconstitution of the B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra. This body, as reorganised, presented an imposing array of representative players and revealed a very high level of efficiency and discipline. The autumn season brought a plethora of orchestral concerts, for, in addition to those at which the new B.B.C. forces were heard, there were performances by the L.S.O., the Royal Philharmonic Society, the Hallé Orchestra, conducted by Sir Hamilton Harty, and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, under Furtwängler.

There was also a very important festival, promoted and conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham, as a tribute—and a very worthy tribute it proved—to the genius of Frederick Delius, a native composer whose gifts, long since acclaimed by all discriminating music-lovers, have gone short of proper public recognition. This festival included performances of "A Mass of Life," "Appalachia," and extracts from the operas "A Village Romeo and Juliet," and "Fenimore and Gerda," and certainly no music heard in London during the year made a deeper impression.

So far, indeed, as the older generation of native composers was concerned there is practically nothing to record. From Elgar came nothing new, nor from Vaughan Williams, nor Dame Ethel Smyth, while the most important contribution of Gustav Holst to the list of novelties—a kind of fairy opera entitled "The Golden Goose"—was only heard in Liverpool. There was more of interest in the achievements of some of our younger musicians. Notably in the case of Constant Lambert, the youngest of them, it was possible for native music-lovers to take heart of grace for the future. His "Rio Grande," a piece written for orchestra, chorus, and solo piano, more than confirmed previously formed impressions of the composer's gifts of inventiveness. In this particular instance he brought those gifts and a real individuality of expression to bear upon the over-worked idiom of jazz, evolving from it something very far removed from the commonplace (and monotonous) banalities of Americanised syncopation. Not all the new works by Mr. Lambert that came to a hearing were as interesting as this one. But among those that made an excellent impression were his seven Chinese poems for voice and chamber orchestra, which were heard at a concert given by Gordon Bryan.

Another young British composer, William Walton, on whom high hopes have been founded, also increased his reputation with an uncommonly interesting viola concerto produced by Sir Henry Wood during the Promenade season, Paul Hindemith playing the solo part. It is appropriate to mention here, among the year's native novelties, Arnold Bax's "Three Orchestral Pieces," which seemed to denote a new and important phase in this rather prolific composer's development. Hardly less notable in

a very different medium was his sonata for two pianos, a characteristic work containing much of beauty. A similar remark might apply to Arthur Bliss's "Pastoral," produced by the Harold Brooke Choir, while his concerto for two pianos should not be omitted from the category of new works that were worth while.

London heard a good deal of foreign music representative of modern forms and types of expression, but no work that created a really deep and lasting impression. Curiosity, indeed, rather than admiration was excited by some of this new music, a case in point being Hauer's seventh suite for orchestra—an experiment in atonality which was not calculated to win over many (even sophisticated) ears to the composer's methods. Compared with this Austrian's work a violin rhapsody, typically Hungarian in its idiom, by Béla Bartok was quite likeable, and in any case Szigeti's brilliant playing of the solo part at a Philharmonic concert would have made the performance memorable.

Understandable enough for the most part also was the music that enabled London audiences to better acquaintance with the art of Hindemith, whose position in his native Germany seems to be assured. Evidently this composer is prodigiously industrious, judging by the number of his works performed in this country, more especially in the domain of chamber music, and there is no denying his high sincerity or his commanding technical resources. But of authentic inspiration he gives us hardly a hint anywhere.

It was interesting to hear Stravinsky's piano concerto, with the composer as soloist, but, as an attempt to graft his own harmonic idiom on to music deliberately imitative of classical models, the work was more ingenious than convincing. Another piano concerto by an eminent Russian was that of Rachmaninov in G minor, which the composer played in association with the L.S.O. The impression it made, however, was somewhat indefinite.

The chief musical "sensation" of 1929 was provided, not by any composer, but by the appearance of Yehudi Menuhin, a boy violinist who undoubtedly established his claim to be ranked among the truly remarkable musical "prodigies" of modern times.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

IN spite of the vast output of the results of researches in the field of Biology in the year 1929, and the consequent increase of knowledge, there does not seem any single discovery which, in its present-day perspective, stands out as being of the first magnitude. It is all a matter of gradual advance along the entire line, and although there are numerous small sectors there seems no place at which the opposing front has been broken through on any large scale.

Evolution and Genetics.—Two important discoveries were made throwing light on human evolution. In South Africa a skull of pre-negroid type was found which in many ways resembled “Rhodesian” man but lacked his pronounced eyebrow ridges. The more important find was in China, and consisted of remains of a large-brained type like *Eoanthropus* but with hominid teeth in an anthropoid jaw. The name *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* was given to this. The importance of these remains is twofold: they confirm the wide distribution of these primitive forms, and they show the truth of Elliot Smith’s contention that the brain led the way in human evolution. On the more general question of man’s evolution, all lines of evidence are now clearly converging to show that the Lemurs belong to the order Primates, and that man is nearly related to the anthropoid apes, the common ancestors of which have passed successively through both Tarsioid and Pithecoïd stages in their descent from some pre-Tertiary Lemuroid.

General problems of evolution are still controversial matters. No biologist doubts that evolution has occurred, but during 1929 many biologists differed as to the method by which evolution has progressed. The critical question concerns the origin of adaptations, and the numerous theories are each supported by cogent observations and occasionally by experiments. The particular theory one adopts seems largely a question of personal bias and the particular line of study followed.

Genetical science, only some thirty years old, is growing at an extraordinary pace; more especially by German, Russian, and United States contributions. From being a mere analytic juggling with Mendelian factors it is rapidly becoming physiological; the gene is now recognised as not merely a static entity but as producing its effects dynamically in the ontogeny of organisms. The cytology of the organism is being linked with its genetical peculiarities in breeding experiments; there is now no

doubt that in most cases the genetical peculiarities depend on chromosomal irregularities. The latter originate in new chromosome linkages due to hybridisations, in aberrant distributions or in actual gene or, possibly, cytoplasmic mutations, and give a basis for evolution. Cogent evidence exists that chromosome behaviour may be influenced directly by the cytoplasm. The basic importance of hybridisation in evolution is becoming most evident, and an increasing amount of attention is being given to interspecific breeding, many of the hybrids being quite fertile.

Zoology.—A great number of zoological investigations were published during 1929, the majority being purely descriptive or taxonomical. There was, however, a marked tendency, particularly in the U.S.A. and Russia, towards the field or ecological study of animal life, and a very welcome feature of this was the use, under field conditions, of exact methods of investigation such as are more usually confined to laboratory studies. Ecology and animal behaviourism are becoming striking features of American biology and producing something of the atmosphere and enthusiasm of the older days of Natural History, but on a more exact plane. The study of animal form and structure has for many years been separated from the study of animal physiology and behaviour; their coming together gives promise of something in the nature of a renaissance. It is a most welcome sign that during 1929 many papers were published under titles such as "the physiology of the embryonic development" or "the physiological anatomy" of a particular organism. Some of the more interesting developments of 1929 were concerned with the applied aspects of zoology such as animal breeding, fisheries research and economic entomology. Prominent in the latter field was the attention given to insect nutrition and metabolism and the relation of insects to weather conditions. A very important practical outcome was the application on a large scale in Australia of the biological control of insect pests and weeds by parasites.

General Physiology.—During 1929, as during previous years, a great number of sporadic observations and experimental results in general physiology were published, which, although of value as additions to knowledge, were very difficult to correlate or do anything with. In the study of animal physiology, mineral metabolism has been rather neglected of recent years; during 1929 this field again became prominent, special attention being paid to iodine and sulphur. Hormones and vitamins are now textbook matters, but they are still very obscure agents. The stream of papers on these subjects showed no slackening off and perhaps increased attention was given to the hormones of the sexual glands. Ultra-violet light remained a favourite subject of study, and its effects were tried on all kinds of plants and animals from the bacteriophage, if this is organic, upwards. A good deal of attention was paid to what have been called mito-genetic or biological rays which are supposed to be given off by actively growing tissues, and to stimulate active cell division in adjacent tissues. It is claimed that positive results have been obtained with onion tips and yeast cultures but the actual existence of such influence and, if it exists, its real explanation is doubtful.

Looking at general physiology from an outside point of view, one

cannot help feeling that a *rapprochement* with zoology would be very greatly to the advantage of general physiology as well as of zoology. The botanical aspects of general physiology have of course never been divorced from botany in the same way as zoological aspects have been from zoology.

Botany.—Botanical publication increased during 1929. Systematic studies were numerous, particularly in regard to semi-tropical and tropical regions, and a noteworthy feature was the attempt to link systematy with genetics and ecology. This coming together of different view-points is a marked and welcome development in modern botany. Plant genetics is being linked with cytology, anatomy and morphology with physiology, ecology with physiology and agriculture, and the sharp lines between other phases of the science are being obliterated.

Plant cytology has hitherto been largely a matter of nuclear structure and division. Animal cytology on the other hand has largely become cellular physiology, and there is now a very welcome tendency for botany to follow suit. During 1929 much more attention was paid to cellular functioning and cytoplasmic structure, and secretory mechanism, such as the Golgi apparatus, was described in plant cells. The need for this wider approach has been peculiarly emphasised by studies of diseased tissues, more particularly the tissues of plants suffering from Virus diseases.

Cryptogamic botany received more attention during 1929, an interesting feature being the algological studies, many of which derived from Scandinavia and Russia, which showed very clearly the introduction of genetical, ecological, and physiological view-points. Numerous studies on the fungi appeared dealing especially with their physiological and pathological aspects. With the Canadian discovery of heterothallism in the rust fungi, the English work on fungus strains, the German investigations on the genetic analysis of Hymenomycetes and specialisation in the smut fungi, and the United States researches on hybridisation in the Ascomycetes there is opening up an entirely new theoretical and experimental approach to the problems of specialisation, and of physiological races and forms. There is little doubt that fundamentally the genetic phenomena in fungi fall into line with those in higher plants, but there is in this group increased genetic complexity which gives rise to obscure phenomena to which the term "dissociation" has been given. Dissociation processes are now widely recognised in both fungi and bacteria and are of immense importance in relation to disease.

Plant physiologists were extremely active during 1929. The controversy regarding the transmission of stimuli in, for example, the sensitive plant still continues, and Bose's claim that there exists in plants what may be called a nervous system is not generally accepted. The water relations of plants, transpiration, translocation, the permeability and chemical changes in plant tissues all received considerable attention, but perhaps some of the most interesting investigations were those on plant nutrition. The influence of vitamins has long been appreciated in animal nutrition, and there now appear to be certain chemical elements such as boron and manganese which seem to have something of a like relation to plant growth and development. Another line of research of fundamental importance

considerably developed during the year was the serological study of plant relationships.

Ecology during 1929 was largely descriptive, but the Russian investigators particularly developed new points of view by linking up ecology with physiology, genetics, and agriculture with striking results. The dynamic ecology of Clements was vigorously pushed in the U.S.A. and Cockayne's ecological-genetical study of the New Zealand flora was outstanding. Turrill's work on the Balkan flora was the English contribution of the year.

Microbiology and Disease.—Numerous studies coming under this heading were merely descriptive of phenomena occurring under particular conditions and stand as so many interesting but isolated facts. In addition to the usual type of investigation on the classification of particular micro-organisms, their structure, physiological and parasitic activities, much attention was given to the life cycles and genetic behaviour of micro-organisms. In the lower fungi and the protozoa complex life cycles are a commonplace, and there can now be no doubt that this is also true of bacteria with the further probability of filterable stages. This of course implies some complexity of internal structure and genetic mechanism, and during the year nuclear structure was demonstrated. The genetic behaviour is still very obscure but there can now be no doubt that phenomena of dissociation (with implied "association") are fundamental to all bacterial problems.

The most notable development during the year was the increasing recognition of the importance of virus diseases. Many serious diseases of animals and plants hitherto of obscure causation are now definitely attributed to these infectious agents, and a new science of "Virology" is rapidly developing. The nature of viruses, whether organised or not, is still unknown, but information is accumulating concerning their properties and behaviour, their movement about the plant or animal body and their distribution in the tissues. In many virus diseases the host tissues are characterised by the presence of intra-cellular bodies, and although these have been intensively studied it is not yet known whether they are cause or effect or what their nature may be. Many virus diseases of plants are only transmitted by insects, and the exact relation of the vector to the disease agent is still very obscure.

Of plant diseases in general caused by fungi and bacteria additions to knowledge were numerous, but there is no space for comment. Of animal diseases the vaccine for dog distemper was tested out on a large scale, and although difficulties still remain there is little doubt that the essential problem has been solved. Contributions to knowledge of human diseases were, as usual, numerous, but here attention can only be drawn to the cultivation of tubercle bacillus so that it becomes non-virulent whilst still possessing protecting and immunising powers.

The economic and industrial aspects of microbiology are almost infinite, but attention may be directed to an important application developed during 1929 and one which seems to have many possibilities. This is the microbiological purification of industrial effluents into rivers, canals, etc., a process which in this country is fundamental to the development of the sugar-beet industry.

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One may note the application of the cinematographic method in the study of micro-organisms and isolated cellular structures *in vitro*. During 1929 films of quite extraordinary interest were made, and the method obviously has an enormous future in microbiology and the study of disease.

General.—Looking back over 1929 the observer cannot fail to be impressed by the productivity of biological research and by the increasing application of biological theory and practice to all phases of life and economic development. The crying need for trained biologists in industry and agriculture has become so urgent that even educational institutions are at last becoming aware of it and trying to re-orientate themselves to meet the need. Applied biology in this country has found a fairy god-mother in the Empire Marketing Board which granted the means whereby numerous research developments became possible. The invasion of scholastic institutions and “pure” science by applied biology is one of the most hopeful developments of the day; on the other hand, during the past year some of the finest “pure” research came from “applied” research institutes.

During 1929 not only did the applied aspects of biology show a notable development in all civilised countries, but there was also a great increase of interest in the philosophy of biology. This latter development is largely due to the influence on biologists of the more recent philosophic developments of physical science, of American “behaviourism” and of the German “gestalt” school. The old naïve “mechanism” has been abandoned, and it is accepted that biology has concepts of her own irreducible to chemistry or physics. The living organism is seen as a historic being, “enregistering its experience; it is a purposive individuality that gets things done; it grows, multiplies, develops, struggles, varies, and evolves; it often has a mind of its own.” Of course this does not mean that it is any the less a subject for exact quantitative experimentation or statistical treatment, but it does mean the recognition of the fact that such methods of approach can only give partial answers concerning such aspects of the organism as are amenable to such an approach, and that the living plant or animal is something vastly and uniquely outside its mathematical or quantitative formulation.

In closing it is worthy of notice that Darwin’s home “Down House” was last year acquired for the nation, its custody being vested in the British Association.

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

Progress during the year did not produce anything very startling from the point of view of the general public, but showed further successes for the new concepts which have brought about such extraordinary changes in our ideas concerning the ultimate nature of material things. Among these the most striking was the experimental verification of the existence of two forms of *molecular* hydrogen. Using a suggestion given by Heisenberg’s explanation of the existence of two forms of the helium *atom*, Hund in 1927 showed that there should also be two forms of the hydrogen

molecule differing in the manner of the rotation of the nuclei. In para-, alpha- or symmetrical hydrogen the states of rotation possess even quantum numbers; in ortho-, beta- or antisymmetrical hydrogen odd quantum numbers. Hund's theory did not fit in completely with experimental observations, and, in 1928, Dennison suggested that the time of transition from one state to the other might be very long (days or years) so that it might be possible to obtain hydrogen in which all the molecules were in one or other of the two states. Ordinary hydrogen, it should be added, was considered to be a mixture of both, the beta-molecules being three times as numerous as the alpha-molecules. Dennison's theory was verified by Bonhoeffer and Harteck, who used differences in thermal conductivity to distinguish between the two molecules, and by Eucken who measured specific heats. Alpha-hydrogen is obtained from the ordinary mixture by absorbing the latter on charcoal at the temperature of liquid air. The gas which subsequently escapes from the charcoal is almost pure para-hydrogen. McLennan and McLeod experimenting on the Raman effect in liquid hydrogen showed that the difference in the molecular states of the gas persists even when it has been liquefied.

For an example of changed ideas reference may be made to a discussion on the structure of atomic nuclei which took place at a meeting of the Royal Society on February 7. The nucleus of an atom is a small and somewhat inaccessible region, but still experiments have been made which throw light on its nature. For example, Rutherford and Chadwick, from observations on the scattering of α -particles by atomic nuclei, conclude that the ordinary inverse square law of electric force holds exactly to within very small distances of the centre of the nuclei, *e.g.*, to within 4×10^{-12} cm. in the case of uranium. On the other hand, the energy of the α -particle which escapes from the uranium nucleus (uranium is, of course, a radioactive element), possesses a quantity of energy which indicates that the inverse square law begins to be appreciably modified by attractive forces at a distance of 6×10^{-12} cm. from the centre. An explanation of these contradictory results was offered by Gurney and Condon and by Gamow. It requires us to consider the α -particle *while inside the nucleus* not as a "material" particle, but as a kind of stationary wave motion filling the whole of the nuclear volume, and possessing a finite chance of escaping from the nucleus with the whole of its energy intact. This theory, which accords with the ideas of wave mechanics, allows the α -particle to be ejected from the nucleus with its observed energy when the atom suffers radioactive disintegration and, at the same time, permits the strict application of the inverse square to a distance from the centre of the nucleus which, in the case of uranium, is as small as 0.7×10^{-12} cm. The theory leads also to quantitative results in conformity with the Geiger-Nuttall law connecting the range of α -particles with the rate of disintegration of the parent element.

Among the papers dealing with the diffraction of electrons were a number by Rupp (*Zeit. für Phys. and Ann. der Physik*), which indicated that the electrons diffracted by thin metallic films are those which suffer only one encounter in passing through the film while the scattered electrons

have suffered several such encounters. Evidence was obtained that metal films transmit most readily electrons possessing certain definite velocities, but no signs of polarisation effects were observed when electrons were twice reflected from metal surfaces.

Kapitza continued his work on the electrical resistance of very pure metals. For all the metals used he found that the resistance is proportional to the square of the field up to a certain critical value (60 to 100 kilogauss) and that for stronger fields the variation is linear. To explain the results he supposed that the resistance of a metal is made up of two parts: an ideal resistance which increases linearly with the field and diminishes rapidly with temperature becoming zero in the neighbourhood of -273°C. , together with an increment due to some initial disturbance distributed in random fashion throughout metal. The effect of this disturbance is similar to that produced by an external magnetic field and, in the presence of such a field, the increase of resistance depends on the vector sum of the two fields. Only when the applied field is very large does the variation of resistance with the field follow the linear law. The "increment resistance" varies very much with the treatment of the metal (hardening, etc.), but, to a first approximation, seems to be independent of temperature. Its value is about the same as the residual resistance possessed by the metal (supposing it not to be a super-conductor) at very low temperatures. This theory does not fit in with the theories of metallic conduction advanced, for example, by J. J. Thomson or Sommerfeld, nor would it seem to be in accord with the observations of Haas, Aubel, and Voogd that eutectic alloys of metals which themselves are not super-conductors may be super-conductors. (The eutectic of gold and bismuth is a super-conductor at 2.1°C. above the absolute zero of temperature while neither gold or bismuth has acquired super-conductivity at 1.5°Å.)

The Raman effect (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 43), as anticipated, has provided a most valuable method for investigating the infra-red spectra of all substances, and an enormous literature relating to it grew up in the course of the year. R. W. Wood, in the United States, devised a method of illumination which enabled photographs of the Raman spectrum to be taken in minutes instead of hours, and Ganesan and Venkateswaran, using his technique, obtained most interesting results with organic liquids. In certain cases (*e.g.*, carbon disulphide and carbon dioxide) there are marked differences between the Raman and infra-red spectra, and this threw further light on the quantum mechanism of the effect. The Faraday Society organised an important discussion on Molecular Spectra and Molecular Structure at Bristol in September, at which Raman gave an account of his discovery.

Einstein published the second of two papers relating to a form of the relativity theory which would include the phenomena of gravitation and electromagnetism. The papers were entirely mathematical and the formulæ proposed did not include the quantum theory. A paper by Eddington (*Proc. Roy. Soc.*) created much interest, because by arguments based on Fermi-Dirac mechanics he reached the conclusion that the ex-

pression $hc/2\pi\epsilon^2$ should have the value 136 while experiment gives 137.1. This implied that the accepted value of ϵ (the electronic charge) is incorrect. Eddington stated that he understood that a re-determination of ϵ by Siegbahn had given a value nearly half of 1 per cent. higher than the accepted one. Nothing further was heard of Siegbahn's measurement and later Eddington modified the 136 to 137. R. T. Birge (*Physical Review*) pointed out that the value of the ratio ϵ/m (charge/mass for an electron) determined by deflection methods is greater than the value deduced from spectroscopic observations, and that the difference between the two values, though small, is greater than the experimental error. If so the ratio ϵ/m is greater for an electron outside an atom than for one inside.

Kolhörster and Bothe working at the Reichsanstalt, Berlin, obtained results which indicate that the penetrating radiation discovered by Kolhörster and investigated by Millikan (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1928, p. 42) are of a corpuscular character and not of the gamma ray type as had generally been supposed. Perrin suggested that the penetrating cosmic rays may possibly affect the rate of disintegration of radioactive material, but experiments failed to detect any such effect. On the other hand, Bogojavlensky found the rate of decay of polonium to vary from a half period of 126 days at Tiflis to 182 days at Krasnodar—a result too remarkable to be accepted until it has been confirmed by other workers.

A repetition of the Michelson-Morley experiment carried out by Prof. Michelson himself with the assistance of F. G. Pearse and F. Pearson, in a basement room at the Mount Wilson Observatory, showed "no displacement as great as one-fifteenth of that to be expected on the supposition of an effect due to a motion of the solar system of 300 kilometres per second."

A total eclipse of the sun, visible in a belt stretching from Sumatra across the South China Sea to the Philippine Islands, took place on May 9. Several expeditions—English, French, German, and American—were equipped to view the eclipse. The English parties at Alor Star, north of Penang, and at Patani, met with unfavourable cloud conditions.

A paper by F. E. Ross of Mount Wilson Observatory contained an important account of the planet Venus based on a series of photographs taken through various colour screens. He concluded that the outer layer of the planet's atmosphere consists of cirrus clouds while the inner atmosphere is exceedingly dense and yellowish. The period of rotation is still uncertain, but is probably about thirty days; the diameter is 7,650 miles and the mean density 0.92 times that of the earth. N. T. Bobrovnikoff, working at Lick Observatory, investigated the rate of disintegration of the comets and concluded that an upper limit to the age of the cometary family is about one million years. He considered further that they were formed out of the sun as the result of its passage through a diffuse nebula when it was some seventy light years distant from its present position.

The British Association met in South Africa, and an inaugural address was delivered by J. H. Hofmeyer, the President of the South Africa Association, on July 22, at Capetown. The address of the President, Sir Thomas

Holland, was given at Johannesburg on July 31, and dealt with "The International Relationship of Minerals." Lord Rayleigh's presidential address to Section A was entitled "Some Problems of Cosmical Physics, Solved and Unsolved." Among the points considered were: (a) The origin of certain lines in the spectra of nebula which were, at one time, attributed to an unknown element named nebulium. These have now been identified with terrestrial elements, *e.g.*, the green pair have been shown by Bowen to be due to doubly-ionised oxygen, while other lines undoubtedly originate in singly-ionised oxygen and singly-ionised nitrogen; (b) The spectrum of the aurora. McLennan has shown that the green line belongs to the arc spectrum of oxygen, but the origin of the red line ($\lambda = 6,320$ or $6,322 \text{ \AA.U.}$) is still in doubt though it may be due to nitrogen; (c) The spectrum of the sun's corona which Freeman and Russell and also Bowen attribute to argon—a source Lord Rayleigh considered to be still doubtful; (d) The possibility of the existence of elements of greater atomic number than uranium (92). Jeans suggested that heavy elements (*e.g.*, of atomic number 95), capable not merely of radioactive disintegration but of complete disappearance (protons and electrons falling together and transforming into radiation), exist in the stars. Rayleigh discussed this point, and concluded that there is no direct evidence for the existence of such elements.

In his address to Section B Prof. Barger discussed the development of organic chemistry in relation to biochemistry and physiology, while Prof. W. E. Dixon addressing Section I (Physiology) remarked on the extraordinary efficiency with which natural drugs perform their characteristic effects (*e.g.*, cocaine for local anæsthesia), and on the inability of organic chemists to improve on the natural product.

Members of the Association not travelling to S. Africa were invited to attend the Annual Congress of the French Association for the Advancement of Science at Havre.

In the Kelvin Lecture of the Institution of Electrical Engineers, Dr. G. C. Simpson discussed the origin of lightning, and pointed out that the usual textbook conception of a charged conducting cloud surrounded by a non-conducting atmosphere is entirely wrong, for the atmosphere being ionised does conduct slightly, while in the clouds the ions are captured by the water droplets and immobilised so that the cloud is a non-conductor. A full account of the lecture was printed in the *Journal* of the Institution and in *Nature* (November 23).

The *Carnegie*, the non-magnetic research vessel belonging to the Department of Research in Terrestrial Magnetism of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was destroyed in Apia harbour, Western Samoa, on November 29, as the result of an explosion while taking in petrol. The boat was launched in 1909 and had covered some 300,000 nautical miles in the seven cruises on which it had been engaged.

Alterations to the famous lecture theatre in the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, designed to bring its arrangement into line with modern safety regulations, were commenced. The collection of historical apparatus used by Rumford, Davy, Faraday, Tyndall, Dewar, and Bragg, was removed to the Science Museum, where a suitable selection was placed on view.

The Nobel Prize for Physics for 1928 was awarded to Prof. O. W. Richardson of King's College, London, Yarrow Research Professor of the Royal Society, and the prize for 1929 to M. Louis de Broglie for his pioneer work on wave mechanics. The Chemistry prize for 1929 was shared between Prof. A. Harden of the Lister Institute, London, and Prof. H. von Euler of Stockholm.

The new transmitting station of the British Broadcasting Corporation, situated at Brookman's Park, near Potter's Bar, was put into regular service in the autumn, and the transmitter erected above Selfridge's in Oxford St. was dismantled. The new station had two acrias, one to serve as a Regional Transmitter working on the normal 2LO wave-length and the other as a National Transmitter working on 261 metres. The masts are 200 ft. high, and power is supplied by four 300 horse-power Diesel engines driving three dynamos, each having a maximum output of 160 kilowatts at from 7,000 to 12,000 volts. The actual power in the aerial of the Regional Transmitter was stated to be 30 kilowatts, that of the other, used only for experimental transmissions in December, was not stated. The transmission of still pictures by the Fultograph system ceased, and experimental transmissions by the Baird television system began at the end of September. No apparatus for the reception of these transmissions was on sale in England, although it was stated that such sets were being sold in Germany by the Fernseh A.G., the German agents for the Baird company. In America the Bell Telephone Co. devised a three-colour system of television designed to image moving objects in their natural colours.

The British Service Guild published an important report dealing with much needed reforms of the British patent laws, and in April organised a public meeting at the Mansion House to call attention to the progress and importance of the British chemical industry.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1929.

THE first year of the second decade after the Great War brought severe disappointment and loss to many people both in the Old and the New World, and emphasised once more the long uphill task of repairing the world-wide ravages of that conflict. Its most spectacular event was the collapse of the great gambling movement on the New York Stock Exchange which began towards the end of 1923 and came to a sudden and disastrous termination in October, 1929. This movement was an extraordinary chapter in American financial history. It is necessary to remember that the war had brought great wealth to the United States ; it enabled her for some years to sell her agricultural and raw materials to Europe and other countries at high prices ; it gave an enormous stimulus to her industrial activities and the equipment of industry was multiplied and modernised in a rather amazing way ; it enabled her to throw off the shackles of foreign debt and herself to become a creditor instead of a debtor of Europe. For a short period soon after the war, 1920-23, she suffered a setback, and then for over six years trade and industry expanded as it had never done before. As the " boom " progressed it seemed likely to last until eternity. This gave birth to a new economic philosophy of a very disastrous kind. Optimism ran riot on the Stock Exchange as company after company reported record outputs and a steadily ascending scale of profits. Distribution kept pace with production in such a marvellous manner that it appeared as if America had found the secret of symmetrical production—the equating of different forms of production—so that over-production in a particular industry seemed a thing of the past. To keep the pot of trade boiling a wide extension of the system of buying goods by instalments was encouraged by the formation of companies to finance this business, and it appears to have exceeded all expectations both in the largeness of its results and the smallness of its bad debts. In 1929 the Stock Market " boom " passed the limits of common sense ; fixed interest-bearing investments were abandoned in favour of common stock, which was bought not on the basis of its dividend payments but of its dividend promise several years ahead. Under the hot sun of the gambler's nonsense values were raised to extraordinary heights. The collapse came suddenly. September heard the first rumblings of the coming storm which was to sweep away values in a night. The storm reached its height on Thursday, October 24, when unparalleled demoralisation set in. From September 19, when stock values touched their peak, to November 13, when they fell to their lowest levels, security holders suffered a loss of 8,000,000,000*l*. This loss was greater than the entire

cost of the war to the United States. The gambling movement was encouraged by mistaken monetary policy; money was made purposely cheap in 1927 and bank credit was created on a vast scale. As this money could not be absorbed in trade it went to inflate the stock markets. The Hatry affair on September 20 caused European selling and heavy withdrawals of foreign funds which had been sent to New York to earn the high rates of interest there current. A week later the rise in Bank rate from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. caused another bout of selling, many persons connecting the two events. For wild rumours were afloat as to the extent of banks' losses in the Hatry crash. On October 12 the Massachusetts Department of Public Utilities refused to permit the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston to change the par value of its shares from 100\$ to 25\$, the department declaring that the market value of the shares was already far in excess of their intrinsic value. As public utility shares had soared the highest, this declaration of the Massachusetts department upset the market. In a few days selling developed on a torrential scale. On Thursday, October 24, the Stock Exchange was closed at noon to remain closed until the following Monday. When it reopened heavy selling broke out and continued for about a fortnight. From October 28 to November 23 the sessions were reduced to three hours a day and no business at all was permitted on Saturday, the object being to check panic and give the brokerage houses time to deal with the mass of business that had accumulated. On one day as many as 17,000,000 shares changed hands; a few years ago 1,000,000 shares a day was a remarkable volume of business for Wall Street.

The London Stock Exchange began its own slump at the end of January, 1929; it was a steadily and orderly liquidation until the Hatry affair and the American debacle. This liquidation was swollen by selling orders from Berlin and Amsterdam, notably the latter. At the end of the year it was shown that the fall in security values was more severe and general than in any year since 1918. London kept its speculations in Americans to a relatively few shares, but in these very large transactions took place. According to calculations made by the *Bankers' Magazine*, the value of 365 securities fell from 7,069,603,000*l.* to 6,719,828,000*l.* on the year, a fall of 349,775,000*l.*, or, say, 5 per cent. Of course, the decline was greatest in the speculative group, 278 of these securities falling in value by 210,893,000*l.*, or 7.3 per cent. Among high-class securities, India Government bonds were weak owing to threats of repudiation by Indian extremists, while Australian securities fell to a 6-7 per cent. basis, owing partly to the victory of the Labour Party at the Commonwealth elections and partly to the heavy fall in wool and wheat prices, which created a severe financial crisis, Australia depending entirely upon high prices for her products and constant borrowing to pay her way. The fall in the prices of cereals and raw materials was one of the outstanding events of the year, for it created storm centres in all agricultural countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and Australia, and smaller storms elsewhere, with reactions on the industrial countries.

The process of rationalising British industry was carried a great deal

further. Amalgamations were effected in the coal, iron and steel, motor, and textile trades, and gradually industry improved upon its previously unfavourable position. But in general the task of British industrialists and traders remains appallingly great. In spite of inventions, reconstructions, and reorganisations, British industry is still unable to hold its markets, and this is very largely due to the enormous overhead charges imposed by Government, which tend to increase year by year, as well as to maladjustments of wages. There was a further increase during the year in the consumption of electricity, the increase being 5 per cent.; the output of coal, iron and steel, and of ships increased, but the number of unemployed, after declining in the early months, steadily increased towards the end, the total being 1,510,200 against 1,520,700 at the end of 1928, and 1,332,300 at the end of 1927. The average unemployed in December, 1929, was 1,356,555 against 1,365,892 in December, 1928.

Commodity Prices.—Commodity prices fell still further in 1929. *The Times* index number of wholesale prices on December 31, was 128·8 (1913 = 100) against 137·5 on December 31, 1928. The figure was the lowest since the war. As usual we reproduce *The Times* index number of commodity prices for December 31, 1929, and December 31, 1928, based upon sixty quotations, together with the number in April, 1920, when the highest point was touched, and at the close of each of the last seven years :—

Month.		Food.	Materials.	Total Index Number.	Inc. or Dec. per Cent. on Year.
December, 1913	- -	100	100	100	—
April, 1920	- -	301·2	382·8	352·9	—
December, 1923	- -	169·1	169·1	169·1	+ 6·7
„ 1924	- -	178·1	180·1	179·3	+ 6·0
„ 1925	- -	160·1	148·6	152·8	— 14·8
„ 1926	- -	148·4	138·5	142·1	— 7·0
„ 1927	- -	147·7	138·5	141·9	— 0·1
„ 1928	- -	141·6	135·2	137·5	— 3·1
„ 1929	- -	134·6	125·4	128·8	— 6·3

The actual prices in 1929 and 1928 of the commodities included in the calculations are given on opposite page.

Commercial Failures.—Failures in business were fewer but heavier than in 1928. The number of bankruptcies was 6,828 against 7,251 in 1928; the liabilities in England were 5,071,026*l.* against 4,773,058*l.* and the assets 2,373,226*l.* against 2,225,609*l.* In Ireland the liabilities were 458,221*l.* and the assets 133,184*l.* More notable failures were those of the Hatry companies. Seven of these were put into liquidation, Corporation and General Securities, Ltd., Austin Friars Trust, Dundee Trust, Oak Investment Trust, Retail Trade Securities, Ltd., Aylesbury Trust, and Iron Industries, Ltd. The first five companies were estimated to owe 29,500,000*l.*, of which 19,500,000*l.* was due to outside creditors, and of this amount 12,550,000*l.* was unsecured. Adding the proportion of

Commodities.	Dec. 31, 1929.	Dec. 31, 1928.	Average 1913.
FOOD.			
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av. - - 112 lb.	9s. 6d.	9s. 6d.	7s. 5d.
„ No. 2, N. Man. - - 496 lb.	55s. 6d.	49s. 3d.	37s. 3d.
Flour, Ldn., Straights - - 280 lb.	41s.	35s. 6d.	27s. 6d.
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av. - - 112 lb.	8s. 8d.	10s. 2d.	7s. 6d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av. - - 112 lb.	7s.	9s.	6s. 10d.
Maize, La Plata, ex-ship - - 480 lb.	30s. 3d.	40s. 9d.	24s. 3d.
Rice, No. 2, Burma - - cwt.	14s. 3d.	15s. 9d.	9s. 9d.
Beef, English sides - - 8 lb.	5s. 8d.	5s. 4d.	4s. 3d.
„ S. Amer., chilled - - 8 lb.	5s. 2d.	4s. 2d.	3s. 5d.
Mutton, N.Z., frozen - - 8 lb.	4s. 10d.	5s.	3s. 3d.
Bacon, Irish lean - - cwt.	104s.	106s.	77s.
„ Amer., Cumb. - - cwt.	78s.	78s.	68s. 3d.
Fish* - - stone	6s. 6d.	5s. 6d.	3s. 3d.
Eggs, English - - 120	22s.	17s.	12s.
Sugar, Eng., ref., cubes - - cwt.	26s.	27s. 3d.	18s. 3d.
„ W. Ind. cryst - - cwt.	22s. 9d.	24s. 3d.	16s.
Tea, Ind., Auctn. Avg. - - lb.	1s. 1½d.	1s. 5½d.	9½d.
Cocoa, Trinidad, mid. - - cwt.	58s.	58s.	76s. 6d.
Cheese, Eng., Cheddar - - cwt.	90s.	126s.	73s. 9d.
Butter, Danish, fine - - cwt.	180s.	200s.	125s.
Lard, Amer., ref., pails - - cwt.	64s. 9d.	67s.	57s. 3d.
Potatoes, English, good - - ton	3l. 15s.	6l.	79s. 3d.
MATERIALS.			
Pig Iron, Hemt., M'bro - - ton	79s.	70s.	72s. 8d.
„ Cleve'd, No. 3 - - ton	72s. 6d.	66s.	58s. 2d.
Iron, marked bars, Staff. - - ton	12l. 10s.	12l.	9l. 12s. 6d.
„ Com. bars - - ton	10l. 5s.	10l.	7l. 15s.
Steel, rails, heavy - - ton	8l. 10s.	8l. 10s.	6l. 12s.
„ boiler plates - - ton	10l. 10s.	10l. 10s.	8l. 16s. 3d.
„ galvzd. sheets - - ton	12l. 10s.	13l. 10s.	11l. 7s.
„ tinplates - - box	18s. 9d.	18s.	13s. 6d.
Copper, electrolytic - - ton	83l.	77l.	71l. 15s.
„ strong sheets - - ton	110l.	98l.	85l.
Tin, stand., cash - - ton	178l. 2s. 6d.	225l. 15s.	200l. 2s. 6d.
Lead, English - - ton	23l. 5s.	23l. 5s.	19l. 2s. 6d.
Spelter, Foreign - - ton	21l. 18s. 9d.	26l. 17s. 6d.	22l. 10s.
Coal, lge. steam, Cardiff - - ton	20s.	19s. 3d.	20s. 6d.
„ best gas, Durham - - ton	16s. 9d.	14s. 9d.	15s. 3d.
„ best hse., Yorks. - - ton	20s. 6d.	20s. 6d.	17s. 6d.
Petlm., Amer., rfd., brl. - - gal.	1s.	10½d.	8½d.
Cotton, Am., mid. - - lb.	9-42d.	10-59d.	7-12d.
„ Egypt, f.g.f., Sak. - - lb.	14-15d.	19-45d.	9-84d.
„ yarn, 32's twist - - lb.	13½d.	15½d.	10½d.
„ „ 60's do., Egp. - - lb.	22½d.	27½d.	17½d.
„ shirtings, 8½ lb. - - piece	11s. 6d.	12s. 6d.	8s.
„ prnt., 17 × 17, 32in., 125 yards - - piece	30s.	32s. 6d.	19s.
Wool, gsy., merino, 60's - - lb.	14½d.	20½d.	10½d.
„ gsy., crossbd., 46's - - lb.	13½d.	18d.	11½d.
„ tops, 64's - - lb.	31d.	46d.	29d.
„ tops, 40's - - lb.	18½d.	23d.	15½d.
Flax, Livonian, Z.K. - - ton	58l.	90l.	38l.
Hemp, N. Zeal., h.p. fair - - ton	34l.	30l.	28l. 5s.
Jute, first marks, shipmt. - - ton	27l. 17s. 6d.	32l. 5s.	30l. 15s.
Hides, Eng., Ox, first - - lb.	6½d.	8½d.	7½d.
„ Cape, dry - - lb.	10½d.	15½d.	11½d.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 × 9 - - stand	24l.	24l.	15l.
„ W'cot oak, 1 in. - - foot	1s. 4d.	1s. 4d.	10d.
Cement, best Portland - - ton	2l. 6s.	2l. 6s.	36s.
Rubber, Plant., sheet - - lb.	8½d.	8½d.	3s. 1d.
Linseed oil - - ton	45l.	29l.	24l. 15s.
Soda, crystals, bags - - ton	5l. 5s.	5l. 5s.	2l. 2s. 6d.

* Average price of plaice, cod, and haddock.

these companies' capital owned by the outside public, 1,200,000*l.*, a total probable loss of 13,750,000*l.* was arrived at. The collapse of these companies occurred in a rather dramatic way. For a few years Clarence C. Hatry had been prominent as a company promoter and share manipulator, and in spite of the failure of a number of his companies he managed to persuade bankers, brokers and others to believe in him. In the spring of 1929 he undertook to buy the securities of the United Steel companies for a total price of 8,000,000*l.*; failing to raise the necessary money he forged the stock of certain home corporations which had entrusted him with the raising of loans for them, and also share certificates of companies with which he was identified. Early in September Hatry was short of money and his companies' shares fell steadily for about a week. On September 19, after having failed to obtain further moneys from his bankers, he confessed to irregularities, and on September 20 the Stock Exchange suspended dealings in the following securities: Wakefield Corporation Four-and-a-Half per cent. Stock, Drapery Trust Preference shares, Associated Automatic Machine Corporation shares, Photomaton Parent Corporation, Oak Investment Trust shares, and Retail Trade Securities, Ltd. The settlement in these shares had to be suspended until February 13, and in order to avoid failures a sum of 1,000,000*l.* was raised among members of the Stock Exchange and the Banks to cover the losses of the Stock Exchange through the Hatry frauds. Fortunately, most of the Hatry losses fell not upon the public but upon banks, brokers, and financial houses. Shortly after the Hatry disclosures investors received another shock in the shape of the failure of Henry S. Horne, the promoter of the Red Triangle group of cement companies; a persistent and heavy fall in Royal Mail shipping securities was another unpleasant feature of the year, and the collapse in the prices of the Inveresk Paper Company shares (followed by the retirement of its chairman, Mr. William Harrison), completed the discomfort of the Stock Exchange and its habitues. Earlier in the year there had been disclosures of serious irregularities in connexion with a number of small companies floated during the "boom" of 1927-28.

Industrial Profits.—Profits of industry declined in the latter part of 1929. According to the *Economist* the accounts of 1,770 companies showed an aggregate net profit of 194,681,216*l.*, an increase of 64,485*l.* on the previous year. Of the total profits 119,976,519*l.*, or 61·2 per cent., was distributed among Ordinary shareholders, 38,418,475*l.*, or 19·8 per cent., was paid in Preference dividends, and 36,286,222*l.*, or 19 per cent., was placed to reserves. The total profits were equal to 10·5 per cent. on the Ordinary and Preference capital combined, against 11·1 per cent. in 1928 and 10·5 per cent. in 1927.

Banking.—The year was again a very active one for banks. The grand total of bills, cheques, etc., which passed through the London Bankers' Clearing House in 1929 was 44,896,677,000*l.*, an increase of 691,948,000*l.*, or 1·5 per cent. on 1928. Financial and not trade factors, however, were responsible for the increase, particularly the volume of business in the short loan market. The figures for the past two years are subjoined:—

	1929.	Increase on 1928.
	£	£
Grand total - - - -	44,896,677,000	691,948,000 (1·5 per cent.)
Town clearing - - - -	39,935,924,000	624,807,000 (1·5 per cent.)
Metropolitan clearing - - -	1,881,989,000	27,799,000 (1·4 per cent.)
County cheque clearing - -	3,078,764,000	39,342,000 (1·2 per cent.)

The totals of the eleven provincial clearings for 1929, compared with 1928, were as follows :—

Town.	1929.	Inc. or Dec. on 1928.
	£	£ per cent.
Birmingham - - - - -	132,324,000	— 4,971,000 (3·6)
Bradford - - - - -	59,424,000	— 9,185,000 (13·3)
Bristol - - - - -	60,554,000	— 2,084,000 (3·3)
Hull - - - - -	43,968,000	— 1,871,000 (4)
Leeds - - - - -	50,686,000	+ 1,146,000 (2·3)
Leicester - - - - -	40,664,000	— 2,572,000 (5·9)
Liverpool - - - - -	402,784,000	— 23,952,000 (5·6)
Manchester - - - - -	647,959,000	— 33,348,000 (4·8)
Newcastle-on-Tyne - - - -	77,395,000	+ 1,561,000 (2)
Nottingham - - - - -	32,066,000	— 558,000 (1·7)
Sheffield - - - - -	51,389,000	+ 1,603,000 (3·2)

When the year opened gold was leaving the country in large quantities, and on February 7 the Bank rate was raised from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. For a time this checked the gold outflow, but it was soon resumed, and in October the Bank's stock fell as low as 130,000,000*l.* On September 26 the Bank rate was raised to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and after a short time the gold drain was stopped, and an influx took place which restored the Bank's gold stock to 146,027,587*l.* The year's gold losses were abnormal and unprecedented. After the collapse of the American "boom" money became easier, and on October 31 Bank rate was lowered to 6 per cent. On November 21 it was reduced to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and on December 12 to 5 per cent. The gold mostly went to France, which took 34,500,000*l.*, to Germany which took 19,066,000*l.*, and to the United States which took 12,595,000*l.* At the end of 1929 the gold stock of the Bank of France was 336,000,000*l.* and its holding of foreign currency was 58,460,000*l.* For the past five years money rates have moved as follows (see page 72).

Owing to high rates the banks earned more gross profits, but their bad debts were larger, and it is doubtful whether their real net profits were as large in 1929 as in 1928. The demand for banking accommodation was not so keen as might be inferred from the following table (see page 72), for the high level of advances was due partly to the freezing up of credits.

1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
BANK RATE AVERAGE.				
£ s. d. 4 11 6	£ s. d. 5 0 0	£ s. d. 4 13 0	£ s. d. 4 10 0	£ s. d. 5 10 0
DISCOUNT RATE (THREE MONTHS BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.				
4 2 3	4 8 3	4 4 9	4 3 4	5 5 2
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.				
2 11 6	3 0 0	2 13 0	2 10 0	3 10 0
TREASURY BILL (TENDER) RATE AVERAGE.				
4 1 11	4 10 1	4 5 2	4 2 9	5 5 1·7
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.				
3 11 3	4 0 0	3 14 6	3 12 9	4 12 0

(000's OMITTED.)

Month.	Deposits.	Cash.	Money at Call and Short Notice.	Bills.	Investments.	Advances.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
January -	1,846,372	201,591	149,829	276,474	264,824	971,568
February -	1,814,306	189,982	138,214	262,486	261,152	982,940
March -	1,776,579	187,773	136,133	216,627	258,927	995,879
April -	1,780,738	191,810	145,156	193,727	259,303	1,001,567
May -	1,769,566	191,567	145,505	197,150	259,378	992,355
June -	1,807,905	196,298	152,464	218,300	258,727	993,157
July -	1,816,042	193,227	144,468	236,069	256,879	1,002,070
August -	1,796,255	191,515	145,119	227,410	256,595	997,405
September	1,791,812	194,520	150,284	224,078	256,172	988,252
October -	1,802,482	192,652	149,774	229,292	255,031	990,034
November	1,789,039	189,746	144,271	233,167	249,173	989,579
December	1,810,701	204,905	143,153	229,027	250,205	989,117

	Jan. 1, 1930.	Jan. 2, 1929.
	£	£
Rest - - - - -	3,450,561	3,440,783
Public Deposits - - - - -	12,350,138	22,336,385
Other Deposits :—		
Bankers - - - - -	110,297,026	84,016,042
Other accounts - - - - -	37,522,803	38,030,396
Government Securities - - - - -	81,658,618	62,636,855
Other securities :—		
Discounts and advances - - - - -	42,170,602	47,745,162
Securities - - - - -	18,013,503	16,962,554
Reserve - - - - -	36,333,165	35,035,050
Note circulation - - - - -	369,782,581	378,294,483
Coin and bullion - - - - -	146,115,746	153,329,533
Proportion - - - - -	22½ per cent.	24½ per cent.

On two occasions, in April and July, advances exceeded 1,000,000,000*l.* Never before has such a huge total been recorded. In the table (see page 72) are shown the principal figures in the Bank of England's return at the end of 1929, comparison being made with the figures at the end of 1928.

New Capital Issues.—Issues of new capital were on a much smaller scale in 1929. The total was 253,749,000*l.*, against 362,519,000*l.* in 1928 and 314,714,000 in 1927. The geographical distribution of this new capital was as follows :—

	1929.	1928.	1927.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom - - -	159,402,000	219,135,000	176,043,000
India and Ceylon - - -	10,132,000	7,748,000	1,363,000
British Dominions and Colonies -	44,280,000	78,362,000	86,381,000
Foreign countries - - -	39,935,000	57,274,000	50,927,000
Total - - -	253,749,000	362,519,000	314,714,000

These records are made by the Midland Bank and show that 37·2 per cent. of the year's issues were for overseas borrowers, against 39·5 per cent. in 1928. One new British Government Conversion Loan was issued during the year. It was entitled the Five per cent. Conversion Loan, 1944-64. Applications amounted to 233,000,000*l.*, of which 154,000,000*l.* was in cash and 79,000,000*l.* in Five-and-a-Half per Cent. Treasury Bonds. The loan was very successful, though there was much criticism of the terms, which were thought to be too high.

The British Government's floating debt was increased during the year, as is shown in the following table :—

Floating Debt.	Dec. 31, 1929.	Dec. 31, 1928.
	£	£
Ways and Means Advances :—		
From Bank of England - -	24,240,000	—
From Public Depts. - - -	53,130,000	28,340,000
Treasury Bills - - -	780,245,000	787,985,000
Total - - -	857,615,000	816,325,000

Foreign Exchanges.—The foreign exchanges, which down to the end of 1928 had steadily become more stable as Budgets were balanced and sound monetary principles were restored, had a setback in 1929. They were much more volatile and erratic. The war debt payments to America coupled with high money rates there moved all the principal exchanges in favour of the U.S.A. For months the New York sterling rate hovered around the gold export point from London. The French exchange also remained persistently low, the rate touching 123·69*f.* The Spanish peseta showed marked weakness owing mainly to unsound financial practices,

and the rate on Madrid fluctuated between 29·67p. and 36·92p. Turkish finances were also in a mess, and the rate during the year rose from 987½p. to 1,030p., parity being 110. The Brazilian milreis was very unsteady on its feet, and Argentina, after losing a substantial amount of gold, suddenly stopped gold exports, thus abandoning the gold standard to which she had returned as recently as 1927. The Canadian dollar fell to a point which showed that Canada also had suspended gold payments, and Australian pounds fell to a sharp discount. The following table is taken from *The Times Annual Financial Review* :—

Place.	Par of Exchange.	Dec. 31, 1929.	Dec. 31, 1928.	Highest 1929.	Lowest 1929.
New York - - -	4·86½	4·88½	4·85½	4·88½	4·84½
Montreal - - -	4·86½	4·93½	4·86½	5·01	4·85½
Paris - - - - -	124·21	123·87	124·03	124·37½	123·69
Brussels - - -	35·00	34·86½	34·88½	34·97	34·84½
Milan - - - - -	92·46	93·22	92·68	93·30	92·52
Zurich - - - -	25·2215	25·12½	25·18½	25·24½	25·08½
Athens - - - - -	375	375	375	375½	374½
Helsingfors - -	193·23	194½	192½	194½	192½
Madrid - - - -	25·2215	36·50	29·74½	36·92	29·67
Lisbon - - - - -	4·50	108½	109½	111½	107½
Amsterdam - -	12·107	12·09½	12·07½	12·13	12·05½
Berlin - - - - -	20·43	20·42½	20·38½	20·58	20·31½
Vienna - - - -	34·58½	34·65½	34·45½	34·75	34·41
Budapest - - -	27·82	27·86	27·83½	27·95	27·76
Prague - - - -	164·25*	164½	163½	164½	163½
Warsaw - - - -	43·38	43½	43½	43·55	43·18½
Riga - - - - -	25·2215	25·21	25·18	25·30	25·10
Bucharest - - -	813·6	818	808½	822	803
Constantinople -	110	1,030	987½	1,115	975
Belgrade - - -	25·2215	275½	275½	277	274½
Kovno - - - - -	48·66	48½	49	49½	48½
Sofia - - - - -	673·659	675½	672	680	665
Reval - - - - -	18·159	18·19½	18·08½	18·25	18·05
Oslo - - - - -	18·159	18·20½	18·19½	18·21	18·18½
Stockholm - - -	18·159	18·13½	18·13	18·18½	18·08½
Copenhagen - -	18·159	18·20½	18·17½	18·22½	18·17½
Alexandria - - -	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
Bombay - - - -	18d.	1/5½	1/6½	1/6½	1/5½
Calcutta - - - -	18d.	1/5½	1/6½	1/6½	1/5½
Madras - - - -	18d.	1/5½	1/6½	1/6½	1/5½
Hong-Kong - - -	—	1/8	2/0½	2/0½	1/7½
Kobe - - - - -	24·58d.	2/0½	1/10½	2/0½	1/9½
Shanghai - - -	—	2/1½	2/7½	2/7½	2/1
Singapore - - -	2/4	2/3½	2/3½	2/4½	2/3½
Batavia - - - -	12·107	12·13½	12·08½	12·16½	12·08½
Manila - - - -	24·066d.	2/0½	2/0½	2/0½	2/0½
Rio de Jan. - -	5·899d.	5½	5½	5½	5½
B. Aires - - - -	47·577d.	46½	47½	47½	44½
Valparaiso - - -	40	39·79	39·64	39·79	39·37
Montevideo - -	51d.	46½	50½	51½	44½
Lima - - - - -	Par	20½%	19½%	20½%	18½%
Mexico - - - -	9·76	10·10	—	10·52	9·75

Coal, Iron, and Steel.—There was a distinct improvement in the coal industry, the output of saleable coal being the largest since 1924. The

* Based on legal stabilisation at \$2·90-3·03 to 100 kr. † Premium.

total was 258,000,000 tons against 237,500,000 tons in 1928. An increase in the foreign demand was the chief cause of the expansion. Exports totalled 82,000,000 tons against 71,600,000 tons, the home consumption rising from 165,900,000 to 176,000,000 tons. The average pit-head price was higher and costs lower; the average cost was about 13s. 9d. against 14s. 3d. and the average price 13s. 10½d. against 13s. 3d. For the whole year the industry earned about 2,750,000l. of profit against a loss of 9,750,000l. in 1928, of 11,500,000l. in 1927, and of 5,378,000l. in 1926. A very valuable experience was obtained in working marketing schemes, but they were partial, if not complete, failures; all went to show that amalgamation by judicious selection was the right policy, with a Coal Board supervising and controlling the various amalgamated groups. The output of steel was higher than in any year since 1917, and that of pig iron, though lower than before the war, was higher than in any subsequent year except 1920. The number of blast furnaces in operation rose from 132 to 162. Production of pig iron was 631,600 tons against 550,900 tons, and of steel ingots and castings 804,600 tons against 710,400 tons. Exports rose from 355,100 tons to 364,900 tons, but imports fell from 241,300 tons to 234,300 tons. The Board of Trade Index Number showed a price level for iron and steel of 114·2 (1913 = 100) against 112·3 in 1928; these figures compared with a price index for all commodities of 136·5 in 1929 and 140·3 in 1928. Towards the end of the year business declined, and the Government appointed a sub-committee of the Civil Research Committee of the Privy Council to inquire into the position of the industry. There were further amalgamations during the year, notably a merger of Bolckow, Vaughan and Dorman, Long, and a fusion of steel interests of Guest, Keen and Baldwins. In the tinplate trade there was a record output—over 900,000 tons—and record exports—over 600,000 tons.

Shipping and Shipbuilding.—Shipping was less idle in 1929 than in 1928, but at the end of the year the number of ships laid up was 167 against 166 at the close of 1928, the tonnage being 352,659, an increase of 22,888. Oil tankers, however, were very busy in 1929 and freights good. For ordinary cargo boats the year was depressing, freight rates falling steadily from an index number of 121·97 to 89·02. In 1928 the index number rose from 108·3 to 124·3. The shipyards were busier, launchings totalling 1,525,105 tons, against 1,445,920 in 1928 and 1,932,153 tons in 1913, which holds the record in peace time. The world's total was 2,777,689 tons, against 2,699,239 tons in 1928 and 3,332,882 tons in 1913. Many oil tankers and motor ships were built.

Textiles.—The cotton trade had another year of severe depression. Mid-American fell in price from 10·74 cents to 9·02 cents, and Fair Egyptian from 19·30 cents to 13·30 cents. Foreign competition was more severe, and to meet this a cut in wages of 12·84 per cent. was proposed and resisted. The case went to arbitration, and the arbitrators awarded a reduction of 6·42 per cent. They were especially impressed by the fact that labour costs in Japanese spinning mills were ¾d. a pound cheaper than in England. Efforts to reorganise and consolidate the industry made slow

progress, but the Lancashire Cotton Corporation, formed to amalgamate "lame ducks" in the American section, had merged about 7,500,000 spindles by the end of the year. A fusion of Egyptian mills was also arranged, covering about 3,000,000 spindles. Wool had another bad year. There was a persistent decline in prices, and the year was the worst the industry has ever known. Imports and exports declined: exports of woollens fell from 128,300,000 square yards to 108,100,000 square yards, but those of worsteds rose from 42,100,000 square yards to 47,200,000 square yards. Imports of the former fell from 32,700,000 square yards to 30,300,000 square yards, and of the latter from 9,000,000 square yards to 7,100,000 square yards. Artificial silk had a less satisfactory year owing to increased production causing a fall in prices. The linen trade was depressed.

Cereals.—After a series of abundant harvests the world's production of wheat last year declined, the output of the chief four exporting countries—the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Australia—falling from 242,621,000 quarters to 168,811,000 quarters. European harvests were good, reducing the necessity to import. Prices touched the lowest point in May, when Canadian wheat fell to 40s. to 45s. 9d. per quarter; at the close of the year the price had recovered to 49s. 3d. to 54s. 9d.

Oil and Rubber.—There was a further increase in oil production, the world's total rising from 181,426,000 tons to 203,213,000 tons. Consumption rose from 150,400,000 tons to 170,000,000 tons. British imports of oil rose from 2,108,949,000 gallons to 2,197,505,000 gallons. The output of rubber rose from 647,000 tons to 860,000 tons, and consumption from 670,000 tons to 800,000 tons; the average price fell from 10½d. to 10¼d. per lb.

Foreign Commerce.—The overseas trade of the country was not unsatisfactory. Both imports and exports of goods manufactured in Great Britain were higher in value last year than in 1928 and 1927, but the re-export trade was considerably less. The value of imports was 1,221,000,000l., an increase of 26,000,000l., or 2·2 per cent.; exports of British goods amounted to 729,000,000l., an increase of 6,000,000l., or 0·8 per cent. Re-exports were 109,000,000l., or 10,000,000l., equal to 8 per cent., less than in 1928. Over 50 per cent. of this decline was due to rubber. The excess of imports was 382,000,000l., an increase of 30,000,000l. Exports of textiles fell by 17,000,000; but for this there would have been a very good export record. Coal exports were a very satisfactory feature of the year's returns. Motor car exports were 1,700,000l. greater than in 1928.

LAW.

THE year 1929 saw a general falling off of business in every division of the High Court except Divorce. In the latter division there was a slight increase over the previous year in the causes set down, and a rather higher proportion of defended cases. The most striking shrinkage was in Chancery causes, but commercial work also fell. Appeals from the County Courts in Workmen's Compensation remained practically stationary, and in other directions the work of the Court of Appeal very sensibly diminished.

The last few years have seen a gradual but steady increase in the divorce causes heard outside London, a large proportion of which are poor persons' causes, and representations had on several occasions been made to the authorities as to the desirability of extending the number of Assize towns at which divorce causes were heard, and also the strictly limited number of district registries of the High Court at which poor persons' proceedings might be commenced. As the result of the recommendations of a committee appointed in April, 1929, divorce jurisdiction will be given in 1930 to eight additional Assize towns and interlocutory jurisdiction extended to fifteen additional district registries, choice having been made of those places to which there are cheap and easy means of transit.

Following the General Election of May 30, Sir John Sankey became Lord Chancellor, and the law officerships went to Mr. W. A. Jowitt, K.C., and Mr. J. B. Melville. The vacancy in the Court of Appeal caused by the promotion of Lord Sankey was filled by Sir Henry Slesser, who was without previous judicial experience. The Appellate Jurisdiction Act, which received the royal assent in February, provided for the appointment of two additional members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council with special Indian experience to assist in dealing with the large number of outstanding appeals, and Sir George Rivers Lowndes, K.C., and Sir Binod Chunder Mitter were appointed. By virtue of the same Act, the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary were increased to seven, the additional appointment going to Mr. Justice Tomlin, as he then was. Later in the year Lord Carson's resignation afforded an opportunity for the inclusion among the Law Lords of Lord Justice Russell, who assumed the already familiar style and title of Lord Russell of Killowen. His place in the Court of Appeal was taken by Mr. Justice Romer. The personnel of the High Court judges also suffered some changes. In the Chancery Division Mr. Luxmoore and Mr. Farwell were raised to the Bench, and the resignation at the end of the long vacation of two judges of the King's Bench Division, Mr. Justice

Astbury and the late Mr. Justice Shearman, led to the promotion of Mr. Bennett, K.C.

The recommendations of the Metropolitan Police and Juvenile Courts Committee resulted in the allocation of the work of the Juvenile Courts to four magistrates, each of whom will preside over two courts assisted by two lay magistrates drawn from a five years' panel. Under the new arrangements the courts will be held in centrally situated buildings entirely severed from police premises.

Police administration, as in 1928, attracted considerable attention. Early in the year the Police Commission reported at length. As a result of their investigations they found no grounds for general distrust of the police force as a whole, but they gave prominence to the view that officers were very seriously hampered in the discharge of their duties by the fact that public opinion was on occasion strongly out of sympathy with the law which they were called on to administer. They accordingly recommended a survey and revision of the laws as to street betting, clubs, and the like. The Commission ascertained that the Judges' Rules as to the taking of statements were interpreted differently in different sections of the force, and they laid down certain rules which would in their view safeguard the subject. Most important among them was the recommendation that the person's own words should be taken down and questions as well as answers recorded.

During the last quarter of a century the increasing bulk and complexity of legislation had compelled Parliament to depute to Government Departments the minutiae of social and kindred legislation, and had also been responsible for the growth of a class of tribunal not bound by strict rules of evidence and in some cases not giving the aggrieved person the right to appear. The scope of the authority given to Ministers, extending in some extreme cases to power to modify the provisions of statutes, had led to serious fears on the part of the lawyer that the fundamentals of the constitution might imperceptibly become undermined. The necessity for investigating the real nature and extent of the anomaly and safeguarding the subject from encroachments on his rights on the part of the Executive have been referred to on several occasions by those in high authority, and in October a strong committee was appointed for the purpose. Another subject which engaged the public attention was the functions and procedure of coroners, attention having been focussed on two instances of long-drawn-out inquiries. The Government have stated that they do not see any justification for interference with the regulations and procedure.

If the bulk of litigation during the year has been less, there have, on the other hand, been statutes of considerable volume and complexity placed on the Statute Book. To the early part of the year belongs the compendious Local Government Act, which attempted to modernise the local government machinery. Just as more than a century ago the parish gave way to the Union as the unit of Poor Law administration, so now the Guardians themselves, become more or less supernumeraries, have had their functions taken from them and bestowed on the Councils of the County and the County Borough, local knowledge and personal contact

being provided for by the creation of Public Assistance Committees. The maintenance of highways passed also to the County Council with its larger resources. An important feature of the Act was the new departure in rating and Government grants. Rating relief is given to industry and agriculture, and an attempt is made by the application of a somewhat complex formula to bring the amount of the Government grant into closer relation with the actual needs of the particular area. A second Act of great length is the Companies Act, 1929, which with its schedules runs to close on 300 pages, and welds into one whole the former consolidating Act of 1908 and the important company measure of 1928, together with minor company legislation. In criminal legislation a statute of some importance is the age of Marriage Act, rendering void *ab initio* any marriage of persons under sixteen. Another Act makes it a crime to destroy the life of a child capable of being born alive before it has an independent existence save where such action is necessary to preserve the life of the mother. The only other measure of cardinal importance which reached the stage of the royal assent during the year was the Widows' Contributory Pensions Act, which enlarged the scope of the 1925 Act. The close of the year, however, found a number of Bills before one or other of the Houses, and among them the Road Traffic Bill, which, in addition to abolishing the speed limit for private cars, imposes compulsory motor insurance and tries to define more satisfactorily the offence of being "drunk in charge of a car." On the criminal side there was the Poor Prisoners' Bill, which, if passed, would secure to the poor person legal assistance at the very start of a prosecution.

The year 1929 was not a year of great cases, but there were several which entailed review of past decisions and gave precision to the law on the particular subject with which they dealt. The case of *Re Blackwell* was of value, turning as it did on the question of verbal evidence in explanation of the nature of a gift in a will. In that case a testator, after taking some friends into his confidence in a matter which he wished to remain private, by a codicil to his will appointed them trustees of a considerable sum, the income from which was to be devoted to purposes stated to have been already explained to them. Almost simultaneously with his signing the codicil a careful memorandum was drawn up by his solicitor naming the beneficiaries and setting out detailed instructions as to the disposal of the trust money. In spite of the Wills Act, the trust was held by the House of Lords to be a valid one. The absence of any duty by an occupier of premises towards a mere trespasser was reiterated and the authorities reviewed in the case of *Addie & Sons (Collieries), Ltd. v. Dumbreck*, into which there entered a strong human interest through the fact that the trespasser was a child of four who was fatally injured by being drawn into haulage machinery situated in a field which had come to be used more or less as a playground by the children of the neighbourhood. A question which arises with increasing frequency in these days of motor accidents—the possibility of recovering damages in an accident where both parties are to blame—was treated at length by the Court of Appeal in two cases, *Service v. Sundell* and more particularly, *Cooper v.*

Swadling. These two cases once more made it clear that the question whether the one or the other party can recover hangs on the answer to another question, namely, which of the two had the last opportunity, through the exercise of reasonable care, of avoiding the mishap.

One case in particular in the Divorce Division was of note because of the consequences which it entailed and the attitude which the court assumed on the question of what constituted marriage. In *Nachimson v. Nachimson* Mr. Justice Hill held that marriages in Soviet law, effected by registration and dissoluble at will by either party on application to a registration officer, were not marriages in the conception of English law, and therefore were not valid in England. Another case with important public consequences of another kind was the House of Lords case of *Farnworth v. Manchester Corporation*. Some rather fine points were involved, and the judges were not unanimous on all the aspects of the case, but the result of the judgment was to affirm the right of a cultivator to recover damages for injury done to his crops by sulphur fumes emitted from a municipal power station erected under a special Act.

An interesting example of the failure of a testator's intentions is afforded by *Re Grove Grady*. In that case a fund was sought to be founded for the establishment, among other objects, of an animal sanctuary to which all animals, birds or other creatures excepting man were to have free resort and in which they would be preserved in safety. In the opinion of the majority in the Court of Appeal, such a purpose did not clearly benefit the community and could not be construed as a charity.

The Gaming laws as in previous years offered some problems. In *Ellesmere v. Wallace* the defendant nominated a horse for two races at the invitation of the Jockey Club—the Peel Handicap, described as a sweepstake of five sovereigns each, two sovereigns to be forfeit, with added money, and the Long Course Selling Plate of 200 sovereigns, entrance two sovereigns, the entrance money to be forfeited if the horse failed to run. The horse nominated did not run in either race, and the action was brought for a declaration that the defendant was liable to pay a sum of 4*l*. The question was whether the exception to sect. 18 of the Gaming Act, 1845, applied. The section makes all contracts by way of gaming or wagering null and void and unenforceable, but by the proviso this does not apply to a subscription or contribution, or agreement to subscribe or contribute towards any plate, prize or sum of money to be awarded to the winner of any "lawful game, sport, pastime or exercise." The Court of Appeal held that the contract was not a contract for gaming or wagering and the defendant was liable. Lord Hanworth in the course of his judgment made clear that horse-racing was a lawful game despite restrictions placed upon it. Other cases established that in the case of a loan to a firm of bookmakers by way of additional capital for the business and a charge on the assets the consideration is not necessarily illegal; for it is not necessarily money knowingly lent or advanced for betting purposes (*Humphrey v. Wilson*); but on the other hand, where money is lent (in the form of counters) for gaming purposes the consideration is illegal and no action maintainable (*Carlton Hall Club, Ltd. v. Lawrence*).

Minter v. Priest was the case of the year on professional privilege. There it was held that all that passes between a solicitor and a possible client is privileged, even although the solicitor refuses to accept the retainer.

Finally, in Revenue cases two new points arose. *Attorney-General v. Quixley* decided that a secondary school teacher's death gratuity was subject to estate duty as property passing on her death, and *Perrin v. Dickson* that annual sums received from an insurance company over a term of years under an education policy were to be regarded as repayments of capital and not as income, and therefore were exempt from income tax. A somewhat unusual case was that of *Bourne & Hollingsworth v. Ogden* where it was decided that it was not permissible to deduct from profits, for income tax purposes, contributions to a hospital made by a drapery firm. From the argument it appears that in certain circumstances the decision might have gone the other way, the facts in the particular case being all-important.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I.¹

Protocol, with Annexes, approved at the Plenary Session of The Hague Conference held on August 31, 1929.

PROTOCOL.

1. The Representatives of the Government of the German Reich, the Government of His Majesty the King of the Belgians, His Britannic Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Government of India, the Government of the French Republic, the Government of the Greek Republic, the Government of His Majesty the King of Italy, the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, the Government of the Republic of Poland, the Government of the Republic of Portugal, the Government of His Majesty the King of Roumania, the Government of His Majesty the King of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, and the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, accompanied by the Representative of the Government of the United States of America in the capacity of Observer and with specifically limited powers ;

Being assembled at the Binnenhof under the Chairmanship of His Excellency M. Jaspar, Prime Minister of Belgium, on the conclusion of the first stage of the Conference which met at The Hague on the 6th August, 1929 ;

The President informs the Conference that on all the political questions on the agenda of the Conference an agreement has been come to between the Powers interested.

2. The President states that in view of the fact that various questions relative to the application of the Plan of the 7th June, 1929, drawn up in Paris by the Committee of Experts, have been settled in outline in accordance with the documents annexed hereto (Annexes I., II., III. and IV.), all the Governments represented by delegates at the Conference have accepted the said Plan in principle. Nevertheless, certain delegations, while reserving their right as to final adhesion, have made on certain points observations which do not hinder the above acceptance in principle. These observations figure in the minutes of the meeting of the Financial Commission of the 30th August, 1929.

¹ Printed by permission of H.M. Stationery Office from Cmd. 3392.

The President states also that agreement has been reached that the balance of the unconditional part of the annuities under the Experts' Report, the distribution of which was to be settled by the Governments, shall be distributed as follows :—

	Reichsmarks.
The British Empire - - - -	55,000,000
Japan - - - - -	6,600,000
Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom - - -	6,000,000
Portugal - - - - -	2,400,000
<hr/>	
Total - - - - -	70,000,000

3. The Conference notes the appointment of the Organisation Committee for the adaptation of the German Laws set up under the Dawes Plan in accordance with Annex V. to the Experts' Report, and considers that the Organisation Committee for the Bank for International Settlements referred to in Section III. of Annex I. to the Experts' Report should be appointed as soon as possible.

4. The Conference decides on the appointment of technical committees charged with the duty of preparing detailed recommendations in regard to—

- (a) the framing in conformity with Annex II. of new regulations for deliveries in kind, and to suggest any steps necessary in connexion with the transition from the present to the new system in so far as concerns such deliveries ;
- (b) the final settlement of the reciprocal claims of the Creditor Governments in respect of ceded properties and liberation debts, and the final settlement of the liabilities of the Debtor Governments under the Treaties of St. Germain, the Trianon, and Neuilly.

The Conference also decides to appoint a Committee of Jurists in order to draft the detailed texts to be embodied in the Final Protocol for putting into force the Experts' Plan.

Furthermore, and subject to the declarations and reservations made in the course of the meetings of the Financial Commission on the 30th and 31st August, 1929, and which are set out in the Minutes of those meetings, the Conference decides on the appointment of a committee charged with the duty of preparing the necessary provisions in order to apply the recommendations of Chapter IX. of the Report of the Experts' relating to the liquidation of the past and the proposal of the measures required to effect the change from the existing to the new régime.

5. The Conference requests each of the Inviting Powers and the Kingdom of the Serbs-Croats-Slovenes to nominate a representative for the Committee to frame new Regulations as regards deliveries in kind, and to request the Belgian, British, French, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Portuguese, Roumanian, Serb-Croat-Slovene, and Czechoslovak Governments, if they so desire, to nominate two representatives on the Committee on Ceded Properties and Liberation Debts and the liabilities of Austria,

Hungary, Bulgaria, on the understanding that when the Committee deals with the liabilities of the Austrian, Hungarian or Bulgarian Governments, each of those Governments will be invited to nominate two representatives on the Committee when its interests are concerned.

6. The Committees appointed by the Conference will meet at a date and place to be fixed by the President of the Conference.

7. The Conference will reassemble at a date and place to be fixed by the President after consultation with the Inviting Powers for the purpose of considering the Reports which will be submitted to it by all the Committees referred to above, and for giving such effect thereto as may be considered desirable.

Done at The Hague the 31st day of August, 1929.

HENRI JASPAR, *President.*

M. P. A. HANKEY,
Secretary-General.

ANNEX I.

Financial Agreement between the Belgian, French, Italian, and Japanese Delegations, and the German Delegation, in so far as Germany is concerned.

The Belgian, British, French, Italian, and Japanese Delegations, and the German Delegation, in so far as Germany is concerned, have agreed on the following arrangements with a view to securing the approval in principle of the Experts' Report, *viz.* :—

I.

In accordance with paragraphs 83 and 84 of the Experts' Report of the 7th June, 1929, and paragraph 192 of the Annexes, Great Britain will receive, out of the payments due by Germany in respect of the last five months of the fifth Dawes Annuity, the amount (estimated at 100 million gold marks) which is required together with her receipts under the Dawes Plan, to cover in full her net debt outgoings during the year ending the 31st March, 1930, and the current costs of the British Army of Occupation up to the 31st August, 1929.

In pursuance of the same provisions, Italy and Greece will receive the sums required to cover in full their debt outgoings during the year ending the 31st March, 1930, as defined in paragraph 93 of the Experts' Report.

II.

Save as provided in the preceding Article, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan make, and will make, no claim on the sums paid or payable by Germany in respect of the last five months of the fifth Dawes Annuity, including the sum of about 79 million gold marks due in September, 1929.

In return Belgium and France guarantee to Great Britain to the extent of their liability the payments for which they are responsible in accordance with Article III. below.

III.

The Belgian and French Governments guarantee without reserve the payment to Great Britain, in addition to the annuities allocated to her by the Experts' Report, of an annuity of 19,800,000 Reichsmarks for 37 years as from 1929, to be paid in sterling in such instalments as may be agreed. The division of this annuity between the French and Belgian Governments will be the subject of a special agreement between them, which will be communicated to the British Government.

IV.

Italy having undertaken to apply in favour of Great Britain a part of the claims to which she is entitled under the Agreements of the 10th September, 1919, and the 8th December, 1919, in regard to the costs of liberation and the ceded properties, guarantees to Great Britain without reserve a further annuity of 9,000,000 Reichsmarks for 37 years, as from 1929, to be paid in sterling in such instalments as may be agreed.

V.

For the purposes of the two preceding Articles, the Reichsmark is defined as in paragraph 91 of the Experts' Report and in the letter from Dr. Schacht dated the 6th June, 1929.

VI.

It is agreed that the payments due to each of the Creditor Governments in respect of their net war debts shall be made by the Bank for International Settlements on the dates fixed by the various Funding Agreements for the payment of the war debt annuities.

VII.

The amount of the unconditional annuity provided for in paragraph 89 of Chapter VIII. of the Experts' Report shall be fixed at 612,000,000 Reichsmarks a year (excluding whatever sums are required for the service of the German External Loan, 1924). Out of the balance of the unconditional annuity not distributed by the Experts' Report, 55,000,00, Reichsmarks a year will be allocated to the British Empire, and 6,600,000 Reichsmarks to Japan.

HENRI JASPAR, *President.*

M. P. A. HANKEY,
Secretary-General.

ANNEX II.

Agreement regarding Deliveries in Kind.

I. The Belgian, British, French, German, Italian, and Japanese Governments agree upon the following points :—

1. A Committee shall be set up by the Governments concerned in order to draw up in accordance with paragraph 138 of the Experts' Report new regulations for Deliveries in Kind and to suggest any steps necessary in connexion with the transition from the present to the new system, in so far as concerns such deliveries.
2. The provisions of these regulations shall be binding on the Bank for International Settlements and can only be revised by agreement between the Governments concerned.
3. The principle of the Wallenberg Regulations concerning the prohibition to re-export goods received as Deliveries in Kind shall be maintained under the Experts' Report.
4. The new regulations shall not contain any measures which would permit the various Powers to dispose of a part of their share in Deliveries in Kind outside their own territories in the manner provided for in paragraph 139 of the Experts' Report.
5. The special programmes referred to in Section 4 of Annex IV. to the Experts' Report shall be subject to the procedure laid down in Appendix 1.

II. The Belgian, British, French, Italian, and Japanese Governments agree that the British and French Governments have the right to a Reparation (Recovery) Act levy *pari passu* with any Deliveries in Kind, including those furnished under a moratorium, that is to say, that of the total amount transferred in any year in Deliveries in Kind (including the quotas under the Reparation Recovery Acts), the quota under the British Reparation (Recovery) Act will amount to 23·05, per cent. and the quota under the French Reparation (Recovery) Act to 4·95 per cent. The German Government makes a reserve in so far as concerns the possible application of the Reparation (Recovery) Acts after the expiry of the ten years' programme of Deliveries in Kind laid down in the Experts' Report.

III. The Italian Government undertakes, as part of the present agreement, to execute the arrangement laid down in Appendix 2 hereto in the matter of imports of coal to Italy.

HENRI JASPAR, *President.*

M. P. A. HANKEY,
Secretary-General.

APPENDIX 1 TO ANNEX II.

With a view to safeguarding the financial, commercial and economic interests of the several signatory Governments, the following procedure shall be applied to the special programmes for Deliveries in Kind :—

- (a) In the case of any such special programme involving an extension in any of the first ten years of the Experts' Report of the programme of Deliveries in Kind laid down in the Report for that year.
- (b) In the case of any special programme after the first ten years.

These special programmes shall be submitted for approval to a Committee, which shall be convened by the Bank for International Settlements and on which each of the signatory Governments may have a representative. This Committee shall take decisions by a majority vote. If a member of the Committee considers that the interests of his Government as defined above are prejudiced by the decision of the Committee, he may suspend the execution thereof in whole or part and refer the decision to the arbitrator provided for hereafter, on condition that he furnishes the arbitrator with a reasoned statement of his objections within a maximum period of seven days. The arbitrator shall give a decision within fourteen days concerning the approval or the rejection of the programme or of the part of the programme in dispute.

The arbitrator shall be of neutral nationality, and shall be of high commercial and financial standing. He shall be appointed by the signatory Governments acting unanimously or, failing unanimity, by the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

HENRI JASPAR, *President*.

M. P. A. HANKEY,
Secretary-General.

APPENDIX 2 TO ANNEX II.

1. An arrangement has been made between France and Italy under which it becomes possible to equalise, without altering the total yearly amount of Germany's deliveries in kind, the yearly amounts of the deliveries in kind to be taken by Italy during the ten-year period.

Under this arrangement, Italy's allocation of deliveries in kind, instead of varying during that period from 75 to 30 million Reichsmarks a year, will be fixed at the amount of 52½ million Reichsmarks a year; the peak of the Italian purchases of coal in Germany on reparations account is therefore reduced.

2. As a result of this arrangement, the Italian Government undertakes, on behalf of the Italian State Railways—

- (a) to purchase one million tons of British coal yearly for three years as from the 15th November, 1929, at a price f.o.b. strictly in keeping with the lowest price obtained under contracts which are concluded at about the same time for the sale of British coal of similar quality, and which are comparable also as regards quantity;

- (b) to abstain from importing reparation coal viâ sea over and above the maximum quantity of 1,500,000 tons per annum during the said ten-year period.

HENRI JASPAR, *President*.

M. P. A. HANKEY,
Secretary-General.

ANNEX TO APPENDIX 2.

Arrangement between the French and Italian Governments.

In application of paragraph 136 of the Young Plan, the French and Italian Delegations have agreed to modify the respective proportions of Deliveries in Kind allocated to them by the Experts' Report in such a way that Italy's share should be fixed at the constant figure of 52·5 million Reichsmarks, the total amount remaining unchanged.

Under the terms of this agreement the table of the Experts' Report is modified so far as regards France and Italy in the following way :—

							France. Million Reichsmarks.	Italy.
1st year	-	-	-	-	-	-	430·9	52·5
2nd „	-	-	-	-	-	-	398·7	52·5
3rd „	-	-	-	-	-	-	366·4	52·5
4th „	-	-	-	-	-	-	334·2	52·5
5th „	-	-	-	-	-	-	302	52·5
6th „	-	-	-	-	-	-	269·8	52·5
7th „	-	-	-	-	-	-	237·5	52·5
8th „	-	-	-	-	-	-	205·3	52·5
9th „	-	-	-	-	-	-	173·1	52·5
10th „	-	-	-	-	-	-	140·8	52·5

HENRI JASPAR, *President*.

M. P. A. HANKEY,
Secretary-General.

ANNEX III.

Agreement upon the Transition Period.

The Governments represented at the Conference have agreed upon the following provisions :—

ARTICLE I.

1. Subject to the Experts' Report being finally put into force, and with the object of facilitating the application of paragraph 80 of the Report, the Creditor Powers agree that the amounts they are to receive out of the payments to be made by Germany in respect of the period after the Fifth Annuity of the Dawes Plan in respect of the share of each in the annuity shall be limited to the amounts laid down in the distribution of the Annuities of the Experts' Report.

2. During the transitional period, until the Experts' Report is put into force, Germany will make the payments provided for in the Dawes Plan to the Agent-General for Reparation Payments.

3. Nevertheless for the payment of the amounts from the 1st October to the 31st December, 1929, or until the coming into force of the Experts' Report, if this takes place before that date, the Agent-General for Reparation Payments shall, in consultation with the German Government, take the necessary steps to afford the Treasury of the Reich, during this transitional period, every possible facility consonant with maintaining the rights of the Creditor Powers.

4. If it should prove impossible to put the Experts' Report into force, the present agreement shall become null and void, and the amounts withheld through its application shall be paid to the Creditor Governments within four months.

ARTICLE II.

1. Germany will contribute an amount not to exceed 6 million Reichsmarks to the expenses of the Commissions and the Organisations under the Dawes Plan covered hitherto by the Dawes Annuities.

2. This contribution shall be retained, out of the payments made by Germany during the transitional period, in addition to the sums to be distributed in accordance with the Experts' Report.

3. If savings are realised on this amount of 6 million Reichsmarks, the amount saved will be repaid to the German Government.

HENRI JASPAR, *President*.

M. P. A. HANKEY,
Secretary-General.

ANNEX IV.

Agreement upon Costs of Occupation.

The Belgian, British, French, and German Governments have agreed upon the following provisions :—

1. The costs of Armies of Occupation (including the Inter-Allied Rhine-land High Commission) from the 1st September, 1929, will be provided out of a Reserve Fund fixed at 60 million Reichsmarks. To this fund the German Government will contribute a lump sum of 30 million Reichsmarks once and for all. The Occupying Powers will contribute to the Fund on their side in the following proportions, *viz.* :—

							Per Cent.
France	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
Great Britain	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Belgium	-	-	-	-	-	-	3

2. The Occupying Powers and the German Government reciprocally abandon all their claims relating to damage under Article 6 of

the Rhineland Agreement which shall not have been paid in cash on the 1st September, 1929, and also all present or future credits in regard to services and damages under Articles 8 to 12 of the Rhineland Agreement, whatever be their date. No claim of a pecuniary character on either side shall be raised on any ground in respect of a territory evacuated.

The claims waived by the Governments of the Occupying Powers are, in particular, the following :—

The claims to any balances outstanding in their favour in the “special account” of the Agent-General for Reparation Payments referred to in the Additif No. II. signed at Brussels; the claims which arise out of advances made by the Agent-General in respect of Article 6 and Articles 8 to 12 of the Rhineland Agreement; and any claims for the sale value of any buildings constructed by the German Government for the occupying armies and charged to the annuity.

3. The above provisions apply both to the Occupying troops and to the Delegations on the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission and their Staffs.
4. In no case shall Germany be obliged to make any payments to the Creditor Governments over the above-mentioned sums, either for the cost of armies of occupation or for the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission, nor entitled to claim any part of these sums.

HENRI JASPAR, *President*.

M. P. A. HANKEY,
Secretary-General.

II.

Treaty between the Holy See and Italy.

(Signed February 11, 1929.)

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY.

Whereas the Holy See and Italy have recognised the desirability of abolishing all cause of dissension between them by means of a definitive settlement of their reciprocal relations, such as shall be in harmony with justice and the dignity of the two High Contracting Parties and, by securing to the Holy See in a permanent form such conditions *de facto* and *de jure* as will guarantee its absolute independence for the accomplishment of its high mission in the world, shall allow the Holy See to recognise as definitively and irrevocably settled, the “Roman question,” which arose in 1870 when Rome was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy;

And whereas it is requisite, in order to secure to the Holy See absolute and visible independence, also to guarantee It an indisputable sovereignty in the international field, it has been deemed necessary to establish the Vatican City under special regulations, recognising the Holy See as vested with full ownership therein and with exclusive and absolute power and sovereign jurisdiction ;

His Holiness the Supreme Pontiff PIUS XI. and His Majesty VITTORIO EMANUELE III., King of Italy, have decided to enter into a Treaty, nominating for the purpose two Plenipotentiaries, namely, on behalf of His Holiness, His Most Reverend Eminence, Cardinal PIETRO GASPARRI, His Secretary of State, and, on behalf of His Majesty, His Excellency Cavalier BENITO MUSSOLINI, Prime Minister and Head of the Government ; who having exchanged their respective credentials and found them to be in good and proper form, have agreed on the following articles :—

Article 1. Italy recognises and reaffirms the principle embodied in Art. I. of the Statute of the Kingdom, dated March 4, 1848, whereby the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion is the sole religion of the State.

Article 2. Italy recognises the sovereignty of the Holy See in the international field as an attribute inherent in its nature, in accordance with its tradition and the requirements of its mission in the world.

Article 3. Italy recognises in the Holy See the full ownership, exclusive and absolute power and sovereign jurisdiction over the Vatican, as at present constituted, with all its appurtenances and endowments, the Vatican City being to this end established for the special objects of and under the provisions laid down by the present Treaty. The boundaries of the City are shown in the map given as Annexe I to the present Treaty of which it forms an integral part.

It remains, however, understood that the Piazza of St. Peter's, although forming part of the Vatican City, shall continue normally to remain open to the public and subject to the police powers of the Italian authorities ; who shall, however, not go further than the foot of the steps of the Basilica, notwithstanding that the same continues to be devoted to public worship, and hence they will refrain from ascending and approaching the Basilica, save when invited by the competent authority so to do.

When the Holy See, in connexion with particular functions, thinks right temporarily to withdraw the Piazza of St. Peter's from the free passage of the public, the Italian authorities, unless invited to remain by the competent authority, shall withdraw below the outer limits of the Colonnade of Bernini and of its extension.

Article 4. The recognition by Italy of the sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction of the Holy See over the Vatican City implies that no interference by the Italian Government can take place therein and that the sole authority is the Holy See.

Article 5. In order to give effect to the provisions of the previous article, before the present Treaty comes into force, it will be necessary that the territory constituting the Vatican City shall be freed by the Italian Government from all easements and possible occupiers. The Holy See

shall make provision for shutting off the means of access, by enclosing the open spaces, with the exception of the Piazza of St. Peter's.

It is further agreed that, as regards the regulation of its relations to the property therein existing, belonging to religious institutions or corporations, the Holy See will make direct provision, without implicating the Italian State.

Article 6. Italy shall, by proper agreement with the interested bodies, endow the Vatican City with an adequate water supply of its own.

Further, it shall provide for communication with the State railways through the establishment of a railway station within the Vatican City, at the place shown on the annexed map (Annexe I.), and through the passage of carriages belonging to the Vatican over the Italian railways.

Likewise it shall arrange for direct connexion with other States of the telegraphic, telephonic, radiotelegraphic, radiotelephonic and postal services in the Vatican City.

Finally it shall provide for the co-ordination of the other public services.

All the above provisions shall be made at the charges of the Italian State and within a period of one year from the date when the present Treaty comes into force.

The Holy See shall provide, at its own charges, for the due ordering of the means of access to the Vatican at present existing and for any others that it may subsequently think fit to open.

The Holy See and the Italian State shall enter into an agreement regarding the passage over the territory of the latter of the land vehicles and aircraft of the Vatican City.

Article 7. The Italian Government covenants not to permit the erection of any new buildings on the land in the vicinity of the Vatican City, by which it can be overlooked, and, to the same end, to provide for the partial destruction of those now standing at the Porta Cavalleggeri and along the Via Aurelia and the Viale Vaticano.

In accordance with the rules of international law, aircraft of all kinds is forbidden to pass over Vatican territory.

In the Rusticucci Piazza and the areas adjacent to the Colonnade, over which the extraterritoriality referred to in Art. 15 does not extend, all modifications in building or street plans, which may affect the Vatican City, will be made by common agreement.

Article 8. Italy, holding the person of the Supreme Pontiff to be sacred and inviolable, declares any attack thereon and any provocation to commit the same to be punishable with the same penalties as are decreed for an attack on or provocation to attack the King's person.

Offensive expressions and insults publicly uttered on Italian territory against the person of the Supreme Pontiff, either in word, speech or writing, shall be punished as if offensive expressions and insults directed against the King's person.

Article 9. In accordance with the rules of international law, all persons permanently resident in the Vatican City are subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See. Such residence is not lost by the simple fact of temporary sojourn elsewhere, when not accompanied by the loss of a dwelling-place

in the City itself or by other circumstances proving that residence has been surrendered.

On ceasing to be subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See, the persons referred to in the above paragraph when, according to the terms of Italian law, independently of the circumstances of fact contemplated above, they cannot be regarded as possessed of any other citizenship, shall be considered in Italy as Italian citizens.

To such persons, while subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See, shall be applicable within the territory of the Italian Kingdom the provisions of Italian legislation, even in matters coming under the sphere of personal law (when not regulated by rules prescribed by the Holy See), and, to the case of a person held to be a citizen of another country, those of the State to which such person belongs.

Article 10. The dignitaries of the Church and persons belonging to the Papal Court, whose names are given in a list to be agreed by both High Contracting Parties, even when not citizens of the Vatican, shall, as regards Italy, always and invariably be exempt from military and jury service and from all services of a personal character.

This rule also applies to staff officials stated by the Holy See to be indispensable, permanently attached with fixed salaries to the offices of the Holy See, as also to the departments and offices outside the Vatican City as shown below in articles 13, 14, 15 and 16. The names of these officials shall be shown in a second list, to be agreed as stated above, which shall be posted annually by the Holy See.

Ecclesiastics who, for official reasons, are employed outside the Vatican City on the proper business of the Holy See, are exempt on that account from all impediment, enquiries or interference by the Italian authorities.

Every foreigner, holding ecclesiastical office in Rome, shall enjoy such personal security as is allowed to Italian citizens in virtue of the laws of the Kingdom.

Article 11. The central institutions of the Catholic Church are exempt from all forms of interference on the part of the Italian State (except as regards the provisions of Italian legislation in the matter of acquisitions by charitable corporations) including the alienation of real property.

Article 12. Italy recognises the active and passive right of the Holy See to maintain legations in accordance with the general rules of international law.

The envoys of foreign Governments at the Holy See will continue to enjoy in the Kingdom all the privileges and immunities which are allowed to diplomatic agents under the terms of international law, and their seats may still remain in Italian territory with the enjoyment of the immunities which are their due under the rules of international law, even when their States have no diplomatic relations with Italy.

It is understood that Italy covenants to allow always and invariably correspondence from all States, including belligerent States, to pass freely to and from the Holy See, as also the free access to the Apostolic See of the Bishops from all parts of the world.

The High Contracting Parties covenant to establish normal diplomatic relations the one with the other, through the accrediting of an Italian Ambassador to the Holy See and of a Papal Nuncio to Italy, who shall be the senior member of the Diplomatic Corps, under the terms of the customary right recognised by the Congress of Vienna by deed of June 9, 1815.

As resulting from this recognised sovereignty and without prejudice to the dispositions of Art. 19 below, the diplomatists of the Holy See and messengers sent in the name of the Supreme Pontiff enjoy within Italian territory, even in time of war, the same treatment as is the due of the diplomatists and State messengers of the other foreign Governments, in accordance with the rules of international law.

Article 13. Italy recognises the full ownership rights of the Holy See in the patriarchal Basilicas of St. John Lateran, of Santa Maria Maggiore, and of St. Paul's, with the buildings attached thereto (Annexe II., 1, 2 and 3).

The State transfers to the Holy See the independent management and control of the aforesaid Basilica of St. Paul's and of the Monastery attached, at the same time paying over to the Holy See the capital sums corresponding to the amounts entered each year in the budget of the Ministry of Public Instruction in favour of this Basilica.

Similarly it is understood that the Holy See is the freeholder of the dependent edifice of St. Callixtus, adjoining Santa Maria in Trastevere (Annexe II., 9).

Article 14. Italy recognises the full ownership rights of the Holy See in the papal palace of Castel Gandolfo with all the endowments, appurtenances and dependencies (Annexe II., 4), which are at present possessed by the Holy See, and covenants to transfer, also with full ownership rights, the transfer to take place within six months after the present Treaty comes into force, the Villa Barberini in Castel Gandolfo with all its endowments, appurtenances and dependencies (Annexe II., 5).

In order to unify the ownership of the properties situated on the north side of the Janiculum Hill belonging to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide and to the other Ecclesiastical Institutions looking towards the Vatican palaces, the State covenants to transfer to the Holy See or to the bodies thereby appointed the properties owned by the State or by third parties in this area. The properties belonging to the Congregation and the other Institutions and those to be transferred are shown in the annexed map (Annexe II., 12).

Italy will, moreover, transfer to the Holy See with full freehold rights the ex-conventual buildings in Rome attached to the Basilica of the XII. Holy Apostles and to the Churches of Sant'Andrea della Valle and of San Carlo ai Catinari, with all outbuildings and dependencies (Annexe III., 3, 4 and 5), consignment with free occupation to be effected within a year of the entry of the present Treaty into force.

Article 15. The properties named in Art. 13 and in the first and second paragraphs of Art. 14, as also the palaces of the Dataria, of the Chancellery, of the Propaganda Fide in the Piazza di Spagna, the Palace of

the Holy Office and appurtenances, that of the Convertendi (now Congregation for the Eastern Church) in the Piazza Scossacavalli, the palace of the Vicariat (Annexe II., 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11), and the other buildings in which the Holy See may in the future consider it desirable to arrange any other of its offices, shall, even though included in Italian territory, enjoy the immunities recognised by international law as pertaining to the seats of the diplomatic agents of foreign States.

The same immunities are also applicable to other churches, even though outside Rome, during such time as there are held therein functions at which, though they are not open to the general public, the Supreme Pontiff is present.

Article 16. The property specified in the three preceding articles, as also that adopted for housing the following Papal Institutions: the Gregorian University, the Biblical, Oriental and Archæological Institutes, Russian Seminary, Lombard College, the two palaces of St. Apollinaris and the House of Retreat for the Clergy of St. John and St. Paul (Annexe III., 1, 1a, 2, 6, 7, 8), shall never be liable to easements or expropriations for purposes of public utility, save by previous agreement with the Holy See, and shall be exempt from all dues, both ordinary and extraordinary, alike as regards the State and any other body.

The Holy See is free to make such provision as it thinks fit for all the above-named properties, specified in the present and three preceding articles, no authorisations or consents being required from Italian governmental, provincial or communal authorities, which in this connexion can safely rely on the noble artistic traditions for which the Catholic Church is famous.

Article 17. All forms of recompense due by the Holy See, by other central bodies of the Catholic Church and by bodies under the direct control of the Holy See, including those outside Rome, to dignitaries, officials and wage earners, even when not on the fixed establishment, shall be exempt on Italian territory, as from January 1, 1930, from any kind of payment alike to the State and to any other body.

Article 18. The treasures of art and of knowledge contained in the Vatican City and in the Lateran Palace shall remain accessible to students and visitors, the Holy See, however, being left entirely free to make regulations for the admission of the public.

Article 19. The diplomatists and envoys of the Holy See, the diplomatists and envoys of foreign Governments at the Holy See and the dignitaries of the Church coming from abroad to the Vatican City and holding passports issued by the States from which they come, visaed by the Papal representatives abroad, shall be able without further formality to pass through Italian territory on their way to the Vatican City. The same applies to such persons, when holding the regular Papal passport and proceeding to foreign countries from the Vatican City.

Article 20. Merchandise coming from abroad to the Vatican City, or to institutions or offices of the Holy See, situated outside the confines of the City, shall at any time be allowed to enter from any point of the Italian frontier and at any port of the Kingdom for transit through

Italian territory with full exemption from customs, duties and communal dues.

Article 21. All the Cardinals enjoy in Italy the honours due to Princes of the blood royal : those resident in Rome, even outside the Vatican City, are, for all purposes, citizens of the Vatican City.

During a vacancy in the Holy See, Italy shall make special provision to secure that the free transit and access of the Cardinals to the Vatican through Italian territory is in no way hindered, and that no impediment or limitation is placed on their personal liberty.

Italy shall in addition take precautions that no acts are committed on the Italian territory adjacent to the Vatican City, such as may in any way disturb the meetings of the Conclave.

These regulations also hold good for the Conclaves held outside the Vatican City, as also for Councils under the presidency of the Supreme Pontiff or of his Legates and for the Bishops summoned to take part in these Councils.

Article 22. At the request of the Holy See and by delegation which may be given by the See either for particular cases or permanently, Italy shall make provision in her own territory for the punishment of crimes which have been committed in the Vatican City, save when the guilty party shall have taken refuge on Italian territory, in which case proceedings shall be forthwith taken in accordance with the Italian laws.

The Holy See shall hand over to the Italian State persons, who shall have taken refuge in the Vatican City, charged with acts committed on Italian territory, regarded as criminal under the laws of both States.

Similar provision shall be made in the case of persons charged with offences, who shall have taken refuge in the properties declared immune by Art. 15, unless the authorities in charge thereof prefer to invite the Italian officials to enter and arrest them.

Article 23. The rules of international law shall apply in the execution within the Kingdom of sentences passed by the tribunals of the Vatican City.

On the other hand, sentences passed and measures ordered by ecclesiastical authorities and officially communicated to the civil authorities, regarding ecclesiastical or religious persons, and concerning spiritual or disciplinary matters, shall have immediate and full juridical force, as also for all civil purposes, in Italy.

Article 24. The Holy See, in relation to the sovereignty with which It is also vested in the international sphere, declares that It intends to remain and will remain extraneous to temporal contentions between the other States and to the International Congresses held for such object, unless the contending parties jointly appeal to Its mission of peace, reserving to Itself in every case the right to exercise Its moral and spiritual power.

In consequence of this declaration, the Vatican City shall always and invariably be regarded as neutral and inviolable territory.

Article 25. By special convention subscribed jointly with the present Treaty, which constitutes Annexe IV. thereto and forms an integral part

of the Treaty, provision is made for the payment of the sums due to the Holy See on the part of Italy.

Article 26. The Holy See considers that by the agreements subscribed to-day it becomes adequately assured, so far as is needful, that provision is made for the liberty and independence due to the pastoral government of the Diocese of Rome and of the Catholic Church in Italy and throughout the world; it declares that the "Roman question" is definitively and irrevocably settled and thus disposed of, and it recognises the Kingdom of Italy under the rule of the House of Savoy with Rome as capital of the Italian State.

On her part, Italy recognises the State of the Vatican City under the Sovereignty of the Supreme Pontiff.

The Law of May 13, 1871, No. 214, and any other measure contrary to the present Treaty, is hereby repealed.

Article 27. The present Treaty, not later than four months from the date of signature, shall be submitted for the ratification of the Supreme Pontiff and of the King of Italy, and shall come into force at the time of the act of exchange of the ratifications.

Rome, the eleventh of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine.

(Signed) PIETRO Cardinal GASPARRI.

(Signed) BENITO MUSSOLINI.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1929.

JANUARY.

1. **George Holt Thomas**, aged 59, pioneer of aviation, was the son of Mr. W. L. Thomas, and was educated at Queen's College, Oxford. He founded the *Bystander*, and until 1906 was a director and general manager of the *Graphic* and *Daily Graphic*, founded by his father. He established the Aircraft Manufacturing Company as a small concern for building Maurice Farman Machines. On the outbreak of war arose his opportunity for building up the A.M.C., which, with Geoffrey de Havilland as Thomas' partner, produced the de Havilland aircraft at Hendon. His activities also extended to flying boats, and works were erected on Southampton Water for constructing marine aircraft. He initiated the production of civil passenger aircraft with the D.H. 18. Thomas formed the Air Travel and Transport Company, and in 1919 inaugurated a civil air transport cross-channel service to France. Later, on the formation of the Imperial Airways, he rendered good service by helping to co-ordinate the various companies then operating separately. In 1894 he married Gertrude, daughter of Mr. Thomas Oliver.

2. **Sir Charles Wright Macara**, aged 83, prominent figure in the cotton industry, was the son of a Scotch minister. After being educated at home and at Edinburgh, he started in a Scotch cotton firm in Manchester. In 1868 he began his association with the Dundee jute firm of Cox Bros., as their assistant representative at Manchester; later he became head of their branch there. In 1880 he became managing partner in the firm of Henry Bannerman & Sons, cotton spinners, manufacturers, and merchants, Manchester. He took a leading part in forming the Manchester Cotton Spinners' Association, and later in the formation of the Federation of the various Lancashire Cotton Spinners' Associations. His decisive influence in bringing about the Brooklands Agreement led to his election as President of the Federation, and as such he maintained peace in the industry for twenty-one years. He supported the scheme for the construction of a ship canal to Manchester, and aimed at the establishment of an industrial council as arbiter in labour disputes. In 1904 he founded the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations, and also took a keen interest in the International Institute of Agriculture. In 1911 he was created a baronet, and in 1921 he published his "Recollections." In 1875 he married Marion Young, granddaughter of the founder of the firm of Henry Bannerman & Sons. She survived him with one son and four daughters.

5. **The Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievitch**, aged 72, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies at the beginning of the Great War, was the son of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievitch and Alexandra Petrovna, a Duchess of

Oldenburg. Passing through the Imperial Nicholas Military Academy, he served as a General Staff Officer through the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Six years later he was given command of a Life Guard Hussar Regiment; and in 1895 he became Inspector-General of Cavalry. During his ten years of office he reorganised the cavalry reserves and schools and the remount service. In 1905 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Petersburg Military District, becoming President of the new Imperial Committee of Defence and directing reforms until 1909. At the outbreak of the Great War the Czar appointed the Grand Duke, his uncle, to be Commander-in-Chief. He was unable to control the earlier operations, but directed in masterly fashion the retreat of the Russians round Warsaw. In the middle of 1915 he was removed from his supreme command and sent as Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief to the Caucasus. On the Czar's abdication he was re-appointed to his former command but, the Provisional Government cancelling his appointment, he retired to the Crimea where he remained till 1919 when he was removed with the late Empress Marie, by a British warship. In 1907 he married Princess Anastasia of Montenegro, sister of the Queen of Italy. He had no children.

7. Sir Henry Trueman Wright Wood, aged 83, Secretary of the Royal Society of Arts, was the eldest son of William Burton Perse Wood. He was educated at Harrow and Clare College, Cambridge, and eventually, in 1870, obtained a clerkship in the Patent Office, a post he held for only two years, though from 1872 to 1890 he brought out several official Patent Office publications. In 1876 he was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Society of Arts, becoming Secretary three years later. It was under his regime that the Society obtained a charter—in 1908. The Society found a historian in Wood, who, when he retired from the Secretaryship in 1917, was appointed Treasurer, and in 1919, chairman of the Council. In 1890 he was made a Knight. He was prominently associated with the various South Kensington exhibitions, was British Commissioner of the Paris Exhibition in 1889, and in 1893 he served as Secretary of the Royal Commission for the Chicago Exhibition. He was also connected with the City and Guilds Institute, and from 1878 to 1884 he was secretary of the mechanical section of the British Association. He was also President of the Royal Photographic Society from 1894 to 1896. In addition to two contributions on photography to Whittaker's "Library of Popular Science," he published a book on "Industrial England in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century" (1910). In 1873 he married Marian, daughter of Mr. J. Oliver, who died in 1907. A son and two daughters survived.

— **Henry Arthur Jones**, aged 77, dramatist, started life in business but eventually made his career as a playwright. At the age of 27 he produced a play of his own at Exeter, and in 1879 his comedy "A Clerical Error" appeared at the Court, with Wilson Barrett, Winifred Emery, and himself in the cast. Three years later he became famous through his melodrama "The Silver King." In 1884 followed "Saints and Sinners." Other melodramas were "The Middleman," "Judah," and "The Dancing Girl," till with "The Crusader" in the early '90's he emerged into successful comedy. In 1897 he produced his masterpiece "The Liars." An attempt at a serious theme, "Michael and His Lost Angel," proved a failure. He left two daughters.

10. Philip Vernon Smith, ecclesiastical lawyer and authority on Church History, was born in 1845, the eldest son of Mr. G. J. P. Smith, a Master of the Supreme Court. He was educated at Eton where in 1862 he was Newcastle medallist, and at King's College, Cambridge. After a distinguished academic career, he was elected a Fellow of his college in 1867. In 1869 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple and practised in the Chancery and Ecclesiastical Courts. He took the degree of LL.M in 1867 and LL.D. in 1894. He wrote a "History of the English Institutions," "The Law of Churchwardens and Sidesmen in the Twentieth Century," "The Legal Position of the Clergy," and "The

Church Handbook." He was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester in 1894, of Durham in 1903, of Ripon in 1912, and Blackburn in 1927. From 1910 to 1920 he was vice-chairman of the Canterbury House of Laymen, and in 1891 he was licensed as a lay reader in the diocese of London. As vice-president of the C.M.S. he visited India in 1908. In 1920 he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Gloucester and was licensed as diocesan chaplain, but did not proceed to priest's orders. In 1878 he married Edith Frances Stoddart.

11. Professor Micalah John Muller Hill, aged 72, Emeritus Professor of Mathematics in the University of London, was the eldest son of the Rev. Samuel John Hill of Berhampur, India. He was educated at the School for the Sons of Missionaries, Blackheath, University College, London, and Peterhouse, Cambridge. In 1879 he was bracketed fourth wrangler, and in the following year he was appointed Professor of Mathematics at Mason College, Birmingham, being elected a Fellow of Peterhouse in 1883. In the following year he was made Professor of Pure Mathematics at University College, London. Here he taught for forty years, taking a lively interest in the welfare both of the College and of the University of London. Of the latter he was vice-chancellor from 1909 to 1911. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, Sc.D. of Cambridge, Hon. LL.D. of St. Andrews, and honorary Fellow of Peterhouse (1909). He was president of the Mathematical Association in 1926 and 1927. In 1892 he married Minnie Grace, daughter of Marriott Ogle Tarbotton who died in 1920, leaving two sons and one daughter.

— **Bernard William Henderson**, historian, who was born in 1871, was educated at University College School, London, and Lincoln College, Oxford. In 1894 he was elected to a Prize Fellowship at Merton College, where, from 1897 to 1901, he held the office of librarian. In 1901 he migrated to Exeter College, of which he became Fellow and Tutor. In 1903 he published "The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero," and in 1908 "Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire." For these contributions he was awarded the degree of D.Litt. (in 1911). Other books on Roman History were "The Life and Principate of Hadrians" (1923), and "Five Roman Emperors" (Vespasian to Trajan) in 1927. In 1926 he published "The Great War between Athens and Sparta." He was unmarried.

12. Professor Dietrich Schafer, aged 83, German historian, came of a working-class family. After some experience as an elementary school teacher, he studied history at the Universities of Jena, Heidelberg, and Göttingen, and worked his way up to a professorship in the University of Berlin (1893). Devoting himself mainly to German history he produced "A History of Denmark," "German History," and a "Life of Bismarck," as well as the more ambitious "Weltgeschichte der Neuzeit." A follower of Treitschke, whose pupil he had been at Heidelberg, he was a prominent member of the pan-German Union and of the Navy League.

15. Sir William Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., aged 91, eminent geologist, was educated at Rossall School and Jesus College, Oxford. He took his degree in 1860, and in the following year he was the first to be elected to the Burdett-Coutts Scholarship for geology. In 1862 he became an assistant in the Geological Survey of Great Britain, remaining there till 1869 when he was appointed Curator of the Manchester Museum and Geological Lecturer in Owens College. Four years later he became Professor of Geology and Palæontology in the Victoria University of Manchester, a post he held until 1908. Amongst his publications may be mentioned "British Pleistocene Mammalia" (with W. A. Sandford), "Cave Hunting" (1874), and "Early Man in Britain and his Place in the Tertiary Period" (1880). In 1873 he began a systematic study of Continental museums. He presided in 1882 over the anthropological and in 1888 over the geological section of the British Association. He was elected F.R.S. in 1867, became an

Honorary Fellow of his college in 1882, and received the degree of D.Sc. in 1900. In 1919 he was knighted. He married, first, Miss Frances Evans in 1866, and secondly, a year after her death in 1921, Mary, widow of Mr. Hubert Congreve, M.I.C.E. By his first wife he had one daughter.

15. Major-General the Hon. Sir Reginald Arthur James Talbot, aged 87, distinguished soldier, was the third son of the eighteenth Earl of Shrewsbury. He was educated at Harrow, and joined the 1st Life Guards in 1859, remaining in that regiment till 1888. From 1869 to 1875 he was Conservative member for Stafford. He saw military service in Egypt (1882 and 1884-85), was Military Attaché at Paris (1889-95), and commanded the Cavalry Brigade at Aldershot (1896), being promoted major-general in 1898. In the following year he was given command of the Army of Occupation in Egypt, where he remained for four years. In 1902 he was promoted K.C.B., retiring in the following year. From 1904 to 1908 he was Governor of Victoria. He married Margaret, daughter of the Rt. Hon. James Stuart-Wortley. He left no issue.

16. Count Sutemi Chinda, Lord Chamberlain and at one time Japanese Ambassador in London, was born in 1856. After studying foreign languages he took his degree at De Pauw University, Indiana, in 1881. In 1885 he was put in charge of the telegraphic section of the Japanese Foreign Office. After serving successively as Japanese Consul at San Francisco and at Chemulpo in Northern Korea, he went to Shanghai as Consul-General in 1895. He was then appointed Minister-Resident to Brazil, and from 1899 to 1900 he was Minister at The Hague, leaving to become Minister-Plenipotentiary and Envoy-Extraordinary at Petrograd. In 1910 he was recalled to take charge of the Foreign Office during Baron Komura's absence. He was created Baron in 1907, being appointed Ambassador to Berlin in the following year. In 1911 he was made a Viscount, and went to Washington as Ambassador until 1916 when he became Ambassador in London. On returning to Japan he was raised to the rank of Count and made a Privy Councillor. From 1921 to 1927 he acted as Grand Steward to the Prince Regent and then became Lord Chamberlain. He married Iwako, daughter of Itsuro Yamanaka, and had two sons and a daughter.

19. Liang Chi-Chao, Chinese scholar and reformer, was born in 1869. He edited the first Chinese daily paper published in Peking, in the interests of reform, and was obliged to flee after the *coup d'état* of 1898. He continued his reform publication in Japan, advocating a limited monarchy. After the revolution of 1911 he refused appointment as Minister of Justice but returned to China, edited a journal from Tientsin and organised the Progressive Party. In 1913 he accepted the portfolio of Justice under Tuan Shihkai, but resigned on the latter's threatened assumption of Imperial rank. In the following year he was appointed head of the Currency Bureau. In 1917 he was Minister of Finance, and at the Peace Conference (1919) he was present as adviser to the Chinese delegation. From 1923 he was Professor of History at the Tsing Hua College.

22. Rudolph Chambers Lehmann, noted oarsman and contributor to *Punch*, was the son of Frederick Lehmann, merchant. He was educated at Highgate School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became famous for his rowing. He founded and edited the *Granta*, and coached the Cambridge University crew in 1899, and the Oxford crew many times between 1891 and 1903. In 1880 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple and joined the S.E. circuit. After unsuccessfully contesting several seats, he was elected to the House of Commons as Liberal member for the Market Harborough division of Leicestershire, and he sat in the House from 1906 to 1910. Between 1890 and 1913 he published various books including his parodies contributed to *Punch*, and "The Complete Oarsman." He left a son and three daughters.

25. **Lady Lugard (Flora Louisa Shaw)**, traveller and journalist, was the daughter of Major-General George Shaw. She came to London at an early age to make a career for herself as a journalist, and through George Meredith obtained an introduction to Mr. W. T. Stead, who gave her work as a political interviewer for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. When the *Review of Reviews* was established in 1890, she was a member of the staff, later joining *The Times* as head of its Colonial Department. In that capacity she travelled in S. Africa in 1892 and 1901, in Australia and New Zealand in 1892, and in Canada in 1893 and 1898. She was an intimate friend of Rhodes, and was an important witness in the inquiry into the Jameson Raid. During the Great War she founded the War Refugees Committee and the Hospitality Committee bearing her name. She was created D.B.E. in 1918. In 1902 she married Colonel Sir Frederick Lugard, High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, who received his peerage in 1928.

29. **Ogden Mills**, aged 72, celebrated financier and philanthropist, was the son of a Californian banker. Educated at Harvard, he settled in New York in 1878 to take up financial and philanthropic work. He was vice-president of the Metropolitan Opera and Real Estate Company, and interested in the Mergenthaler Linotype Company, the Atlantic Coast Steamship Company, and the Niagara Falls Power Company. In politics he was a Republican with Conservative leanings; he was also a keen sportsman and owner of many successful horses, including Kantar and Cri de Guerre, winner of the Grand Prix de Paris in 1928. In 1882 he married Miss Ruth Livingston who died in 1921. He left a son and two daughters.

FEBRUARY.

3. **Sir Frederick John Jackson**, aged 69, pioneer of the Empire in East Africa, was educated at Shrewsbury and Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1889 he led a caravan despatched by the British East Africa Co. to open up the country as far as Lake Victoria Nyanza. He was the first Englishman to enter into official relations with the Baganda, and when Uganda came under British rule he was sent out in 1894 as Deputy and Acting Commissioner. He suppressed the Sudanese Mutiny in 1898, gaining the Uganda Mutiny Medal and being made C.B. In 1902 he was promoted to be Deputy Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate (Kenya Colony), of which he was later Lieutenant-Governor. In 1911 he returned as Governor, retiring in 1917. In 1902 he was made C.M.G., and in 1913 promoted K.C.M.G. He was the author of "Big Game Shooting in East Africa" and "Notes on the Game Birds of Kenya and Uganda." In 1894 he married Aline Cooper of Dublin.

11. **Sir Hercules Read**, aged 71, antiquary and art expert, after being educated privately, became an assistant in the Department of Antiquities at the British Museum in 1880. In 1896 he succeeded Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks as Keeper of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography, and having been appointed the latter's executor and residuary legatee, he contributed his biography to the "Dictionary of National Biography." He was intimate with the Rosenheim group of connoisseurs, out of whose interest arose the National Art Collections Fund. From 1892 to 1908 he was Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, of which he subsequently became President. He was knighted in 1912. In 1899 he was President of the anthropological section of the British Association, from 1899 to 1901 of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and from 1917 to 1919 of the India Institute. He retired from the British Museum in 1921. He married Helen Mary Smith of Gloucester, who survived him with two daughters.

— **Herbert Hampton**, aged 66, sculptor, studied at the Cardiff School of Art, at Lambeth, the Slade School, and Paris. In 1886 he exhibited "The Mother of

Evil" at the Salon, and "David" at the Academy. Two of his public monuments—a bronze statue of Henry Austin, Lord Aberdare, and a marble fountain group—are in Cardiff, and his best-known statue is the Duke of Devonshire in Whitehall. He produced six statues of Queen Victoria, one of King Edward VII. in the Euston Road, and of King George in India. Among his portrait busts are those of King Edward VII., King George, Queen Mary, Lord Roberts, and Sir Henry Irving.

13. Professor Foster Watson, historian of education, was educated at Lincoln Grammar School and Owens College, Manchester. In 1885 he was appointed vice-master of the Central Foundation School in Cowper Street, E.C., remaining there till 1891. Three years later he was appointed Professor of Education in the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth, resigning in 1913 in order to pursue research work into the history of education. But he continued his lecturing at the University of Liverpool, at Manchester College, Oxford, and in London as Gresham Professor of Rhetoric (since 1915). His works include "The Old Grammar Schools," "Tudor Schoolboy Life," "Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women," "Vives on Education," "Richard Hakluyt," "The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England," and "The English Grammar Schools till 1600." Watson was twice married.

— **Sir Washington Ranger, D.C.L.**, aged 80, the blind solicitor, was the son of Josiah Ranger of Ashdown Park, Sussex. Becoming blind at the age of 15, he was sent to the Worcester College for the Higher Education of Blind Boys, and later to Worcester College, Oxford, where he had a highly successful academic career. After serving his articles he set up for himself in 1879, establishing the firm now known as Ranger, Burton & Frost. He devoted himself largely to the interests of the blind, working closely with Sir Arthur Pearson. In 1893 he married Miss Alice Elizabeth Chambers, who died in 1911. He had a son and three daughters.

— **Thomas Holmes Blakesley, M.Inst.C.E.**, aged 81, was a son of the Very Rev. J. W. Blakesley, Dean of Lincoln. Educated at Charterhouse and King's College, Cambridge, in 1869 he accepted an appointment under the Government of Ceylon as an engineer for irrigation works. But his real bent was for physical science, and in 1885 he became instructor in physics and mathematics at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, retaining the position till 1904. His famous treatise entitled "Papers on Alternating Currents of Electricity for the Use of Students and Engineers" appeared in 1885, went through three editions, and was translated and published in Germany, France, and Russia. In 1903 appeared his "Geometrical Optics." He was Master of the Mercers' Company in 1902 and 1903.

14. Sydney William Carline, aged 40, Ruskin Master of Drawing at Oxford, was the son of an artist, George F. Carline, and was educated at Repton and the Slade School. After serving in the R.A.F. during the Great War, he first attracted attention in 1920 by a joint exhibition with his brother at the Goupil Galleries of scenes and subjects of their war experience. The Imperial War Museum commissioned him to make a painting tour in the Middle East. A portrait medal of his brother and sister was purchased by the British Museum, and he also made a medal of Lord Dillon for the National Portrait Gallery. He contributed illustrations to Lawrence's "Revolt in the Desert." A small piece of his sculpture, "The Mary Hill Memorial Medal," was shown in the Academy in 1927. In 1922 he was appointed head of the Ruskin Drawing School at Oxford. In 1928 he married Miss Gwen Harter.

— **Sir Bertram Coghill Alan Windle**, aged 70, Professor of Anthropology in St. Michael's College, Toronto University, was the son of the Rev. S. A. Windle. He was educated at Kingstown and Repton, and after a distinguished career at

Dublin University, graduated M.D. and D.Sc. He was Dean of the Medical Faculty and Professor of Anatomy and Anthropology in the University of Birmingham, and was afterwards Professor of Archæology in University College, Cork, of which he was President from 1904 to 1919. He was a member of the Irish Convention of 1917-18. Having been received into the Roman Church at the age of 25, in 1917 he won the Gunning Prize awarded by the Victoria Institute for his book, "The Church and Science," in support of revealed religion. He also wrote "Science and Morals" (1919), "On Miracles and some other Matters" (1924), "The Who's Who of the Oxford Movement" (1926), "The Catholic Church and its Reactions with Science" (1927), and "Religions Past and Present" (1928). Other books of his were "The Romans in Britain," "Life in Early Britain," "The Prehistoric Age," and various topographical works. He was knighted in 1912, created a Knight of St. Gregory by Pope Pius X., and made an hon. Ph.D. by Pope Pius XI. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society. Windle was twice married, and one daughter survived him.

17. Admiral Sir Francis Bridgeman, Commander-in-Chief of the Home Fleet in the North Sea, was born in 1848, being the fourth son of the Rev. W. Bridgeman-Simpson. He entered the Royal Navy in 1862, and after a good deal of experience afloat, became second-in-command of the Channel Fleet under Lord Charles Beresford. In 1907 he was appointed first Commander-in-Chief of the new Home Fleet, the *Dreadnought* being his flagship. He was promoted K.C.V.O., and in 1908 K.C.B. In 1909 he was made Second Sea Lord of the Admiralty; in 1911 he returned to his post as Commander-in-Chief of the Home Fleet, being shortly afterwards promoted Admiral. At the end of 1911 he became First Sea Lord at the Admiralty, resigning in 1912, when he was promoted G.C.B., retiring from the Navy in 1913. After the Armistice he was Chairman of the Divisional Council for Demobilisation and Resettlement in the Yorkshire and East Midland areas. In 1920 he was made Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom and Lieutenant of the Admiralty. In 1889 he married Emily, daughter of Mr. Thomas Shiffner, who died in 1922. He left no issue.

18. Sir Henry Felix Woods Pasha, K.C.V.O., aged 86, for forty years in the service of the Turkish Government, was the son of a master mariner. He was educated at the Royal Hospital School, Greenwich, passing thence into the Navy as Master's Assistant in 1858. He was shipmate with the Duke of Edinburgh on the training brig *Rollo*, and later, when the latter was in command of the Mediterranean Fleet, became his A.D.C. on visits to the Sultan. After hard service on the *Archer* on the west coast of Africa, and on the *Vesuvius*, he had six years' continuous service in Eastern waters, largely in Japan. He entered the service of Turkey in 1869 as instructor at the Naval College at Halk, rendering valuable assistance to Admiral Hobart when the latter reorganised the Turkish fleet. Woods was created K.C.V.O. when he represented the Sultan at King Edward VII.'s coronation. In 1883 he was promoted to the rank of Pasha, and rose to be an Admiral in the Turkish Navy, becoming aide-de-camp general of the Sultan and a member of his household. On his retirement in 1909 he remained in Turkey till 1914 when, his position becoming untenable, he returned to England. In 1924 he published an autobiography under the title "Spun yarn." In 1870 he married Laura Sarah, daughter of Mr. Charlton Whittall of Smyrna, who predeceased him. A son and daughter survived him.

20. General Sir John Grenfell Maxwell, who rendered distinguished service in Egypt and Ireland, was born in 1859, the son of Robert Maxwell, and nephew of the late Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell. Educated at Cheltenham and Sandhurst, he joined the 42nd Royal Highlanders in 1879. After seeing a good deal of service in Egypt (1882-99), he was sent to the Cape in 1900 in command of the 14th Brigade. He was appointed Military Governor of Pretoria and of the Western Transvaal, and was created successively K.C.B. and C.M.G. On his

return home (1902) he occupied important military posts, both at home and in Egypt, and when the Great War broke out he was despatched to Egypt in command of the British forces. In 1915 he defended the Suez Canal against the Turkish attack. In the following year he returned home and was sent to Dublin as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland. With full powers as Military Governor, he crushed the Sinn Fein Rebellion and instituted a reign of martial law. Towards the end of the year, being promoted G.C.B., he transferred to the Northern Command at York as General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, and remained in this post till 1919, when he was promoted General, retiring in 1922. In 1920 he was a member of Lord Milner's Mission to Egypt. In 1892 he married Louisa Selina, daughter of Mr. C. W. Bonyng. A daughter survived him.

27. **Dr. Alex. Hill**, Master of Downing College, Cambridge (1888-1907), was born in 1856 and educated at University College School and Downing College. Taking his degree in 1877, he entered St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he qualified M.D. and F.R.C.S. In 1880 he was elected a Fellow of Downing College, lecturing on the anatomy of the brain and on histology, and in 1888 he became Master of the College. In 1897-99 he was Vice-Chancellor of the University. In 1907 he resigned the Mastership of Downing owing to disagreement with the Governors as to the reconstruction of the Constitution of the College; in 1912 he accepted the Principalship of University College, Southampton, retaining the position till 1919. From 1888 to 1908 he was Chairman of the National Home Reading Union; and from 1901 to 1906 he served as a Treasury Commissioner to report on the various University Colleges of England. He was for some time President of the Neurological Society, and two of his papers were published by the Royal Society in its "Philosophical Transactions." A number of volumes, mainly on philosophical subjects, came from his pen. He was Secretary of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire. He married, in 1878, Emma Woodward, of Liverpool, who, with a son and a daughter, survived him.

28. **Dr. Joseph Wells**, aged 73, at one time Warden of Wadham College, Oxford (1913-27), and Vice-Chancellor of the University (1923-26). was educated at Reading School and Queen's College, Oxford. After serving as an assistant master at Sedbergh School, he was elected Fellow of Wadham College (1882), becoming tutor in the following year. He interested himself specially in the extension of University teaching, and in the education of women at Oxford, acting as Chairman of the Council of Lady Margaret Hall from 1910 to 1921. His publications included "A Short History of Rome," a "Commentary on Herodotus" in 1912, supplemented in 1923 by his "Studies in Herodotus." He also wrote various books on Oxford. In 1913 he was elected Warden of Wadham, taking a prominent part in University administration. As Vice-Chancellor he had much to do in connexion with the Statutory Commission; in 1926 he was given the honorary degree of D.C.L. He married, in 1896, Frances Mary, daughter of the Rev. H. O. Crawley. She died in 1925 and one son survived him.

MARCH.

1. **Dr. Wilhelm v. Bode**, aged 83, art expert and at one time General Director of Prussian Museums, spent much time in German picture galleries, and with a view to a gallery directorship studied the history of art for two years at Vienna and Berlin. In 1872 he was offered the post of museum assistant at Berlin in order to found a Department of Christian Sculpture, and of this he became head in 1883. In 1890 he was appointed Director of Picture Galleries, and in 1904 General Director of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, which, under his care, became one of the finest art galleries in Europe. In 1905 he was made General Director of Prussian Museums. In 1909 he became the central figure in an international acrimonious dispute as to the authenticity of a bust purchased by him for the Museum and attributed by him to Leonardo da Vinci, which was ultimately

proved to be a perpetration of 1846 ; his reputation, however, survived the blow. He published a valuable series of studies on the artists of Holland (1883), and between 1897 and 1906 produced his great contribution to the literature of art, "The Complete Work of Rembrandt," compiled in collaboration with Dr. Hofstede de Groot. In 1902 he published a book on the "Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance." He was regarded as the greatest living authority on the Old Masters and was given honours in all countries. He continued to serve as Director of the Museums under the Republic, laying down the general directorship in 1920, but retaining the Curatorship of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum till his death.

2. **The Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Hobart Seymour, O.M.**, aged 88, Senior Admiral of the Fleet, was the second son of the Rev. Richard Seymour and grandson of Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, in action at the Battle of the First of June, 1794. He was educated at Radley and entered the Navy in 1852. He obtained a good deal of experience afloat, in Russia, China, and the Congo, becoming Rear-Admiral in due course in 1889. After three years of extensive travelling, he resumed sea-service as Second-in-Command in the Channel. From 1894 to 1897 he was Admiral Superintendent of Naval Reserves, and from 1898 to 1901 he was Commander-in-Chief in China, and in 1900, during the Boxer risings, in command of a force from eight nations, led an expedition in an attempt to help the besieged Legations in Peking. He was promoted G.C.B. for his services, and in 1901 was made Admiral. In the following year he was naval representative with the Duke of Connaught's Garter mission to King Alfonso of Spain, and also, four years later, with Prince Arthur of Connaught's mission to the Emperor of Japan. In 1902 he received the Order of Merit, and took part in the Coronation procession. In 1903 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth, and in 1905 was promoted Admiral of the Fleet. In 1909 he represented the British Government at the Hudson-Fulton celebrations at New York on the battle-cruiser *Inflexible*, and in 1910 he retired. In 1911 he wrote his autobiography, "My Naval Career and Travels." In 1903 he was made hon. LL.D. of Cambridge University, was created G.C.V.O. in 1906, and sworn of the Privy Council in 1909. He was unmarried.

6. **Sir John Denison-Pender**, aged 73, Chairman of the Eastern and Associated Cable Companies, was a son of Sir John Pender, pioneer of submarine telegraphy. His connexion with the Eastern Telegraph Co. began in 1878, and in 1881 he was made a director thereof, and twelve years later managing director. In 1896 he was made Deputy Chairman, and in 1917 Chairman. He was created K.C.M.G. for his services during the South African War. During the Great War he had the responsibility of maintaining the British cable communications intact, as well as of cutting off the enemy's services, and the work was achieved with conspicuous efficiency. He played an important part in the negotiations for the merging of cables and wireless. In 1920 he was created G.B.E. He was a director of the P. and O. Company, and of the Atlas Assurance Co. In 1879 he married Beatrice Katherine Ellison, who died in 1920 ; two sons survived him.

7. **Professor Allyn Abbott Young, Ph.D.**, aged 52, Professor of Political Economy in the University of London, was a New Englander, and after being educated at Wisconsin and holding two lesser professorships for several years, was at Cornell for seven years, and then became professor at Harvard for another seven years. From 1918 to 1919 he was Chief of the Economic Section of the American Peace Delegation. In 1927 he accepted the Chair of Political Economy in the University of London in succession to Professor Edwin Cannan, and in the following year was elected a Sectional President of the British Association at its Glasgow meeting. His written work consisted mainly of contributions to periodicals, and a collection of essays under the title "Economic Problems ; New and Old" was published in 1927. He was writing two treatises on Money

and Theory at the time of his death. He married in 1904, and was survived by his wife and son.

8. **Robert Drew Hicks**, aged 78, Aristotelian scholar and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was educated at Bristol Grammar School and Trinity College. He was elected a Fellow in 1876 and was College lecturer in Classics from 1884 to 1900. In 1894 he produced an edition of Susemihl's "Politics of Aristotle," and in 1899 (with Archer Hind), a volume of Cambridge Aristotelian compositions. At the close of this period he became blind, but produced a monumental edition of Aristotle's "De Anima" in 1907, a volume on "The Stoics and Epicureans," and a summary of Greek philosophy for the "Cambridge Companion to Greek Studies." In 1925 his text and translation of Diogenes Laertius appeared in the Loeb Classical Library. He was made a D.Litt. of Manchester University.

9. **Viscount Robert Bannatyne Finlay**, aged 86, at one time Lord Chancellor, was educated at Edinburgh Academy and University where he graduated in Medicine. In 1867 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, taking silk in 1882. In 1885 he was returned as Liberal member for the Inverness Burghs, and losing his seat in 1892, rose in the next three years to the top of his profession. On regaining his seat in 1895 he was made Solicitor-General. In 1900 he became Attorney-General, retaining this post till the fall of the administration in 1906. In that year he was defeated, but returned in 1910 as member for Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities. In 1904 he was created G.C.M.G. for his services in connexion with various international legal problems arising out of the Boer and Russo-Japanese Wars. In 1916 he became Lord Chancellor and a peer. On retirement from office he was created a Viscount. In 1920 he was appointed British member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, and in the following year a member of the International Court of Justice. He was President of the Classical Association of Scotland and received various academic honours. In 1874 he married Mary, daughter of Mr. Cosmo Innes, who died in 1911. Their one son survived him.

13. **Lord Walter George Frank Phillimore**, aged 83, distinguished international jurist, came of a family celebrated in the legal profession, and was educated at Westminster. He entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1863, and in due course was elected a Fellow of All Souls College. In 1868 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, and appeared, on the High Church side, in numerous ecclesiastical cases, notably those of *Martin v. Maconochie*, *Cox v. Hakes*, *Read v. Bishop of Lincoln*, and *Sheppard v. Bennett*. In 1883 a patent of precedence was conferred upon him by which he ranked as a "Silk" but could draw pleadings. His practice became centred mainly in the Admiralty Court, and in 1897 he was appointed a Judge of the Queen's Bench. In 1913 he was promoted to be Lord of Appeal, retiring in 1916, when he accepted the title of Baron Phillimore of Shiplake, and became a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, where his judgments on Indian appeals made their mark. After the war he presided over the Committee for the Distribution of Naval Prize Bounty, and in 1928 was created G.B.E. He strongly upheld The Hague Tribunal, and in 1917 became Chairman of the Committee for drafting the League of Nations Statutes. He was President of the International Law Association, and in 1917 published "Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace and Their Teaching." He was interested in the work of the Church Assembly, and supported the compromising bishops and the Revised Prayerbook. In 1870 he married Agnes Lushington, who died in 1929. Two sons and two daughters survived him.

— **Henry Scott Tuke, R.A.**, aged 70, artist, came of a Quaker family, and was the son of Daniel Hack Tuke, M.D., Governor of Bethlem Hospital. After studying art at the Slade School, in Italy, and in Paris, he exhibited his first picture at the Academy at the age of 21, and was elected an Associate in 1900,

and R.A. in 1914. He was also a member of the Royal Society of Painters in water colours. Settling in Cornwall, he became a painter of sea subjects, and in 1923 accompanied a deep-sea expedition to Trinidad and Venezuela. Amongst his pictures may be mentioned "August Blue" and "All Hands to the Pumps" (in the Tate Gallery), "Ruby, Gold and Malachite" (Guildhall Gallery), and "Sailors Playing Cards" (Munich Pinakotek). A well-known portrait of his was that of Prince Ranjitsinghi.

15. **Captain Sir Lionel de Lautour Wells**, aged 70, at one time Chief of the London Fire Brigade, was educated at Cheltenham, and became a cadet in the Royal Navy in 1871. In 1873 he was a midshipman on the *Bellerophon*, flagship in North America, and in 1879 a sub-lieutenant of the *Northampton*. Two years later he joined the *Iris*, and in 1882 took part in the Egyptian War. Qualifying as torpedo lieutenant in 1883, he served in this branch for nine years. In 1891 he organised the Royal Navy Exhibition at Chelsea. In 1892 he was promoted Commander, and served in the Mediterranean. In 1896 he was appointed Chief Officer of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, and introduced many notable reforms. Five years later he retired from the active Navy List, but only left the Fire Brigade in 1903 to become Chief Agent to the Conservative Party, resigning in 1905. At the outbreak of the Great War he became Harbour Master at Mudros in the Dardanelles Expedition, and was created C.M.G. After America's entry he became Senior Naval Officer for the Royal Navy at New York, and received the American D.S.M. He was created C.B. in 1918 and C.B.E. in 1919. He received his knighthood in 1921, and in the following year was appointed Governor of the Royal Naval Benevolent Trust. In 1897 he married Ida Caroline Busk.

16. **The Right Hon. Stephen Walsh, M.P.**, Labour leader, and at one time Secretary of State for War, was born about 1859, and received an elementary education in an industrial school near Liverpool. At the age of 13 he worked in a mine, and soon rose to be check weigher on the pit bank, and later became miners' agent. In 1901 he was appointed Agent of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation, later becoming its President. In 1906 he was elected Labour member for the Ince division of Lancashire. In Parliament he worked hard for industrial legislation, and was connected with the Mines Act of 1911, and the amended Compensation Act. From 1914 to 1920 he was Chairman of the Miners' Section of the English Conciliation Board. In 1917 he became Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of National Service, being later transferred to the Local Government Board. In 1919 he left the Government, becoming, in 1922, Vice-President of the Miners' Federation, and later its President. In 1924 he became Secretary of State for War in the first Labour Government. He was appointed Labour member to the Simon Commission in 1927, but was obliged to resign on account of his health.

20. **Ferdinand Foch**, Marshal of France, and Field-Marshal in the British Army, born in 1851, came of a Catholic Gascon family, and was educated at the Jesuit school of St. Etienne and the Jesuit College of St. Clement at Metz (1869). In 1871, having meanwhile enlisted for the Franco-German War, he went to the Polytechnique and then to the Artillery School at Fontainebleau. In 1874 he was posted to the 24th Regiment of Artillery, being transferred four years later to the 10th Regiment at Rennes. In 1887 he passed out of the Ecole de Guerre, returning there in 1895 as instructor in strategy until 1900. In 1903 he published his military opinions (largely based on Napoleonic conceptions) in "Des Principes de la Guerre: La Manœuvre pour la Bataille." In 1907 he was Commandant of the Ecole de Guerre until 1911, when he was appointed to command the 20th Corps at Nancy. In August, 1914, he was put in command of the 9th Army, posted in the French centre. After the Marne victory he received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour and was delegated to co-ordinate the defence of the Yser and the Ypres salient. With the fall of Joffre in 1916 he was relieved

of his command of the Northern Armies, but in 1917, on the appointment of Pétain as Commander-in-Chief of the French Armies, he became Chief of the Staff and technical adviser of the French Government in military matters; after the disaster of Caporetto in the same year he went as military adviser to the Italian Higher Command. He was then made President of the Inter-allied Executive War Board at Versailles, and in 1918 he was given the title of General-in-Chief of the Allied Armies in France. He planned the great Allied defensive which finally broke the enemy's morale. After the Armistice, as chief military adviser to the delegates of the Peace Conference at Paris, he did his utmost to obtain for France a frontier on the Rhine. In 1918 he was awarded the O.M., and in 1919 he was made a British Field-Marshal with Sir Henry Wilson. In 1883 he married Mlle. Bienvenue. Two daughters survived him.

23. General Sarraill, the well-known French political soldier, was born in 1856. Leaving St. Cyr in 1875, he served in the 4th Batt. of Chasseurs à Pied in Algeria, became Captain in 1895 and Chef de Bataillon two years later. He commanded the Infantry School of Saint-Maxent, and in 1905 he was Colonel-in-Command of the 39th Infantry Regiment. He had command of a brigade in 1908, and of a division in 1911. He was an extreme Radical, a free thinker, and a freemason. Soon after the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 he was appointed to command the 3rd Army, and it fell to him to organise the French retreat to Verdun. In 1915 he was deprived of his command owing to differences with the French Higher Command, but was given command of the French troops in Salonika, until his removal in 1917. In 1918 he was placed on the reserve, and wrote a book of his experiences entitled "Mon Commandement en Orient (1916-18)." In 1924, on the accession of M. Heriot to power, he was appointed High Commissioner in Syria, where the anti-clericalism permeating his administration led to his recall in 1925. He was awarded the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour and created hon. G.C.M.G. in recognition of his services in Salonika.

— **Vice-Admiral John William Leopold McClintock, C.B., D.S.O.**, aged 54, President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was the son of the late Admiral Sir Leopold McClintock, K.C.B., Arctic explorer. At the age of 13 he became a cadet in the *Britannia*, and from then onwards he gained naval experience in West Indian and China waters, especially in the sphere of gunnery. In 1902 he was appointed first and gunnery lieutenant of the battleship *Jupiter* in the Channel, and was promoted Commander in 1905. His next appointment was in 1907 to the *Euryalus*; two years later he became Flag-Commander to Vice-Admiral Sir George Neville, commanding the Third and Fourth Divisions, Home Fleet. In 1912 he was promoted Captain, and became Assistant-Director of the Mobilisation Division of the Admiralty War Staff. On the outbreak of war in 1914 he was serving on H.M.S. *Nelson* as Flag-Captain to Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Burney, and after helping to protect the transport of the Expeditionary Force to France, he was sent to the Dardanelles, where he received the D.S.O. He subsequently became Flag-Captain to Admiral Robeck, accompanying him to the *King George V*. In 1919 he was created C.B. and became Director of the Gunnery and Torpedo Division at the Admiralty. Two years later he became Commodore of the Naval Barracks, Portsmouth. In 1923, having been promoted Rear-Admiral, he became Director of Naval Mobilisation of the Admiralty War Staff. In 1925 he commanded the Third Cruiser Squadron, in the Mediterranean, on H.M.S. *Cardiff*. Two years later he was promoted Vice-Admiral, and in 1928 was selected President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, and Admiral Commanding the War College. In 1920 he married the Hon. Rose Anne Mary O'Neill, a daughter of the 2nd Lord O'Neill. They had one son and two daughters.

24. Professor John MacCunn, aged 82, at one time Professor of Philosophy at University College, Liverpool, was the son of a Glasgow shipowner, and was educated at Greenock Academy, Glasgow University, and Balliol College, Oxford.

After graduating (in 1876) he spent four years in private tuition; in 1881 he was appointed Professor of Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Political Economy at University College, Liverpool, a post he held until 1911. His best-known literary work is "The Making of Character," published in 1900; he also produced "The Ethics of Citizenship," "Six Radical Thinkers," "The Ethics of Social Work," and "The Political Philosophy of Burke." He married Florence, daughter of Professor Sellar of Edinburgh University, who, with a son and a daughter, survived him.

28. **Sir Lomer Gouin**, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, born in 1861, was educated at Sorel College, Lévis College, and Laval University, and called to the Bar of Quebec in 1884. Associated during his career with Abbott, Laflamme, Mercier, and Laurier, he was as distinguished in his profession as he was in the councils of the Liberal Party. In 1897 he was returned to the Quebec Legislature, remaining there till 1921. From 1900 to 1904 he was Commissioner of Public Works; in 1905 he became Premier of Quebec, and did much to develop the resources of the province. In 1910 he was elected Batonnier-General of the Bar of Quebec. In 1920 he resigned the Premiership and his seat in the Assembly, and went to the Legislative Council, but in the following year he was elected to the Federal Parliament, and later in the year appointed Minister of Justice. In 1924 he resigned on account of ill-health; a few years later he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. He was a Director of the Bank of Montreal (1920), of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank, and of the Royal Trust Co. In 1908 he was knighted, receiving the K.C.M.G. five years later. In 1920 he was elected President of the University of Montreal. He married first the daughter of Honoré Mercier, who died in 1904, and secondly a daughter of the late Augustus Amos. He had two sons.

— **Dr. Frederick Bretherton Meyer**, aged 81, eminent Baptist pastor, was educated at Brighton College, and after three years in a City business office, entered the Baptist College in Regent's Park to qualify for the Ministry. In 1870 he became assistant minister to the Rev. Charles Birrell at Liverpool, two years later he was minister at York, and in 1874 began his long career at Leicester. It was through his efforts there that the Melbourne Hall was erected. After being drawn into the orbit of the Moody evangelicals, he became minister of Regent's Park Chapel in 1888, and in 1892 he was also Minister of Christchurch, Westminster Bridge Road, remaining there for seventeen years. In 1904, and again in 1920, he was President of the National Federation of Free Churches, and in 1906 President of the Baptist Union. His wife predeceased him by some weeks.

30. **Lord Montagu of Beaulieu** (John Walter Edward Douglas Scott Montagu), aged 62, pioneer of motoring, was the son of Lord Henry Scott Montagu, and grandson of the 5th Duke of Buccleuch. He was educated at Eton and New College, Oxford, and then received a mechanical training in the shops of the L. and S.W. Railway. After a period of travel, he entered Parliament in 1892 as Conservative member for the New Forest Division of Hants, retaining his seat till he succeeded to the title in 1895. He was an early member of the R.A.C., and later Vice-President thereof, and was keenly interested in the future of the motor industry from its earliest days. He founded and edited *The Car Illustrated*, and took King Edward VII. on his first motor drive. From 1909 to 1919 he was a member of the Road Board; he was also associated with the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, the Institution of Civil Engineers, and the Institute of Transport. At the outbreak of the Great War he went out to India with the 7th Batt. Hants Regiment, and in 1915 was appointed Adviser on Mechanical Transport Services to the Government of India. In 1916 he was made C.S.I., and in 1919 C.I.E. Aviation, too, claimed his interest. He was twice married; first, to Lady Cecil, daughter of the 9th Lord Lothian, who died in 1919, leaving two daughters to survive him; and secondly, in 1920, to Pearl, daughter of Major E. B. Crake, who survived him with one son and three daughters.

31. Myron T. Herrick, aged 74, American Ambassador in Paris, came of English stock which had emigrated in the seventeenth century. After a law course in Cleveland City, he was admitted to the Bar there in 1878, and soon gained a large practice. In 1874 he became President of the Society of Savings in Cleveland, and in 1901 of the American Bankers' Association. In 1903 he was elected as a Republican to the Governorship of Ohio, but after a year withdrew from active political life. In 1912 he went as Ambassador to Paris, where he remained until 1915, refusing to retreat with the French Government to Bordeaux when the Germans drew near Paris. He was given the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. In 1921 he was again appointed Ambassador to France, and did much to maintain cordial relations between the two countries. In 1880 he married Miss Caroline M. Parmely, who died in 1918, leaving one son.

— **Sir George Handley Knibbs**, Australian statistician and economist, was born in 1858. After working on the staff of the Trigonometrical and General Survey of New South Wales from 1877 to 1889, and acting for four years as President of the New South Wales Institution of Surveyors, he became an independent lecturer in the engineering department in Sydney University till 1906. He was also Acting Professor of Physics in 1905, and Director of Technical Education in New South Wales in 1905-6. In 1906 he became Commonwealth statistician, holding the post until 1921; from 1921 to 1926 he was Director of the Institute of Science and Industry, and President of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science from 1923 to 1924. In 1897-98 he was President of the New South Wales section of the British Astronomical Association, and in 1898-99 he was President of the Royal Society of New South Wales; from 1902 to 1906 Royal Commissioner on all branches of education for New South Wales; from 1914 to 1915 he was Commissioner for Trade and Industry during the war, and in 1915 he was made Consulting Member of the Committee for Munitions of War. From 1918 to 1919 he was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Taxation of Crown Leaseholds. In 1920 he represented the Australian Government at the Imperial Conference of Statisticians in London. He was Vice-President of the Pan-Pacific Conference in 1923. In 1911 he was created C.M.G., receiving his knighthood in 1923. He was the author of the poems "Voices of the North" and "Echoes of Hellas" as well as of various scientific monographs.

APRIL.

1. James Brander Matthews, Professor of Dramatic Literature in Columbia University, who came of an old New England family, was born in 1852. He was educated at New York, and passing through the Law School of Columbia College, he entered his father's office. Owing to family reverses he adopted the profession of journalism at the age of 25, and was a frequent contributor to numerous New York papers. His aspirations towards dramatic literature found vent in various plays, of which "A Gold Mine" (1887) was the best. In 1881 he published his "French Dramatists of the Nineteenth Century," a pioneer work of modern dramatic criticism in the English language. In 1891 he became lecturer in English at Columbia University, and in the following year Professor of Literature. In 1900 he was made Professor of Dramatic Literature, retaining the post till 1924. Other important works of his were "Studies of the Stage" (1894), "The Development of Drama" (1903), "A Study of the Drama" (1910), "A Book about the Theatre" (1916), "The Principles of Playmaking" (1923). In 1910 he published a "Life of Molière," and in 1913 "Shakespeare as a Playwright." At the age of 66 he wrote his Autobiography, "These Many Years." He was a member of the Savile Club and the Athenæum; was appointed to the Legion of Honour in 1907, and promoted officer in 1922. He was a Litt.D. of Yale and LL.D. of Columbia, Chancellor of the American Academy of Arts and Letters for two years, and President of the Modern Language Association of America. In 1873 he married Ada Smith, of London.

5. **The Rev. H. B. Gray, D.D.**, aged 77, Head Master of Bradfield College, was the son of Thomas Gray of St. Peter's, Isle of Thanet. After being educated at Winchester and Queen's College, Oxford, and serving as Assistant Master at Westminster, he was appointed Head Master of Louth Grammar School until 1880, when he became Head Master of Bradfield College. Finding the school with fifty boys and on the verge of bankruptcy, he assumed the Wardenship as well, and when he retired thirteen years later the school numbered over 300 pupils. In 1888 he initiated the Greek play which became a feature of the school. In 1890 "Antigone" was produced, in 1892 "The Agamemnon," and in 1895 the "Alcestis." His views on public schools are embodied in "The Public Schools and the Empire" (1913), "Eclipse or Empire" (1916), and "Industrial Education in America" (1917). In 1918 he was given the benefice of St. Mary, Bury St. Edmunds, exchanging it in 1926 for a living at Lynton, Devonshire. In 1882 he married a daughter of the Rev. W. Marriott of Eton College. Two sons survived him.

— **Cardinal Francis Aidan Gasquet**, aged 82, historical scholar, was the son of Dr. Raymond Gasquet, a London physician. He was educated at the Benedictine Priory, Downside, and in his nineteenth year entered the novitiate at Belmont. Six years later he returned to Downside, and having been ordained priest in 1874, was elected Prior of the Monastery at Downside in 1878. After seven years' progressive rule he resigned for reasons of health, and devoted himself to historical research. In 1888 he published his "Henry VIII. and the Suppression of the English Monasteries." Other works of his were "The Great Pestilence of 1349," "The Old English Bible," "Parish Life in Mediæval England," "English Monastic Life," "Henry VIII. and the Church," "The Eve of the Reformation," "What England Owes to the Old Religion," "The Last Abbot of Glastonbury," "Cardinal Pole and his English Friends," and "Greater Abbeys of England." One of his most notable publications, in collaboration with Mr. Edmund Bishop, was "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer"; he also annotated Cobbett's "History of the Reformation," Montalembert's "Monks of the West," Codex Vercellensis, and Lord Acton's letters. In 1895 he was called to Rome as adviser to the Pope on the prospects of an Anglo-Catholic re-union. In the following year he became a member of the Pontifical Commission inquiring into the question of Anglican orders. In 1900 Pope Leo XIII. created him Abbot-President of the English Benedictine Congregation and made Downside an Abbey; Gasquet then promoted the foundation of a Benedictine house of studies at Cambridge. Pope Pius XI. made him President of a commission for emending the text of the Vulgate, and in 1914 created him a Cardinal. In 1918 he was Prefect of the Vatican Archives. In 1922 appeared his "Monastic Life in the Middle Ages, with a Note on Great Britain and the Holy See, 1792-1806."

7. **Sir Henry Rew**, aged 70, authority on agricultural economics and statistics, was the son of the Rev. Robert Rew. In 1890 he was appointed Secretary of the Central Chamber of Agriculture and the Local Taxation Committee, and four years later became an Assistant Commissioner of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. In 1898 he entered the Civil Service, being appointed to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, of which he became Assistant Secretary in 1906. Here he concerned himself chiefly with statistics and the national food supplies; in 1916 he was appointed Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Food. From 1914 to 1916 he was Chairman of the Grain Supplies Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Indian Wheat Committee (1915); Chairman of the Allies Wheat Purchasing Committee (1915-16), and Secretary of the Restriction of Enemy Supplies Department (1916). From 1902 to 1920 he was Honorary Secretary of the Royal Statistical Society, holding the Presidency from 1920 to 1922. From 1913 he was Chairman of the Industrial Statistical Institute. In 1915 he was President of the Agricultural Section of the British Association, President of the Agricultural Club, 1918-21, and Chairman of the Farmers' Club, 1921. He was also a member of the Royal Commission on Food Prices, 1924-25, and President of the Agricultural

Economic Society, 1927-29. His publications included "The Economic Resources of Canada," "A Primer of Agricultural Economics," and "The Story of the Agricultural Club." In 1912 he was made C.B., and in 1916 K.C.B. In 1883 he married Ellen Septima Sadler, and had two sons.

7. **Sir Anthony Alfred Bowlby, Bt.**, aged 73, eminent surgeon, was a son of Mr. Thos. William Bowlby. Educated at Durham School and St. Bartholomew's Hospital, he was admitted M.R.C.S. Eng. in 1879, and elected a Fellow two years later. In 1882 he gained the Jacksonian, and in 1886 the Astley Cooper prize, and in 1889 published a work on "Injuries and Diseases of the Nerves and Their Surgical Treatment." He was associated with St. Bartholomew's Hospital early in his career, and the association continued until 1920, when he resigned the position of Surgeon to the hospital. In 1899 he was appointed Senior Surgeon of the Portland Hospital at the Cape, publishing his experiences in 1901 in "A Civil War Hospital." He was mentioned in despatches and created C.M.G. In 1904 he was appointed Surgeon to the Household of King Edward VII., and in 1910 was gazetted Surgeon-in-Ordinary to King George V. In the following year he was knighted. In 1914 he was made Advising Consulting Surgeon to H.M. Forces. Honours came thick upon him. In 1915 he was promoted K.C.M.G.; in 1916 K.C.V.O.; in 1918 C.B.; and in 1919 K.C.B. After the war he was elected President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and in 1923 was created a baronet. In 1898 he married Maria Bridget, daughter of Canon the Honourable Hugh Wynne Mostyn. He had three sons and three daughters.

12. **Mrs. Flora Annie Steel**, aged 82, the novelist of India, was a daughter of George Webster, Sheriff-Clerk of Forfarshire. Early in life she went out to India as provincial inspectress of Government and State-aided schools in the Punjab, and was a member of the educational committee. In 1884 she published her first book, "Wide-a-wake Stories," and three years later came her "Complete Indian Cook and Housekeeper." Returning to England in 1889, she published "From the Five Rivers" (1893), "The Potter's Thumb" and "Tales from the Punjab" (1894), and two years later made some stir with "On the Face of the Waters." In 1908 she published a short history of "India Through the Ages" and "A Prince of Dreamers." "Knight Errant" appeared in 1912, and in 1923 her studies of religion and mysticism found expression in "A Tale of Indian Heroes." In later years she joined the Woman Suffrage movement. At the age of 20 she married Mr. Steel, a Civil Servant in Bengal.

16. **Joseph Havelock Wilson**, aged 70, President of the National Sailors and Firemen's Union, ran away to sea at the age of 12, and began his career as an agitator and organiser at the age of 24. He was one of two persons to attend the inaugural meeting of the Seamen's Union in 1888, and under his energy the Union grew quickly. In 1892 he was elected as Labour member for Middlesbrough, was re-elected in 1895, but defeated in 1900. In 1906 he regained the seat, and held it till 1910. In 1918 he was returned unopposed as a Coalition candidate for South Shields, and in the following year easily defeated his Labour opponent. But in 1922, as a National Liberal candidate, he was defeated in the same constituency. A long struggle between the Seamen's Union and the Shipping Federation led finally to the recognition of the former by the latter, and the story is told in his autobiography, "My Stormy Voyage Through Life." During the Great War he led the Seamen's movement to boycott Germany, and to secure the co-operation of landsmen "The Merchant Seamen's League" was formed, with Wilson as its Secretary. During the General Strike of 1926 he opposed Mr. J. H. Thomas and Mr. Robert Smillie, standing firm as a constitutionalist. For his recruiting services he was awarded the C.B.E.; he was also a Companion of Honour (1922). He married Jane Ann Walters of S. Shields.

17. **Sir Clifford Sifton**, aged 68, Canadian statesman, was the son of John W. Sifton, distinguished citizen of Winnipeg. He was called to the Bar in 1882 and began to practise in Brandon, Manitoba. He was soon returned to the Provincial House of Legislature as member for Brandon; thirteen years later he became Attorney-General of Manitoba, and Minister of Education. He held both offices until 1896, when he became Minister of the Interior in the Canadian Cabinet under Laurier. In 1903 he was Agent for the British Government at the Alaska Boundary Tribunal. He resigned office in 1905, and in 1909 he was Chairman of the Commission for the Conservation of National Resources of the Dominions. In 1911 he opposed his Liberal colleagues on the question of a reciprocal trade agreement with the U.S.A. In 1915 he was made K.C.M.G. For several years he owned the *Manitoba Free Press*. He married Elizabeth Arma, daughter of H. T. Burrows, who died in 1925, and had two sons.

19. **Lord Revelstoke** (John Baring), aged 65, well-known banker, the son of the first Lord Revelstoke and nephew of the first Lord Cromer, came of a brilliant family. He went to Eton in 1876 and to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1883, but left without taking his degree in order to travel. He entered the banking house of Baring Bros., becoming a junior partner in 1890. In 1897 he succeeded to the title, and under his guidance in a few years Baring Bros., Ltd., rose to a position of great influence in the City of London. In 1902 he was created a Privy Councillor; made a member of the Council of the Prince of Wales in 1907; Receiver-General of the Duchy of Cornwall in 1908, and G.C.V.O. in 1911. In 1926 he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Middlesex. At the beginning of 1929 he resigned his partnership in Baring Bros. & Co., Ltd., and his directorship in the Bank of England in order to act with Sir Josiah Stamp on the Committee of Experts to settle the Reparation problem. While engaged in this work in Paris he died suddenly. It was he who gave shape to the idea of an International Bank. He was unmarried.

29. **Lord (George) Younger**, head of the Conservative Party organisation, and eldest son of James Younger of Alloa, was born in 1851. After being educated at Edinburgh Academy and University, he took charge of the family brewery on the death of his father. He was a director of Lloyds Bank, the National Bank of Scotland, and the North British and Mercantile Insurance Co. In 1896 he was a member of the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws, was President of the County Council Association of Scotland from 1902 to 1904, and Convener of Clackmannan from 1895 to 1906. In 1906 he sat as a Unionist for the Ayr Burghs, retaining the seat until 1922. He first came into political prominence as an opponent of Mr. Lloyd George's Budget of 1910-11. Six years later he was invited by Mr. Bonar Law to become Chairman of the Unionist Party organisation. In 1918 he devised the coupon election scheme by which the Unionists comprised a large majority in a Coalition Government with Mr. Lloyd George at its head. After seeing his party through the General Election of 1922 he resigned office, and was created Viscount Younger of Leckie in the following year. In 1899 he married Lucy, daughter of Dr. Edward Smith, F.R.S., who died in 1921. Of his three sons, one survived him.

MAY.

2. **Sir George Geoffrey Gilbert Butler**, aged 41, Conservative M.P. for Cambridge University, was the ninth son of Mr. Spencer Perceval Butler, and nephew of Dr. Butler, Master of Trinity. He was educated at Clifton and after a brilliant academic career at Trinity College, Cambridge, he was elected a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, in 1910, of which he later became Librarian (1912-25). Early in the Great War he worked in the News Department of the Foreign Office and in 1917 accompanied the Balfour Mission to the United States. In

1923 he was elected one of the burgesses for Cambridge University and devoted much of his time to the formation of the Conservative Association. He was also interested in the R.A.F., and organised a University squadron. He was a member of Lord Donoghue's Commission reporting on the Government of Ceylon. In 1928 he was made President of Corpus Christi College. Amongst his published works were "The Tory Tradition" (four lectures given at Pennsylvania University) and a more substantial work, "The Development of International War." In 1916 he married Miss Elizabeth Levering Jones of Philadelphia.

9. **Mrs. Kate Perugini**, aged 90, painter, was the daughter of Charles Dickens. She studied art at Bedford College, London, and in 1860 married Charles Auston Collins. In 1875, two years after his death, she married Carlo Perugini and took to art as a profession. Two of her pictures, "Brother and Sister" (Florence and Paul Dombey) and "Little Nell," were inspired by her father's work. These were exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1883 and 1885 respectively. Her husband died in 1918 and her one child in infancy. She wrote a great deal, but published little except an anthology of her father's humour.

20. **Lord Rosebery (Archibald Philip Primrose)**, aged 82, Liberal statesman, orator and writer, was the 5th Earl. His father was Lord Dalmeny and his mother Catherine Stanhope. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford (1886), which he left in 1868 without graduating, in order to take his seat in the House of Lords. At the opening of Parliament in 1871 he was invited by Gladstone to second the Address in the House of Lords; two years later he won distinction by moving for a Royal Commission on horse-breeding. In 1881 he became Under-Secretary to the Home Department, but resigned soon afterwards and entered the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal and First Commissioner of Works. In 1883-84 he embarked on a world tour which helped to shape his views on Liberal Imperialism. In 1885 Gladstone appointed him Foreign Secretary, and he took a leading part in the international crisis precipitated by the attitude of Greece over against Turkey. On the Ministry's defeat on the Home Rule Bill he went on tour to India, and after the Local Government Act of 1888 he was the first Chairman of the London County Council before returning to office in 1892. He again became Foreign Secretary and pursued a successful policy in Egypt, Uganda, and against the French pretensions in Siam. In 1894 he succeeded Gladstone as Prime Minister, but his Ministry only lasted fifteen months. He remained leader of the Liberal Party until 1898 when he withdrew on a difference with Gladstone as to active interference in America. In 1901 he made a remarkable speech urging acceptance of peace overtures in South America. Differences with the Liberal Party caused him gradually to withdraw from politics and party life. In 1911 he received three coronation peerages, adding the titles of Earl of Midlothian, Viscount Mentmore, and Baron Epsom. In 1921 he published "Miscellanies: Literary and Historical." He was well known on the Turf, his horse Ladas winning the Derby in 1894, Sir Visto in 1895, and Cicero in 1905. He was a member of the Jockey Club since 1870. In 1878 Lord Rosebery married Hannah, only child of Baron Meyer Rothschild. She died in 1890, leaving four children, of whom the eldest, a son, and two daughters survived him, the second son having died of wounds in Palestine in 1917.

21. **Professor Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani**, aged 83, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy and at one time Professor of Roman Topography in the University of Rome, was educated at the Jesuit Collegio Romano and at the University of Rome. Adopting an archæological career in 1872 he became Secretary of the Municipal Archæological Commission, and in 1876 he became assistant director of the Museo Kircheriano, being placed, in the following year, in charge of the excavations in the City of Rome. In 1878 he was made Professor of Roman Topography in the University of Rome, and in 1888 he published "Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries." This was followed ten years later by "The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome." His other important works

were "Forma Urbis Romæ" and "Storia degli Scavi di Roma." He retired from Government service in 1890. In 1910 he became a member of the Royal Commission for the Zona Monumentale. He received numerous honorary degrees from European Universities, was a Ph.D. of Rome, Gold Medallist and Fellow of the F.R.I.B.A., and hon. F.S.A. Taking to politics in his later years he became a member of the Communal Council and acted as Vice Syndic during the war, resigning in 1920. He was created K.C.V.O. in 1923; four years later he resigned his professorship. He was twice married; in 1875 to Mary Ellen Rhodes by whom he had one daughter, and in 1920 to Donna Teresa Caracciolo, Duchess of San Teodoro.

26. **Jacques Seydoux**, prominent figure in French diplomacy, was born in 1870. He began his career as Attaché at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and before the war he was Counsellor at the French Embassy at Berlin. His final appointment at the Quai d'Orsay was as Director of Political and Commercial Affairs. In 1924 he accompanied the French delegates to London to settle details of the Dawes Plan. He played an important part in the Reparations settlements, and was responsible for the "Seydoux Plan" drawn up in 1920. He retired from the Diplomatic Service in 1926 and became Director of the Banque de Paris et de Pays Bas. He continued to exercise diplomatic influence as a journalist, some of his most brilliant articles being contributed to *Le Petit Parisien* and occasionally to *The Times*.

— **George Lewis Denman**, aged 75, Metropolitan Police Magistrate, was a grandson of the first Lord Denman. Educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1877, and appointed registrar to the Commission for the trial of municipal election petitions. He was also clerk of assize on the S.E. circuit. From 1882 to 1885 he was Recorder of Queenborough, and after working as a revising barrister he was made a Metropolitan Police Magistrate in 1890. His name is mainly associated with the Marlborough Street Court where he sat from 1900 to 1922. In 1921 he married Mary Forbes, widow of Mr. J. F. Corbett. She died in 1921.

28. **Mrs. J. R. Green**, aged 85, widow of the historian, John Richard Green, and herself a distinguished writer of history, was the daughter of the Ven. Edward A. Stopford, Archdeacon of Meath. She collaborated with her husband in "A Short Geography of the British Isles," and when he died in 1883 she completed and issued his unfinished "Conquest of England," and published a revised edition of the "Short History of the English People." She belonged to a brilliant literary circle, which included among others, Gladstone, Tennyson, Bishop Creighton, Florence Nightingale, and Lord Haldane. On the establishment of the Irish Free State she was nominated a member of the Senate. Amongst her own publications may be mentioned a volume of Henry II. in the English Statesmen Series, "Town Life in the Fifteenth Century" (1908), and various works on Ireland, *e.g.*, "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing" (1908), "Loyalty and Disloyalty: What it means in Ireland" (1918), "The Government of Ireland" (1921), and "Studies from Irish History" (1926). In 1913 she was made Litt.D. of Liverpool University.

JUNE.

5. **Sir Cecil Burney, Bt.**, aged 71, Admiral of the Fleet, was the son of Captain Charles Burney, C.B. He was at one time Captain of the *Lion*, training ship at Devonport. In 1882 as lieutenant in the *Carysfort* he fought against Arabi Pasha; a year later he was present in the campaign against Osman Digna round Suakin; and he accompanied Sir Charles Warren on his punitive mission

in the Arabian desert. He was naval A.D.C. to King Edward VII. from 1906 to 1907. From 1909 to 1910 he was rear-admiral in the Plymouth subdivision of the Home Fleet, and a year later he was in command of the Fifth Cruiser Squadron before becoming vice-admiral in command of the Atlantic Fleet. In 1912 he was transferred to the command of the Third Battle Squadron of the Home Fleet, and was sent as Senior Naval Officer to the Albanian coast with an international force to settle Balkan and maritime difficulties. He was promoted from K.C.B. to K.C.M.G. for his services at Scutari. On his return in 1913 he became vice-admiral commanding the second and third fleets, and at the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, after mobilising these fleets, he became second-in-command of the Grand Fleet, flagship *Marlborough*. After the Battle of Jutland he was created G.C.M.G. In 1917 he accompanied Lord Jellicoe to the Admiralty as Second Sea Lord, and later became Commander-in-Chief on the coast of Scotland. In 1919 he was commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, but after a year he was obliged to relinquish this post on account of ill-health. In 1920 he was promoted Admiral of the Fleet; in 1921 he was created baronet, and in 1922, G.C.B. In 1884 he married Lucinda Marion, daughter of Mr. G. R. Burnett, and had two daughters and a son who survived him.

6. **Richard Reti**, chess-master, was born in 1889 in Czechoslovakia, and studied mathematics and physics at Vienna University. He was reckoned as one of the strongest chess-players in the world. His theories are embodied in a book called "Modern Ideas in Chess," published in 1923. In 1920 he won the first prize in the Gothenburg Tournament, and in 1924 he won against Capablanca in the New York Tournament. In the Chess Annual of 1926 he occupies ninth place in the percentage record.

8. **William Bliss Carman**, aged 69, Canadian poet, was the son of George Frederick Bliss, and on his mother's side was related to Ralph Waldo Emerson. Educated at the Collegiate School at Frederickton, New Brunswick, the New Brunswick, Edinburgh, and Harvard Universities, he was for two years (1890-92) office editor of the *New York Independent*. His first volume of verse, "Low Tide on Grand Pré," appeared in 1893; in the following year he produced "Songs from Vagabondia" (with the late Richard Hovey); and in 1896 "More Songs from Vagabondia." Others of his poems were "Behind the Arras," "Ballads of Lost Haven," and "By the Aurelian Wall." He also edited "The Oxford Book of American Verse." His philosophy of life is contained in his prose work "The Kinship of Nature." In 1928 he was awarded the Lorne Pierce medal of the Royal Society of Canada.

11. **Count Julius Andrássy**, Hungarian statesman, was the son of the patriot of that name who was Foreign Minister of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy from 1871 to 1879. Born in 1860, he was educated at the school of the Piarist Fathers at Budapest and Vienna University. He subsequently entered upon a diplomatic career, serving as attaché at Berlin and Constantinople. In 1885, supported by the Young Liberals, he was elected a Deputy; in 1892 he was appointed Minister of the Interior, and two years later Minister to the Royal Court. Resigning in 1895 he was made a Privy Councillor. As leader of the Constitutional Party he negotiated for the Kossuth Party with the Crown in 1905. From 1906 to 1909 he was Minister of the Interior to the Coalition Ministry, on the collapse of which in 1909 he refused to join the Khuen Hedervay Government but dissolved the Constitutional Party. On the outbreak of the Great War he supported the Ministry of Stephen Tisza, his old opponent, and in 1915 he was sent to Berlin to discuss the Polish question and the relation of the Central Powers to the U.S.A. In 1918 he became Minister for Foreign Affairs, and attempted to make a separate peace through President Wilson. He retired on the disruption of the Monarchy; in 1920 he was elected to the Hungarian National Assembly and became leader of the Christian National Party. In 1921 he was captured with the Emperor

Charles and imprisoned for some months. In the following year he was returned to the National Assembly as a Legitimist Deputy. He was a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; he was the author of "The Austro-Hungarian Arrangement of 1867" and of "Reasons for the Conservation of the Hungarian State." In 1920 appeared his most important work, "Diplomacy and the World War."

15. **Llewellyn Archer Atherley-Jones**, Judge of the Mayor's and City of London Court, was born in 1848, the son of Ernest Jones, Chartist barrister. He was educated at the Manchester Grammar School and Brasenose College, Oxford, and in 1875 was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. In 1885 he became Liberal candidate for N.W. Durham, representing that constituency in the House of Commons continuously till 1914. In 1887 his motion on the Cass case caused the Government's defeat. He took silk in 1896; in 1905 he was appointed Recorder of Newcastle-on-Tyne. In 1906 he was one of the Counsels in the *Denaby and Cadeby Main Collieries, Ltd. v. the Yorkshire Miners' Association*. In 1908 he appeared for the defence in the Druce perjury prosecution. In 1914 he was appointed Judge of the City of London Court, retiring from Parliament. He was also Commissioner of the Central Criminal Court. Among his numerous publications were "The Miner's Manual," "The Miner's Handbook to the Coal Mines Regulations Act," "Commerce in War" and "A Treatise on International Law." In 1925 he published his reminiscences. In 1876 he married a daughter of Mr. J. Lambert. One son survived him.

16. **Julius Parnell Gilson**, Keeper of the Manuscripts and Egerton Librarian at the British Museum, was born in 1868. He was educated at Haileybury and Trinity College, Cambridge, and was appointed assistant in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum in 1894. He was promoted Assistant Keeper in 1909 and Keeper in 1912. He was joint editor of the "Catalogue of Royal and King's MSS. in the British Museum," published by the Trustees in 1921, and also of the "New Palæographical Society's Facsimiles" begun in 1903. Other publications in his name were an edition of the Mozarabic Psalter for the Henry Bradshaw Society and of the Burke-Windham Correspondence for the Roxburghe Club; also a "Students' Guide to the MSS. in the British Museum," in the S.P.C.K. series of "Helps for Students of History." In 1925 he issued a private account of the Saxon Gospels in York Minster Library. His last work was a reproduction of the Exultet Roll in the British Museum.

17. **Sir Maurice Low**, aged 69, chief *Morning Post* correspondent in the United States, was educated at King's College School. He went to America in early manhood, and transferring his interest from architecture to politics he became the Washington correspondent of a Boston daily paper, and later received the appointment of Washington Correspondent to the *Morning Post*. His aim was to improve the Anglo-American Entente, and during the Great War he applied himself to explaining the Allied cause to the American public. He received his knighthood in 1922. His "American People," in two volumes, is a study in national psychology.

— **General Bramwell Booth**, aged 73, head of the Salvation Army, was the son of William Booth and Catherine Mumford, founders of the Salvation Army. Educated at the City of London school, he remained his father's devoted assistant until in 1912 he himself became head and leader of the Salvation Army. He was a well-known organiser of evangelical campaigns, and took a prominent part with Mr. W. T. Stead in agitating for certain reforms in the Criminal Law. He was also well known as a writer, his chief works being "Battle Axes" and "Echoes and Memories." Towards the end of his life the Constitution of the Salvation Army was attacked, and at a meeting of the High Council General Booth was declared by a majority unfit to continue in his office. In 1929 he was

appointed a member of the Order of Companions of Honour. In 1882 he married Florence Eleanor Soper, who survived him with two sons and two daughters.

21. Professor Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, aged 64, Martin White Professor of Sociology in the University of London, was a son of the late Venerable Reginald Hobhouse, Archdeacon of Bodmin. After taking his degree from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he was elected a Fellow of Merton College (1887), returning later to Corpus Christi College as assistant tutor, and becoming Fellow in 1894. From 1897 to 1902 he was on the *Manchester Guardian* staff and afterwards on that of the *Tribune*. From 1903 to 1905 he was Secretary of the Free Trade Union. In 1896 he published his "Theory of Knowledge" and this was followed in 1901 by "Mind and Evolution" and in 1906 by "Morals in Evolution." In these he finds the key to evolution in "conditioned teleology." His greatest philosophical work, "Development and Purpose," appeared in 1913. Other works on ethics and sociology were "The Metaphysical Theory of the State" (1923), "The Rational Good" (1921), "Elements of Social Justice" (1922), and "Social Development" (1924). In 1891 he married Nora Halwen, who died in 1924. A son and two daughters survived him.

23. Rt. Hon. William Stevens Fielding, aged 80, Canadian Liberal Minister, entered the office of the Liberal organ, the *Halifax Chronicle*, at the age of 16. Nine years later he was an active leader of the Liberal Party in Halifax. In 1880 he became chief editor of the *Chronicle*, and two years later on the defeat of the Conservative administration refused the Premiership, but accepted a seat as Minister without Portfolio in the Cabinet formed by Mr. W. T. Pipes. In 1884 he resigned in order to devote his whole time to his editorial work, but later abandoned journalism to become Premier of Nova Scotia, a position which he held for twelve years. In 1886 he declared for withdrawal of Nova Scotia from the Canadian Confederation, but he was induced to abandon this policy. Ten years later he entered the Federal Cabinet under Laurier as Minister of Finance. It fell to him to announce the preference in favour of Great Britain urged by Sir Louis Davies four years previously. He established the Royal Mint at Ottawa; in 1902 he attended the Imperial Conference and the Coronation of King Edward VII. With Mr. W. Paterson he negotiated the Treaty of Reciprocity between the Dominions and the United States. At the outbreak of the Great War he refused to enter Borden's War Coalition Cabinet, but supported conscription and separated from Sir W. Laurier. In 1917 he was elected Unionist member for Shelburne and Queen's, but went over to the Liberal Opposition and renewed his allegiance to Laurier. In 1921 he again became Minister of Finance, and in 1922 he was a delegate to the Third Assembly of the League of Nations, a member of the Cattle Embargo Conference in London, and a plenipotentiary for negotiating the Franco-Canadian Commercial Convention. In 1923 he was sworn of the Imperial Privy Council. In 1876 he married Hester Rankine, who died in 1928 leaving one son and four daughters.

25. Dion Boucicault, aged 70, actor, manager, and producer, was the son of the Mid-Victorian actor and dramatist of that name. He was educated in England and Paris, and first appeared on the stage in New York in 1879. In 1885 he toured with his father in Australia, remaining there in partnership with Robert Brough. Ten years later he returned to London, and began a series of parts in comedies at the Criterion and other theatres. Two of his most successful parts were Sir William Gower in "Trelawney of the Wells" and Mr. Pim in "Mr. Pim Passes By." In 1913 he produced his father's comedy "London Assurance" before the King and Queen at St. James's Theatre in aid of King George's Pension Fund for Actors and Actresses. He toured extensively in America and Australia accompanied by his wife, Irene Vanburgh.

28. Edward Carpenter, aged 85, veteran Socialist poet, was the son of a retired naval officer. He was educated at Brighton and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and

came out tenth wrangler in 1868. Nominated to a clerical Fellowship, he took orders in the following year and became curate to F. D. Maurice at St. Edward's. His association with thinkers such as W. K. Clifford and Charles Dilke led to his abandoning both Fellowship and orders to accept an appointment as a University Extension Lecturer. In 1883 he established himself in Derbyshire to live the working man's life, and published a remarkable poem "Towards Democracy." A few years later came its prose counterpart, "Civilisation: its Cause and Cure." His strain of oriental self-introspection was expressed more fully in parts of "From Adam's Peak to Elephanta."

JULY.

8. **Sir George Lillie Craik, Bt.**, aged 54, well-known through his association with the Commonwealth Trust, was the son of the late Sir Henry Craik, M.P. He was educated at Summerfields School, Eton, and New College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar in 1899, but after serving in the C.I.V. during the South African War he remained in the Transvaal as legal adviser to the Chamber of Mines. In 1909 he returned to England and in the following year he was appointed a Chief Constable in the Metropolitan Police. During the Great War he served as an officer of Lovat's Scouts in Egypt and Salonika, where he was wounded and won the M.C. In 1919 he became managing director of the Commonwealth Trust, of which he was at one time Chairman. In 1928 he married the only daughter of the late Mr. Alfred Lyttelton.

12. **Robert Henri**, aged 64, American painter, received his training at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (1886-88) and at Julien's and the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris (1888-91), becoming in due course a member of the Society of American Artists in 1903 and of the National Academy of Design in 1906. He represents a link between the older and younger generations of American artists. Amongst his pictures may be mentioned "La Neige" (in the Luxembourg Museum), "The Gypsy" (in the Metropolitan Museum, New York), "Girl with Fan" (in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts), "Young Woman in Black," reminiscent of Whistler, and "Himself and Herself" (both in the Chicago Art Institute). Studies and characteristic types were "Skipper Mick," "Brown-eyed Boy," "The Laughing Girl," and "The Irish Girl." In 1901 he was awarded the silver medal of the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, and in 1909 the gold medal of the Art Club of Philadelphia. He was twice married.

14. **Professor Hans Delbrück**, aged 80, eminent German historian, was the son of a jurist. He was educated at the Universities of Heidelberg and Bonn, fought as a reserve officer in the campaign of 1870-71, and from 1874 to 1879 was tutor to Prince Waldemar, third brother of the former Kaiser. In 1896 he was appointed Professor of History at the University of Berlin, and took over the control of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. His special field was military history, which he regarded as the basic fact of all history. His most widely known work is "The History of the Art of War." From the outbreak of the Great War he advocated a peace of understanding, was opposed to the policy of annexations, to the Pan-Germans and to unrestricted submarine warfare. An enemy of Ludendorff and von Tirpitz, his arguments against them were comprised in a book called "Ludendorff's Self Portrait." After the war he concentrated on the thesis of Germany's non-responsibility for the war. At the time of his death he was engaged on a "History of the World," four volumes of which had already appeared.

15. **Hugo von Hofmannsthal**, aged 55, eminent Austrian poet, dramatist and author, was of Jewish origin, and after studying law at Vienna University, turned to Romanic philology, in which he took his degree. Some of his earlier

works were dramatic poems such as "Gestern," "Die Sünde des Lebens," "Das Welttheater," and "Tor und Tod." He made his mark also as collaborator of Strauss, for eight of whose operas he supplied the libretto. These included "Der Rosenkavalier," "Elektra," "The Egyptian Helen," and "Ariadne auf Naxos." One of his last productions was "Der Abenteurer und die Sängerin" — a gorgeous picture of eighteenth-century Venice, remodelled from Casanova. In 1924 his mystery play, "The Great World Theatre," was produced at St. Edward's Church, Holbeck, Leeds. Competent opinion is agreed that Hofmannsthal made a number of permanent contributions to German literature.

17. Frederick St. George de Lautour Tucker (Commissioner Booth Tucker), aged 76, Salvation Army leader in India, was the son of Judge William Thornhill Tucker, I.C.S. He was educated at Cheltenham College, and entering the I.C.S., was sent in 1876 as assistant commissioner to the Punjab, where he spent much of his leisure time in encouraging missionary effort. In 1881 he resigned from the service to enter the Salvation Army and was put in charge of its first overseas field in India. After ten years' work there he came home to be Foreign Secretary at the London headquarters. In 1896 he was sent to control operations in the United States, returning after eight years to a second tenure of the Foreign Secretaryship. He was in the East again in 1907 as Special Commissioner for India and Ceylon, establishing a settlement for released prisoners and Indian criminal tribes. His methods are described in a book called "Criminology" and also in "Muktifanj, or Forty Years with the Salvation Army in India." In 1913 he was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal and in 1919 returned home to become Travelling Commissioner. During the controversy preceding the retirement of General Bramwell Booth, he openly endorsed the action of the seven requisitioning Commissioners in calling the High Council to consider the General's fitness to remain head of the Army. He married twice; first Emma Moss, second daughter of General Bramwell Booth, whose surname he then prefixed to his own; she died in 1903, and in 1906 he married Mary Lestock Reid. By his first wife he had three sons and three daughters.

— **Dr. John Nichol Farquhar**, aged 68, Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester, was the only son of George Farquhar, of Aberdeen. Educated at Aberdeen and Christ Church, Oxford, he went to Calcutta in 1891 as a member of the London Missionary Society and later joined the Y.M.C.A. He was thirty-two years in India, his main work being the presentation of Indian religious thought in order that the relation between the best Hinduism and Christianity should be understood. He published a "Primer of Hinduism" and also "The Crown of Hinduism." In 1915 there appeared "Modern Religious Movements in India," for which he was awarded the Oxford D.Litt. In 1920 he brought out his "Outline of the Religious Literature of India." He was also associated editorially with such series as "The Religious Quest of India," published by the Oxford University Press, and the Indian series "The Religious Life of India" and "The Heritage of India." In 1923 he left India, being appointed Professor of Comparative Religion at the University of Manchester.

20. Sir Baldwin Spencer, F.R.S., D.Sc., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of Biology in the University of Melbourne, was born in 1860. Educated at Owens College, Manchester, and Exeter College, Oxford, he was made a Fellow of Lincoln College, and later an hon. Fellow of Lincoln and of Exeter. From 1887 to 1919 he was Professor of Biology in the University of Melbourne. In 1894 he accompanied as zoologist a scientific expedition to Central Australia and there met the late Frank J. Gillen with whom he collaborated for over twenty years. The results of these expeditions were published in a series of scientific volumes, "Through Larapunta Land" (1896), "The Northern Tribes of Central Australasia" and "Across Australia" (1912), "The Native Tribes of the

Northern Territories of Australia," "The Arunta: A Study of a Stone Age People" (1927), and "Wanderings in Wild Australia" (1928). In 1924 he was made a C.M.G. and in 1916 K.C.M.G. He was married and left one daughter.

31. Sir Drummond Fraser, aged 62, a well-known banker, was the son of Mr. Murray Fraser, a Manchester banker, whose firm he entered on leaving school. On its absorption by the Midland Bank he joined the staff of the latter, and later took up a managerial post with the District Bank of Lancashire. He was a Fellow and Member of the Council of the Royal Statistical Society, a Vice-President of the Institute of Bankers and a member of the Board of Trade Food Prices Committee of 1916. To him was due the establishment and development of the Co-operative Holidays Association; in 1920 he received a knighthood in recognition of his public services. He organised the Ter Meulen plan for financing exports to the necessitous countries after the war, and for this purpose held a temporary post under the League of Nations. He endowed a lectureship in banking at Manchester University. In 1893 he married the daughter of a Dundee merchant. Their two sons were killed in the war and his wife died in 1927.

AUGUST.

5. Dame Millicent Garrett Fawcett, aged 82, pioneer in the movement for the political emancipation of women, was the daughter of Lewson Garrett. At the age of twenty she married Henry Fawcett, Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge. She worked with him there for the extension of University education to women, and co-operated with her sister, Dr. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and Mrs. Josephine Butler in their respective campaigns, but her own special sphere was that of women's political enfranchisement. On the outbreak of the South African War she abandoned the suffrage agitation and was chosen with her daughter to investigate the charges against the administration of the concentration camps for Boer Women and Children. She published various works on political economy, including "Political Economy for Beginners" (1870), "Tales in Political Economy" (1875), and, with her husband, "Essays and Lectures" (1872). After her husband's death there appeared from her pen a "Biography of Queen Victoria," "Some Eminent Women of Our Time" (1889), and "Five Famous Frenchwomen" (1906), and, in 1924, a volume of Reminiscences, "What I Remember," and an account of a visit to Palestine, "Easter in Palestine" (1926). Her two most important works were "Women's Suffrage; a Short History of a Great Movement" (1911), and "The Women's Victory, and After" (1919). In 1919 she retired from the Presidency of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and in 1925 was created Dame of the Order of the British Empire. Her one child, Philippa, survived her.

6. Professor Thorstein B. Veblen, aged 72, well known as an economist, graduated from Carleton College in 1880 and eventually held chairs in Political Economy, first at the University of Chicago and later at Leland Stanford University. For ten years he was managing editor of the *Journal of Political Economy*. As the author of "The Theory of the Leisured Class" he became famous all over the world.

9. Heinrich Zille, aged 71, well-known German sketcher and caricaturist, was brought up in poverty, his father being the oldest inhabitant of the Debtors' Prison in Berlin. Coming under the notice of Gaul Kraus and Liebermann, he exhibited some sketches at the first Black and White Exhibition of the Berlin Secessionist group. His sketches of Berlin street life were remarkable and became very popular; his best work was done in the *Simplicissimus*, *Ulk*, and similar humorous journals.

10. **Hugh Macnaghten**, aged 67, Vice-Provost of Eton College, was the son of the late Mr. Eliot Macnaghten of the I.C.S. After a brilliant school career he went up to Cambridge as Craven scholar to win further academic honours. Elected Fellow of Trinity, he returned to Eton in 1886 as assistant master. In 1920 he was elected Vice-Provost. Among his publications were some translations under the title "Ave Regina" and "Little Masterpieces from the Anthology," and his reminiscences in the volume "Fifty Years of Eton."

14. **Geoffrey Scott**, aged 46, author, was the son of Mr. Russell Scott and nephew of Mr. C. P. Scott, of the *Manchester Guardian*. Educated at Rugby and New College, Oxford, he became librarian and secretary to Mr. Bernhard Berenson, American writer on Italian Art. Later he practised as an architect in Florence, and there wrote his "Architecture of Humanism," a brilliant study of the Italian Renaissance. In 1925 he published a volume of poems, "A Box of Paints," and also his "Portrait of Zélide."

— **Lord Henry Sinclair Horne**, distinguished as a soldier, was the second son of Major James Horne, and born in 1861. Educated at Harrow and Woolwich Royal Military Academy, he was gazetted to the R.A. in 1880. He served with the Artillery throughout the South African War, receiving a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy for his services. In 1912 he became Inspector of Horse and Field Artillery, with the rank of Brigadier-General. At the outbreak of the Great War he went to France as Artillery Commander of the 1st Corps, being promoted major-general for distinguished service in the field. In 1915 he was in command of the 2nd Division, going to Egypt later in that year as Chief Military Adviser to Sir Douglas Haig's mission. Recalled to France early in 1916 he was given charge of the XVth Corps, forming part of the 4th Army. He thus played a considerable part in the Somme Battles of 1916. Later in that year he assumed command of the 1st Army and only gave it up on its demobilisation in 1919. He was created K.C.B. in 1916, K.C.M.G. in 1918, and G.C.B. in 1919. At the close of the war he was raised to the peerage as Baron Horne of Stirrke in Caithness. In 1926 he was made Master Gunner, St. James's Park. He married, in 1897, Kate, daughter of George M'Corquodale, D.L., and widow of G. S. Blacklock. One daughter survived him.

15. **Arthur Berry, O.B.E.**, aged 66, Vice-Provost of King's College, Cambridge, was educated at Whitgift Grammar School, University College School, and afterwards University College, London. Going up as a scholar to King's College, Cambridge, he was Senior Wrangler in 1885. In 1886 he was made a Fellow of King's and a year later won the Second Smith's Prize. He was a University Extension Lecturer for several years and in 1924 he was elected Vice-Provost of King's. He wrote "A Short History of Astronomy" and various mathematical papers. In 1902 he married Miss Harriet Mary Johnson.

— **Sir Edwin Ray Lankester, K.C.B., F.R.S.**, aged 82, eminent scientist, was the eldest son of Dr. Ray Edwin Lankester, Coroner for Central Middlesex. He was educated at St. Paul's School and Downing College, Cambridge, but, gaining a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, he graduated from there and gained the Radcliffe Travelling Fellowship in 1870. Two years later he became Fellow and Lecturer at Exeter College and in 1874 he was appointed Professor of Zoology at University College, London. He was elected to the Royal Society in 1875 and was awarded a Royal Medal in 1885. From 1890 to 1905 he was Linacre Professor of Comparative Anatomy at Oxford; in 1892 he was appointed Director of the British Museum (Natural History) and Keeper of Zoology. He retired from both these appointments in 1907, in which year he was President of the British Association. He was then created K.C.B. Amongst his writings may be mentioned his contributions to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, his "Comparative Longevity" (1871), "Degeneration" (1880),

"*Spolia Maris*" (1889), "*The Advancement of Science*" (Collected Essays, 1889), "*Extinct Animals*" (1905), "*The Kingdom of Man*" (1907), "*From an Easy Chair*" (1908), "*Science from an Easy Chair*" (1910), and "*Great Things and Small*" (1923). He was unmarried.

19. **Dr. Arthur Samuel Peake**, aged 63, eminent Biblical scholar, was the son of the Rev. Samuel Peake, Primitive Methodist Minister. He was educated at the Grammar Schools of Ludlow, Stratford-on-Avon and Coventry, went up to St. John's College, Oxford, in 1883, graduated First Class in the Honour School of Theology in 1887, and won the Ellerton Essay Prize in 1890. In that year he was made a Fellow of Merton College and became a Lecturer at Mansfield College. In 1895 he moved to Lancashire and until 1912 was Lecturer at Manchester Independent College. In 1904 he was appointed first Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis at the University of Manchester. In 1897 he published a "*Guide to Biblical Study*," and in 1902 a "*Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*" in the Century Bible. In 1919 appeared his best-known work, "*Commentary on the Bible*"—a composite publication, followed in 1925 by a second series edited by him and entitled "*The People and the Book*." Another of his books was "*The Bible: its Origins, its Significance and its Abiding Worth*." He was made D.D. of Oxford and of Aberdeen. In 1928 he was appointed President of the Free Church Council. He married in 1892 Miss H. M. Stillman, who survived him with three sons.

— **Serge Diaghileff**, Russian operatic and theatrical producer, was born in 1872. He read Law at St. Petersburg, but in 1897 took to journalism. In 1899 he founded an important journal of art which lasted till 1905. In 1903 he produced "*Boris Godounov*" and in 1909 he first produced the Russian Ballet, both in Paris. In 1911 he brought his company to Covent Garden, and in 1913 and 1914 he collaborated with Sir Thomas Beecham in a series of Russian ballet and opera performances. Amongst his most famous productions may be mentioned "*Petrushka*," "*Shererazade*," "*Aurora's Wedding*," "*Carnaval*," "*The Fire Bird*," "*La Boutique Fantasque*," and "*Le Tricorne*." Just prior to his death he produced "*Le Renard*," to Stravinsky's music.

23. **General Otto Liman von Sanders**, German leader of the Dardanelles campaign, was born in 1855. After holding a number of military appointments he was ennobled (1913) and took the name of von Sanders. In the same year he was sent to Constantinople by the Kaiser William II. to command a Turkish Army Corps, but owing to protests from different countries, a modification was made by which he became General of Cavalry in the German Army and Marshal and General Inspector of the Turkish Army. Soon after the outbreak of the War he was in command of the Turkish 5th Army in the Dardanelles. In 1918 he was given the task of saving Palestine after General von Falkenhayn's recall. The Armistice prevented a complete débacle, and after organising the transport of German troops from Constantinople he returned to Hamburg, but was detained at Malta for several months by the British authorities. While there he began his reminiscences, "*Five Years in Turkey*."

26. **Sir Ernest Satow**, Far Eastern diplomatist, was born in 1843. Educated at Mill Hill School and University College, London, he was appointed, in 1861, a student interpreter in the Japan Consular Service. In 1868 he became Japanese Secretary to the British Legation, retaining the post till 1884 when he became Agent and Consul-General at Bangkok. He subsequently held ministerial diplomatic posts at Montevideo (1888) and Morocco (1893); in 1895 he became British Minister to Japan and K.C.M.G. In 1900 he was transferred to Peking as Envoy Extraordinary and High Commissioner, and had much to do with the final Peace Protocol of 1901. In 1902 he was made G.C.M.G. and in 1906, when he retired he was sworn of the Privy Council. His advice on Chinese affairs

continued to inspire British policy towards that country for many years after the Great War. In 1906 he was appointed a British member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague and took part in the Second Peace Conference there in the following year. He was the author of several books, including a dictionary of colloquial Japanese, a Guide book to Japan, "The Voyage of Captain Saris," and an important work called "Diplomatic Practice."

SEPTEMBER.

3. **Lord Mersey (John Charles Bigham)**, President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the Law Courts, born in 1840, was the son of John Bigham, merchant of Liverpool. Educated at Liverpool Institute, the University of London, Paris, and Berlin, he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1870, and joined the Northern Circuit. He took silk in 1883, and in 1895 entered Parliament as Liberal-Unionist member for the Exchange Division of Liverpool. In 1897 he was appointed a Judge of the Queen's Bench Division, also sitting as Judge of the Chancery Division and presiding for a time over the Railway and Canal Commission. In 1909 he was appointed President of the Probate and Admiralty Division and was made a Privy Councillor, retiring from the Bench in 1910, when he was created Baron Mersey. He was held in high esteem as member of the House of Lords Appeals Court and of the Judicial Committee. Presiding over the Prize Court Board in 1915 he delivered judgment in the *Odessa* case. In 1902 he was a member of the Royal Commission for the Revision of Martial Law Sentences in S. Africa; in 1912 he was appointed to inquire into the wreck of the *Titanic*; in 1913 he presided over the International Conference on the Safety of Life at Sea; in 1914 he was President of the Court of Inquiry in Canada on the loss of the *Empress of Ireland*; and in 1915 he inquired into the loss of the *Falaba* and the *Lusitania*. In 1916 he was given a viscounty. He married in 1871 Georgina Rogers, who died in 1925. His two sons survived him.

6. **Sir James Wycliffe Headlam Morley**, aged 65, Historical Adviser to the Foreign Office, was a son of the Rev. Arthur Headlam, Archdeacon of Richmond. He went to Eton in 1878, and four years later obtained a scholarship at King's College, Cambridge, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1890. He then went to Germany where he obtained that deep insight into German life, history, and literature which was later to influence his career. On his return he lectured for the Cambridge University Extension Board, and from 1894 to 1900 was Professor of Greek and Ancient History at Queen's College, London. In 1899 he published his "Life of Bismarck" in the "Heroes of the Nations" series. He was appointed a Staff Inspector of Secondary Schools in 1904, holding the post till 1920. On the outbreak of the war he joined the propaganda organisation at Wellington House, and there produced his important "History of Twelve Days." He served as Assistant Director of the Political Intelligence Department in the Department of Information and subsequently at the Foreign Office. He was a member of the political section of the Peace Conference at Paris, and later the post of Historical Adviser to the Foreign Office (which he held till 1928) was created for him. During these years he continued his History of the Peace Settlement, and on his retirement he was given a knighthood. In 1893 while in Germany he married Fräulein Sonntag. A son and daughter survived him.

7. **Frederic Edward Weatherly, K.C.**, aged 81, famous song writer, was educated at Hereford Grammar School and Brasenose College, Oxford. He took his degree in 1871 and after working as a coach at Oxford was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1887, joining the Western Circuit. He took silk in 1925. His songs numbered over 3000 and included "Nancy Lee," "They All Love Jack," "The Old Brigade," "The Star of Bethlehem," and "The Roses of

Picardy." He also adapted foreign operas such as "Pagliacci" and "Cavalleria Rusticana." In 1926 he wrote a book of reminiscences entitled "Piano and Gown." He was twice married, his second wife, whom he married in 1923, being Mrs. Miriam Bryan. He left two daughters by his first wife.

11. **Sir Gilbert Clayton**, aged 54, High Commissioner for Iraq, was the son of Lieut.-Col. W. L. N. Clayton. Educated at the Isle of Wight College and Woolwich, he received his commission in the Royal Artillery in 1895. He served under Kitchener in Egypt in 1898 and 1900, and retired as a captain in 1910. When transferred to the Sudan Government Service he became Private Secretary to the Sirdar. At the outbreak of the Great War he was head of the Sudan Agency in Cairo and was made Director of Intelligence, subsequently becoming Chief Political Officer to the E.E.F. (1917) and first Chief Administrator of Palestine. In 1919 he returned to Egypt as Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior. From 1922 to 1925 he was Civil Secretary to the Palestine Government and in 1925 and 1927 Envoy to the Sultan Ibn Sa'ud of Nejd. To Iraq he went as High Commissioner in 1928; his work there was cut short by his death. In 1915 he was made C.M.G., in 1917 C.B., 1919 K.B.E., and 1926 K.C.M.G. He was a Pasha of Egypt, and his foreign decorations included The Order of the Nile and El Nahda of the Hedjaz. In 1912 he married Enid Caroline Thorowgood and had two sons and one daughter.

13. **Sir Robert Stodart Lorimer**, architect, born in 1864, was a son of Professor Lorimer of Edinburgh University. At the age of 21 he entered the office of Sir Roland Anderson, LL.D., in Edinburgh, and later went to London as assistant to G. F. Bodley, R.A. He set up in practice in Edinburgh in 1893, and in 1909 was chosen to design the new chapel for the Knights of the Thistle, St. Giles Cathedral. Ten years later he also designed the Scottish National War Memorial on Edinburgh Castle Rock. His work further included the new Department of Zoology of the University of Edinburgh and the new chapel at Stowe School. He also did a great deal of restoration work to various Scottish castles and to Lympne Castle, Kent. In 1920 he was elected an A.R.A., and in 1921 R.S.A. He was knighted in 1911. In 1903 he married Violet, daughter of the late Mr. Edward Wyld, by whom he had three sons and one daughter.

14. **Sir Edward Maunde Thompson**, aged 89, at one time Director of the British Museum, was educated at Rugby, and went up in 1859 to University College, Oxford, of which he later became a Fellow. In 1863 he entered the Middle Temple and was called four years later. He had worked under Sir Frederick Madden at the British Museum since 1861. In 1871 he became Assistant Keeper in the Department of MSS. In 1874 he edited a St. Alban's Chronicle of Edward III.'s reign for the Rolls series and in 1876 he edited and translated the "Chronicon Adae de Usk, A.D. 1377-1404" for the Royal Society of Literature. His other contributions to learning included: "The Letters of Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis, 1674-1722" and the "Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, 1601-1704." In 1873 he helped to found the Palaeographical Society, becoming president and joint editor in 1903. In 1874 he and Sir Edward Bond, his principal at the British Museum, assisted in the Utrecht Psalter controversy by their contributions to "Reports on the Age of the MS." In 1878 he became Keeper of MSS., and in 1880 he published the Index to the "Catalogue of Additions." He was responsible for two important official publications, "Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus" (1879-83), and the Catalogue of Ancient MSS. in the British Museum (1881-84). In 1884, as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, he edited Montgomery's "Things Needful for this Present State," and wrote a memoir on the Lindau Gospels. His famous article on Palaeography in the 9th ed. of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" was first published in 1885 and later expanded into a "Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography." In 1888 he was appointed principal Librarian of the British Museum. He was made C.B. in 1893, K.C.B. in 1895, and G.C.B. in 1909. In 1895-96, and again in 1905-6, he was Sanders

Reader in Bibliography at Cambridge. He retired in 1909. In 1864 he married Georgina MacKenzie who died in 1917. Three sons and a daughter survived him.

17. **Professor William Henry Perkin, F.R.S.**, aged 69, Waynflete Professor of Chemistry at Oxford, was the eldest son of the late Sir W. H. Perkin, manufacturer of chemical dyes. He was educated at the City of London School, the Royal College of Science, and the University of Würzburg (under Wislicenus). In 1882 he became *Privatdozent* in the Department of Chemistry at the University of Munich, where he spent four years under Adolf Baeyer, and began a series of researches, in recognition of which he was awarded the Longstaff Medal of the Chemical Society in 1900 and the Davy Medal of the Royal Society in 1904. In 1887 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry at Heriot Watt College, Edinburgh; three years later he was elected an F.R.S. He moved to Owens College, Manchester, in 1892, as Professor of Chemistry; in 1912 he received the appointment to the Waynflete Professorship of Chemistry in Oxford; from 1916 onwards he directed research for British Dyes Ltd., and was Chairman of the Advisory Council of that company. In 1924 he became Director of Research. In 1925 he was awarded the Royal Medal of the Royal Society and served on the Council of the Society in 1904-5 and 1908-10. In 1887 he married Mina Holland; they had no children.

20. **Sir Hedworth Meux (Hedworth Lambton)**, aged 73, Admiral of the Fleet, was the third son of the second Earl of Durham. Joining the Navy in 1870, he saw service during the Egyptian War of 1882, was promoted Commander in 1883, and received the Egyptian Medal and the Khedive's Bronze Star. From 1894 to 1897 he was private secretary to Lord Spencer and Mr. Goschen, as successive First Lords of the Admiralty. Two years later he won distinction in command of the Naval Brigade at the Relief of Ladysmith. In 1901 he was appointed commander of the new Royal Yacht *Victoria and Albert* and Commodore of His Majesty's Yachts. In 1911 he adopted the name of Meux in accordance with the terms of a will in his favour made by the widow of the brewer of that name. From 1912 to 1916 he was Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth and during the war organised the Life-Saving Patrol in the Channel. In 1915 he became Admiral of the Fleet. Next year he entered Parliament as Unionist member for Portsmouth, retiring in 1918. He was a member and at one time a Steward of the Jockey Club. In 1906 he was made K.C.V.O., in 1908 K.C.B., and in 1913 G.C.B. In 1921 he retired from the Active List of the Navy. In 1910 he married Mildred Cecilia, daughter of the first Lord Alington and widow of Viscount Chelsea, M.P. He left no issue.

23. **John Freeman**, aged 49, poet and novelist, published his first important collection of poems under the title "Stone Trees and other Poems" in 1916. In the same year followed "Presage of Victory and Other Poems of the Time" and in 1918 "Memories of Childhood." In 1920 he became known to a much wider circle by winning the Hawthornden Prize. In 1921 appeared "Music, Lyrical and Narrative Poems" and "The Red Path and the Wounded Bird." "Prince Absalom" and "The Grove and Other Poems" followed in 1925 and "Solomon and Balkis" in 1926. Amongst his novels were "This My Son" and "Fan of Belsey's." He also published a few critical works, including studies of George Moore and Herman Melville, a volume on the Moderns (1916), and English Portraits and Essays (1924).

OCTOBER.

1. **Emile Antoine Bourdelle**, French sculptor, was born in 1861. He received his training at Toulouse and at Paris, where he came first under the influence of Palguière and later of Rodin, and where in 1885 he exhibited his

first important work, "Adam Après la Faute." In 1912-13 he was commissioned to decorate the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées; he was also designer to the State Factory of Gobelins tapestries. One of his most important monuments is an equestrian statue of General Alvear at Buenos Aires. Others include "The Epic of Poland," a statue of Adam, and the "Virgin of Alsace." His best-known works in England are his bust of Sir James Frazer at the Academy, "Rodin Travaillant à la Porte de l'Enfer" and his head of Beethoven. The Luxembourg Museum contains his "Hercules as Archer." "The Dying Centaur," and "The Triumph of Aphrodite" are likewise from his hand.

3. **Gustav Stresemann**, aged 51, Foreign Minister of Germany, came of Liberal bourgeois stock, and was educated at the Andreas Real Gymnasium at Berlin and the University there. His earliest interests were in the sphere of commercial politics. In 1902 he founded the Union of Saxon Industrialists. He entered Parliament early and soon became associated first with the National Liberal Party and subsequently with the German People's Party, becoming leader of each in due course. In 1923 he was chosen Chancellor of the German Republic; his policy was one of conciliation, for he held the view that without the restoration of unity to German economic life, reparation payments were impossible. His Government was a successful attempt at the Grand Coalition, embracing as it did all parties from his own to the Social Democrats. But his ministry was not able to maintain itself long, and in several subsequent Cabinets Stresemann was Foreign Minister. In 1925 he proposed the Security Pact of Locarno; in 1926 he made a public declaration of his absolute acceptance of the Republic, and later in that year he achieved the admission of Germany to the League of Nations Assembly and Council. It was through his agency that Germany was the first Great Power to sign the Optional Clause of The Hague Statute, and he gained for his country the early transfer of her military control from the Allied Commission to the League. His goal throughout was the liberation of the Rhineland from foreign occupation and his last great speech (delivered at Geneva after The Hague Conference) dealt with European co-operation as a means to that end. In 1926 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

8. **Harold Begbie**, aged 58, author and journalist, was a son of the Rev. Mars Hamilton Begbie. He was educated at Merchant Taylor's School, and after various short terms of employment settled in London and became connected with the *Daily Chronicle*. In 1898 he became assistant to E. Kay Robinson on *The Globe*. His first published volume, "The Political Struwwelpeter," had an immediate success, as did also his verses entitled "The Handyman." He left the *Globe* to become editor of a weekly paper *The V.C.*, and on its cessation he wrote for *The Times* and had a staff appointment on the *Daily Mail*. Amongst his earlier works were "The Fall of the Curtain," "The Curious and Diverting Adventures of Sir John Sparrow," two children's books called "Bundy in the Greenwood" and "Bundy on the Sea," and a book of biographical studies, "Master Workers." Later he wrote "Broken Earthenware" (1910), "In the Hands of the Potter" (1911), and "Other Sheep"—a descriptive tour of India undertaken with the late Commander Booth-Tucker—followed in 1920 by a two-volumed work on "The Life of William Booth." The anonymous "Mirrors of Downing Street" by a "Gentleman with the Duster" was from his pen. His best-known novels are "An English Family" (1919), "A London Girl" and "Plain Sailing." He married a daughter of the late H. S. Seale; his wife and two daughters survived him.

11. **Lord Meath (Reginald Brabazon)**, aged 88, founder of the Empire Day movement, was the second son of the 11th Earl. Educated at Eton, he became a Clerk in the Foreign Office in 1863, exchanging into the Diplomatic Service five years later. After appointments at the Berlin Embassy and at The Hague, he went to Paris in 1871. Two years later he retired from the Diplomatic Service and devoted himself to social work. He organised the Hospital

Saturday Fund Committee; founded the Dublin Hospital Sunday movement; was first Chairman of the Young Men's Friendly Society in 1879, and a year later of the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association. He was for some years Chairman of the L.C.C. Parks Committee and was associated with the Early Closing Association and the National Association for Promoting State-Aided Education. But what was chiefly to his credit was the inauguration of the Empire Day movement, the work of which, until 1913, he carried on single-handed. During the Great War he founded the Lads' Drill Association and later became Vice-President of the National Service League. He published two volumes of reminiscence, "Memories of the Nineteenth Century" and "Memories of the Twentieth Century." In 1887 he succeeded to the earldom and the estate of Kilruddery, Co. Wicklow. He was created a Knight of St. Patrick in 1902, and elected a Senator for Southern Ireland by the Irish Privy Council. In 1868 he married Lady Mary Jane Maitland, daughter of the 11th Earl of Lauderdale. Three of his four sons and two daughters survived him.

12. **Sir Lionel Cust**, aged 70, Surveyor of the King's Pictures and Works of Art, was the son of Sir Reginald John Cust. He went to Eton in 1871, and after a brilliant career there proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1877. In 1882 he received an appointment at the War Office, and two years later was transferred to the British Museum as Assistant in the Department of Prints and Drawings. From 1895 to 1909 he was Director of the National Portrait Gallery, and in 1901 was appointed Surveyor of the King's Pictures, and Gentleman Usher to the King. From 1909 to 1919 he was joint editor and director of the *Burlington Magazine*. Amongst his publications may be mentioned an "Index of Artists Represented in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum," "The Royal Collection of Paintings at Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle" (1905-6), "Notes on the Authentic Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots" (1903), and "Eton College Portraits" (1909). In 1914 he was created C.V.O. and in 1927 K.C.V.O. In 1895 he married Sybil, daughter of the first Lord Lyttelton, who survived him with one son.

15. **Léon Delacroix**, at one time Prime Minister of Belgium, was born in 1867. He obtained his diploma of Doctorate of Laws at Louvain University and from 1889 to 1914 practised before the Appeal Court of Brussels and the Cassation Court, becoming President of the latter in 1917. In 1918, after the Armistice, he became Prime Minister, undertaking also the Ministry of Finance; but on the collapse of the three-party Coalition in 1919 he resigned. He then became the permanent representative of the Belgian Government on the Reparation Commission and Trustee for the Railway Bonds under the Dawes Plan. He was Chairman of the Spa Conference and one of the two Belgian delegates to the Committee for the organisation of the Bank for International Settlements.

21. **Dr. Vassil Radoslavoff**, Bulgarian Prime Minister during the war, was born in 1854. After being educated at Gabrovo, Prague, Vienna, and Heidelberg, he began his political career in 1880 in a journalistic campaign in the Liberal newspaper *Zognanie*. In 1884 he became Minister of Justice, but as a Russophile he quarrelled with Stambuloff (1887), joining the Stoiloff Cabinet in 1894. From 1899 to 1901 he was Minister of the Interior; at the outbreak of the first Balkan War in 1912, he was in the Opposition. In 1913 he became Prime Minister, was returned again in 1914, and drew Bulgaria into the Central European Alliance. His Ministry fell in 1918, and he fled the country. In his absence he was condemned to imprisonment for life on a charge of high treason in having committed his country to war without the assent of Parliament. He remained in Germany; in 1929 was amnestied by the Sobranje.

22. **Sir Valentine Chirol**, Director of *The Times* Foreign Department till 1912, was born in 1852. After being educated as a Catholic in France and

Germany, he took his degree at the University of Paris. Entering the Foreign Office in 1872, he resigned four years later and spent the next sixteen years in the Middle and Near East as correspondent for the *Standard*. In 1892 he went to Berlin for *The Times*. He continued on friendly terms with the German authorities until the Kruger telegram incident, when he returned to enter the Foreign Department of *The Times*, of which in 1899 he became Chief. He visited the Far East in 1909 and India in 1910, and in the following year published his impressions in a book called "Indian Unrest." In 1912 he was knighted and retired from office to sit on two Royal Commissions on Indian Public Services. In 1915 he went on a Mission to the Balkans. Amongst his further publications were "The Middle East Question" (1903), "The Egyptian Problem" (1920), "India, New and Old" (1921), followed five years later by "India" in the series entitled "The Modern World: A Survey of Historical Forces," edited by H. A. L. Fisher. In 1924 he delivered a series of lectures at Chicago University which were subsequently published by the press of that University under the title, "The Occident and the Orient." His last books were autobiographical—"Fifty Years in a Changing World" and "With Pen and Brush in Eastern Lands."

23. **Professor Thomas Frederick Tout**, aged 74, mediæval historian, was educated at St. Olave's School, Southwark, and Balliol College, Oxford. In 1883 he was elected a Fellow of Pembroke College and two years later was appointed Professor of History at St. David's College, Lampeter. But his life's work was done at Manchester, where, in 1890, he became Professor of History. For thirty-five years he played a leading part not only in the development of the University but also in the direction and expansion of what eventually became one of the most distinguished History Schools in the country. He was the author of numerous volumes, which enjoyed great popularity, including "Edward I.," "The Empire and the Papacy," and "The Political History of England" (1216-1377). His masterpiece was his work on the administrative history of England, based on his Ford lectures at Oxford in 1913: "Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediæval England." Two volumes appeared in 1920, and two more in 1928; a fifth was nearing completion at his death. On his retirement from Manchester in 1925 he moved to London, where he became President of the Royal Historical Society. In 1928 he delivered courses of lectures at several Universities in the United States, including Cornell. He married in 1895 Miss Mary Johnstone, who survived him with a daughter and two sons.

26. **Arno Holz**, aged 66, German poet and dramatist, sought, as an uncompromising revolutionary and an apostle of realism, to establish a new form of poetry, and with this end in view published a collection of rhymeless verse in 1899 under the title "Pantastus." He found few supporters except amongst certain youthful groups, but was nevertheless elected a member of the literary section of the Prussian Academy of Arts. His best-known play was "Familie Selecke," written in 1891, in collaboration with Schlaf.

28. **Prince v. Bulow**, at one time Chancellor of the German Empire, was born in 1849, the son of Count Bernhard v. Bulow. After serving in the Franco-German War of 1870, he entered the Civil Service in 1872 and became Assistant to the Administrator of Metz. Two years later he transferred to the Diplomatic Service, being Chargé d'Affaires at Athens just before the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-88. He came to the front as Secretary to the Berlin Congress and was quickly promoted, first to be Secretary of Embassy in Paris and then as Councillor at St. Petersburg. In 1888 he was Minister at Bucharest, and in 1894 German Ambassador at Rome, where he remained for three years. In 1897 he was recalled to Berlin to become Foreign Minister, in which capacity he worked for German world dominion. He secured the Peking Convention of 1898 whereby Kiao Chau was leased to Germany, and he was sent out to take possession. He played

a tortuous and disingenuous part in the overtures for an Anglo-German Treaty in 1899, and in 1900 was instrumental in getting a Big Navy Bill passed by the Reichstag. In that year he became Chancellor. At the Algeciras Conference he succeeded in cementing instead of shaking the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904, and two years later he threatened to resign over the Re-insurance Treaty between William II. and Tsar Nicholas. In 1908 he was responsible for the ultimatum to Russia, which prevented war between the latter and Austro-Hungary; he failed, however, to move the Anglo-Russian understanding. Later in the same year he had to bear the brunt of the outcry raised by the Kaiser's letter of October 27 to the *Daily Telegraph*. In 1909 he retired, and in 1914 was asked by the Emperor to conduct a special mission to Rome to ensure Italy's neutrality. Before 1894 he married Princess Camporeale, stepdaughter to the Italian statesman Minghetti.

31. **Dr. Antonio José de Almeida**, President of Portugal from 1919 to 1923, was born in 1866 and took his medical degree at Coimbra in 1895. He joined in the Republican rising of 1891 and on its failure went to the Portuguese colony, São Thomé, and practised there for ten years. Returning to Portugal he became the leader of the Evolutionists, and in 1906 was returned to Parliament. After the Revolution of 1910 he was Minister for Home Affairs in Dr. Braga's Provisional Government. In 1916 he became Premier of the Coalition Ministry and, as Minister of the Colonies also, he was responsible for the despatch of the first Portuguese troops to the Allies. In 1919 he became President and as such completed his full term of four years—the first Portuguese President to do so.

NOVEMBER.

2. **Sir Thomas Hungerford Holdich**, a soldier distinguished in frontier work, was born in 1843. After being educated at the Godolphin Grammar School and Woolwich, he obtained a Commission in the R.E. in 1862. He served on the Indian frontier and in the Abyssinian and Afghan campaigns, and in 1884 he was appointed on the Boundary Commission to demarcate the Afghan-Russo frontier. In 1892 he became Superintendent of Frontier Surveys in India, and his successful work on frontier lines in India and Russia led later to his being engaged by the Governments of Argentina and Chile to demarcate their boundaries. He held the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, of which he was President from 1916 to 1918. In 1894 he was made C.B. and C.I.E., in 1897 K.C.I.E., and in 1902 K.C.M.G. He married Ada, daughter of Capt. J. Vanrenen. One son and two daughters survived him.

5. **Professor Thos. Barlow Wood**, eminent agriculturist, was born in 1869, and educated at the High School, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and Caius College, Cambridge. He took his degree in 1889, and after some teaching experience he returned to Cambridge to assist in the organisation of the Department of Agriculture, becoming Professor of Agriculture in 1907. He expanded and consolidated the new School, and rendered invaluable services, administrative and consultant, in agricultural matters during the war. Amongst his writings may be mentioned "Food Economy in War Time" (in collaboration with Sir Gowland Hopkins), "The Chemistry of Crop Production," and "Animal Nutrition." Professor Wood left a widow and four children.

6. **Prince Maximilian Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm of Baden**, German Chancellor, under whom the Armistice was signed, was born in 1867, being the son of Prince Wilhelm, brother of the Grand Duke Frederick I. of Baden. After a university and military career he turned to politics, becoming President of the Upper Chamber of the Baden Diet in 1910. At the outbreak of the Great War he worked for the Baden Red Cross organisation and specialised in the care of prisoners of war. It was he who, in 1915, suggested the German-Russian Prisoners

of War Conference. His was a moderating influence on the policy of the annexationists in Germany, but he was not consulted till after the failure of the 1918 offensive, when he was summoned to Berlin, made Chancellor, and commissioned to arrange an Armistice. On the abdication of the Kaiser, Prince Max was asked by Ebert to remain as Regent, but he refused, and on November 22, 1918, he renounced all claim to the throne of Baden, from which the Grand Duke Frederick II. had abdicated. He retired to Switzerland and interested himself in the war-guilt question. In 1927 he published his "Erinnerungen u. Dokumente." He married in 1900 Princess Marie Luise, daughter of the late Duke Ernst August of Cumberland, and had a son and a daughter.

8. **Henry Beveridge**, well known for his contributions to the history of Mogul times, was born in 1837, and educated at Glasgow University and Queen's College, Belfast. In 1857 he passed into the I.C.S. and in the following year was gazetted to service in Bengal. He was a prolific writer; in 1876 he published a history and survey of the District of Backergunge, in Eastern Bengal. In 1886 he published "The Trial of Nanda Kumar: a narrative of a Judicial Murder." After his retirement in 1893 he devoted himself to Mogul research and (in association with Alexander Rogers) translated and annotated the "Memoirs of Jahangir." He was President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1891 and wrote on topics of Indian history for its journal and for other Indian reviews. He was twice married: first to Jeanie Goldie, and secondly to Annette Susannah Ackroyd, who predeceased him in 1929. A son and a daughter survived him.

14. **Dr. Charles Hose**, aged 66, at one time Divisional Resident of Sarawak, was the son of Thos. Charles Hose, and was educated at Felsted and Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1884 he entered the service of Sir Charles Brooke, second Rajah, and devoted his services to Sarawak until his retirement in 1907. He contributed to the economic wealth by his pioneer work in the oil industry, and besides this his main interest was the study of primitive races. In 1914, in collaboration with Dr. William MacDougall, he published "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," which became the standard work on the subject. In 1900 he was made an honorary D.Sc. of Cambridge, and in 1926 was elected a Fellow of his old College. During the war he superintended a munitions factory, and in 1918 was made Chairman of the Cotton Waste Mills Investigation Committee, Manchester. In 1919 he became a member of the Sarawak State Advisory Committee at Westminster. He married in 1905 Emilie Ellen, daughter of John Peter Ravn. One son and one daughter survived him.

18. **Rt. Hon. Thos. Power O'Connor, M.P.**, aged 81, "Father of the House of Commons," was educated at the College of the Immaculate Conception at Athlone and at Queen's College, Galway, where he graduated in 1866 and went to Dublin as junior reporter on *Saunders' Newsletter*. In 1870 he came to London and obtained an appointment as sub-editor on the *Daily Telegraph*. His first work, "The Life of Lord Beaconsfield," appeared anonymously as a serial and, three years later, as a book with his name. In 1879 he was returned to Parliament as a Home Ruler for the Borough of Galway, later becoming member for the Scotland division of Liverpool. He wrote on Parliamentary topics for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and in 1886 published "The Parnell Movement." In 1887, with the support of the Liberals, he founded *The Star*, was bought out after a few years, and later established *The Sun*, which however, was unsuccessful. Successful foundations were *T.P.'s Weekly*, *M.A.P.*, *P.T.O.*, and the *Monthly T.P.'s Magazine*. In 1917 he became President of the Board of Film Censors. In 1923 all parties in the House honoured his 75th birthday, and in 1924 he was made a member of the Privy Council by the Labour Government. In 1928 he published his "Memoirs of an Old Parliamentarian," in two volumes.

— **John Edmond Barkworth**, composer, aged 71, was educated at Rugby and University College, Oxford. In 1885 he went to the Royal College of Music

and later studied both in Paris and Berlin, after which he held appointments as organist at Fettes, Tonbridge, and St. George's, Ottawa. From 1901 to 1905 he was Professor of Organ at the Peabody Conservatory, Baltimore. His opera "Romeo and Juliet"—the first attempt to set a Shakespeare text without condensation or alteration—was produced in 1916 at Middlesbrough and again in 1920 at the Surrey Theatre. He also wrote a comic opera called "The Well of Wishes," and in 1925 produced another opera, "Fireflies."

24. Georges Benjamin Clemenceau, aged 88, famous French statesman, studied medicine at Nantes and Paris, where he at once became identified with the Republicans of the University. After four years in America, studying Republican institutions, he set up in medical practice at Montmartre. During the Franco-German War of 1870, as Mayor of Montmartre and Deputy for Paris, he was distrusted by both political camps. In 1876 he re-entered the Chamber of Deputies and became the spokesman of the Radical group. He excited the enmity of both Boulangists and Monarchists over the Boulanger affair and was defeated for the Chamber in consequence of slanderous attacks on him over the Panama scandal. During his nine years' absence from Parliament he worked as a journalist, and in 1897 was connected with *L'Aurore* in its defence of Dreyfus, becoming Editor-in-Chief in 1903. In 1902 he was elected for the Var to the Senate and in 1906 entered M. Sarrien's Government as Minister of the Interior, later succeeding his chief as Prime Minister. In 1909 his Ministry fell over the Delcassé case. In 1913 he unsuccessfully opposed Poincaré's election as President, but finally found common ground with him over fear of German dictation and supported the Three Years' Service Bill. His attitude was also clearly defined in his articles in *L'Homme Libre*. At the outbreak of the Great War he bitterly assailed the Government's mismanagement in the same paper, and also as President of the Army and Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate. In 1917 he came into power and formed his Victory Cabinet. In 1919 he conveyed the Treaty terms to Germany. In that year he was put forward as a candidate for the Presidency, but withdrew and in 1920 resigned his Ministry. He then travelled in Egypt and India, received the Oxford hon. degree of D.C.L. in 1921, and in the following year started a new Paris paper, the *Echo National*. In 1927 he published two volumes embodying his life creed, entitled "Au Soir de la Pensée." He married Miss Mary Plummer, an American, by whom he had three children.

26. The Hon. Sir John Alexander Cockburn, aged 79, South Australian politician, was educated for the medical profession and became an M.D. of London University. In 1875 he emigrated to S. Australia; in 1884 he began his parliamentary career as member for Burra, and from 1885 to 1887 he was Minister of Education. From 1889 to 1890 he was Premier, and in 1892 he was Chief Secretary. From 1893 to 1895 he held the portfolios of Education and Agriculture, after which, retiring from politics, he returned to London as Agent-General for S. Australia. He was delegate to the 1897-98 Federal Convention, which successfully framed a constitution. In 1900 he was created K.C.M.G. He married, in 1875, Sarah Holdway, daughter of Forbes Scott Brown. A son and a daughter survived him.

27. Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Sloggett, aged 72, Director-General of Medical Services in France and Chief Commissioner of the Red Cross during the Great War, was the son of Inspector-General W. H. Sloggett, R.N. He was educated at King's College, London, and, qualifying M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P. Edinburgh in 1880, he joined the Army Medical Service in the following year. After seeing service and winning distinction and promotion on the Indian frontier, Dongola, and Egypt, he was placed in charge of the Imperial Yeomanry Hospital during the South African War, was mentioned in despatches and received decorations and was made C.M.G. From 1903 to 1908 he was P.M.O. of the Home and London Districts, and in the latter year was appointed P.M.O. Bombay

Presidency. In 1910 he was made C.B., appointed hon. surgeon to the King in 1911, and in the same year was promoted Director of Medical Services in India. In 1914 he returned to become Director-General, Army Medical Service, and at the outbreak of the Great War he was appointed Director-General British Army in the Field and Chief Commander of the British Red Cross and the Order of St. John at Jerusalem. He retained the post with great distinction till June, 1918, when his term of office expired. He was knighted in 1914, created K.C.B. in 1915, and two years later became K.C.M.G. and K.C.V.O. He was elected F.R.C.S. Eng. in 1917 and was Colonel-Commandant R.A.M.C. from 1921 to 1928. In 1881 he married Helen Boyson, and had one son and two daughters.

DECEMBER.

4. **Sir Cosmo Bonsor**, aged 81, a Director of the Bank of England, was the son of Joseph Bonsor. He went to Eton in 1861 and in 1867 entered the brewery business of Messrs. Combe & Co., of which he became a partner two years later. In 1885 he was elected a Director of the Bank of England, and entered Parliament as Conservative member for the Wimbledon division of Surrey, retiring in 1900. In 1898 he effected the amalgamation known as Watney, Combe, Reid & Co., and became Chairman of the new Company. He was also Chairman of the South-Eastern Railway, and a director of the Northern Assurance Co. In 1925 he was created a baronet. He was twice married; first in 1872 to Emily Gertrude Fellowes, who died in 1882, leaving four sons of whom the eldest was killed in the war, secondly in 1886 he married Mabel Brand.

7. **General Sir Charles Carmichael Monro**, aged 69, distinguished soldier, came of a family of high professional and military repute. Gazetted from Sandhurst to "The Queen's" in 1879, he saw service in India and South Africa (1899); was Chief Instructor at the School of Musketry at Hythe (1901), and was given command of the 13th Infantry Brigade in Southern Ireland (1907). On the outbreak of the Great War he went to France with the 2nd London Division Territorial Force, and on the reconstitution of the Expeditionary Force in 1915 he succeeded Sir Douglas Haig in command of the First Army Corps. He was sent to the Dardanelles to advise on operations, and, deciding in favour of withdrawal, was appointed to succeed Sir Ian Hamilton as Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force and carried out a masterly retirement. Later in 1916 he proceeded from France to command of the Army in India where his three years of sagacious handling of affairs culminated in 1919 in the defeat of the Afghan troops behind the Khaibar Pass. In 1920 he was obliged to retire from office, and in 1921 he received a baronetcy. From 1923 to 1928 he was Governor of Gibraltar. In 1906 he was made C.B., in 1915 K.C.B., in 1916 G.C.M.G., and in 1919 G.C.B., G.C.S.I. In 1912 he married the Hon. Mary Towneley O'Hagan. He left no issue.

11. **George Percy Jacomb-Hood**, aged 72, painter, etcher, and black and white artist, was educated at Tonbridge School and studied art in London, Madrid, and Paris. By 1880 he was exhibiting at the Royal Academy, the Grosvenor Gallery, and the Paris Salons. He was a member of the New English Art Club and the Society of Portrait Painters. For *The Graphic* he visited the Durbar in 1902, going again to India in 1905 for the Prince and Princess of Wales' Tour, and in 1911 for the King's Tour, when he painted his picture "The Investiture" for the Maharajah of Bikanir. He also painted a State Portrait of Lord Lytton for the Victoria Hall, Calcutta. The Guildhall Art Gallery possesses his "Raising of Jairus' Daughter," and his "Triumph of Spring" is in the Sydney National Gallery. In 1912 he was made M.V.O., in 1925 he published a book of reminiscences entitled "With Brush and Pencil." He married in 1910 Reta de Hochepped Larpent.

14. **Sir Henry Bradwardine Jackson, F.R.S.**, aged 74, Admiral of the Fleet, and collaborator with Marconi, was educated at Chester and Stubbington, and in 1868 joined the Navy in which in 1901 he originated wireless service. In 1896 he was promoted captain, and began to research in wireless telegraphy with Marconi. He was Naval Attaché in Paris (1897-99); in 1902 he was made Assistant Director of Torpedoes at the Admiralty, being appointed captain of the *Vernon* torpedo-school ship at Portsmouth in 1904. In the following year he became Third Sea Lord and Controller, and with Lord Jellicoe, Sir Reginald Bacon, and Admiral Madden, he formed the Committee of Captains recommending the construction of the dreadnought *Invincible*. He was appointed aide-de-camp to the King in 1905, promoted to flag rank and awarded the K.C.V.O. in 1906. In 1908 he was given command of the Third Cruiser Squadron in the Mediterranean. In 1910 he was the Admiralty representative at the International Conference on Aerial Navigation in Paris, and was made K.C.B.; in the following year he was Head of the Royal Naval War College, Portsmouth, a position he held until 1913 when he became Chief of the War Staff at the Admiralty. In 1914 he was nominated Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, and, the war intervening, he was retained for special service. In 1915 he succeeded Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord. Retiring in 1916 he was promoted G.C.B. He was President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, till 1919, when he was advanced to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet, retiring in 1924. In 1890 he married Alice, daughter of Mr. H. S. Bunbury, F.R.S.

17. **Marshal Mansel de Oliveria Gomes de Costa**, at one time Dictator of Portugal, was born in 1863. After seeing a good deal of service in India and Africa, he took part in the Great War at the head of Portuguese troops, and in 1926 he joined General Carmona and Commandant Cabeçadas to carry out the Revolution. Dismissing Parliament, he became War Minister under Cabeçadas in the Ministry then formed, and ultimately Chief of the State. He was later arrested by General Carmona and exiled to the Azores. Returning in 1927 he organised the National Union but in the following year was again banished, but again allowed to return to Portugal.

19. **Sir William Milligan, M.D.**, aged 65, throat and ear surgeon, born in 1864, was the son of the Very Rev. Professor William Milligan, D.D. He studied at Aberdeen University, taking the M.D. in 1892. Early in his career he began to specialise in diseases of the ear, proceeding to Göttingen and Vienna for the purpose. On his return he became aural surgeon to the Manchester Ear Hospital, laryngologist to the Christie Hospital and to the Radium Institute, and lecturer on throat and ear diseases at Manchester University. In 1914 he received a Knighthood for his cancer researches. He was President of the aural and laryngological sections of the Royal Society of Medicine in London. He married Bertha Warden, daughter of Mr. James Anderson, and left a son and a daughter.

20. **Emile Loubet**, at one time President of the French Republic, was born in 1838, the son of Auguste Loubet, a small landed proprietor. He was educated at the College of Crest and Valence and in 1857 studied law at Paris, joining the Montelimar Bar in 1865. In 1870 he became Mayor of Montelimar, and in 1876 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies as a moderate Republican. In 1892 he was Prime Minister for a short period. Four years later he was elected President of the Senate, retaining that position until 1899 entirely uninvolved in the Dreyfus controversy, and, as a result of this abstention, was elected President of the Republic. Anglophile in sentiment he took an active part in the ceremonies associated with the Entente Cordiale in 1903. He retired in 1905.

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